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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

CHARLES C. TORREY,
Professor in Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

AND

HANNS OERTEL
Professor in Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

.24545

THIRTY-SECOND VOLUME

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THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT ITS

MEETING IN NEW YORK, N. Y.

1912

The annual meeting of the Society, being the one hundred twenty-fourth occasion of its assembling, was held in New York, N. Y., at Columbia University, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, April 9th, 10th, and 11th, 1912.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	Edgerton	Jenkins, Miss	Price
Abbott, Mrs.	Fagnani	Kent, R. G.	Prince
Appleton	Frame	Kohn, Miss	Quackenbos
Arnold	Friedlaender	Lanman	Rudolph, Miss
Asakawa	Gelbach, Miss	Madsen	Scott, C. P. G.
Barret	Gellot	Margolis, E.	Sherman
Barton	Gottheil	Margolis, M. L.	Smith, H. P.
Bender	Grant	Montgomery	Steele
Black	Gray	Moore, G. F.	Torrey
Bloomfield	Gray, Mrs.	Moore, Mrs.	Ussher
Bolling	Grieve, Miss	Müller	Vanderburgh
Briggs	Haas	Nies, J. B.	Ward, Miss
Brown, F.	Haessler, Miss	Oertel	Ward, W. H.
Brünnow	Harper, R. F.	Ogden, C. J.	Williams, F. W.
Burlingame	Hirth	Ogden, Miss	Williams, T.
Campbell	Hurwitz	Oliphant	Worrell
Carus	Hussey, Miss	Perry	Yohannan
Cunningham	Jackson	Peters	
Du Bose	Jackson, Mrs.	Poebel	TOTAL: 74.

The first session was held in Philosophy Hall on Tuesday afternoon, beginning at 3:10 p. m., the President, Professor George F. Moore, being in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the meeting in Cambridge, April 19th and 20th, 1911, was dispensed with, because they had already been printed in the Journal (vol. 31, part 4, p. i-ix).

The Committee of Arrangements presented its report, through Professor Gottheil, in the form of a printed program. The succeeding sessions were appointed for Wednesday morning at half past nine, Wednesday afternoon at half past two, and Thursday morning at half past nine. It was announced that there would be an informal meeting of the members at the Hotel Marseilles on Tuesday evening, that a luncheon would be given to the Society by the local members at the University Commons on Wednesday at 1:15 p. m., and that arrangements had been made for a subscription dinner at the Hotel Marseilles on Wednesday evening at half past seven.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, presented the following report:

The Corresponding Secretary has the honor to report at the outset that he has received from President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University a message of hearty greeting to the members assembled at this meeting. President Butler expresses his regret that his duties as presiding officer at a political convention held at Rochester, N. Y., deprive him of the pleasure of attending some of the sessions.

The regular correspondence of the Secretary during the past year has involved the writing of a large number of letters, to members and others, in regard to matters directly connected with the Society's work. The obligation has, however, been a pleasant one, for it has led to a number of interesting communications with fellow-workers, not only in America and Europe, but also in the East, including a remote corner of Kurdistan.

The formal invitation to participate in the International Congress of Orientalists at Athens was supplemented, during this last year, by further communications and bulletins, and it may be mentioned here that the President, Professor Moore, appointed Professors Hopkins, Jastrow, and Haupt to represent the Society at the Congress. Professor Hopkins, in a letter written in Athens on the eve of the Congress and received here yesterday, sends his cordial greetings to the members of the Society and his good wishes for the present meeting.

As instructed by the Directors, the Secretary attended the annual meeting of the American Year Book Corporation as the Society's representative. He welcomes the opportunity of mentioning the desire of all concerned in this enterprise to give appropriate space to Oriental matters and especially to Oriental scholarship in America.

It is a sad duty to record the loss of four members by death in the past twelve months.

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who had been a member of the Society since 1869, died on May 19, 1911, at the ripe age of eighty-seven years. His activities as a historian and essayist, as well as his achievements as a soldier, are too well known to need record here. Col. Higginson was a regular attendant at the Cambridge sessions and occasionally at meetings elsewhere. At the last meeting, being unable to be present, he sent a message of greeting, whereupon the Society directed Professor Lanman to express its appreciation and good wishes.

Lady Caroline De Filippi, née Fitzgerald, who died in Rome, Italy, on Christmas Day, 1911, joined the Society in 1886 and became one of its life-members. Her interest in the Orient, first aroused by Professor Whitney, continued throughout her life, and she traveled extensively in the East, particularly in Central Asia, Ladakh, and India.

Mr. Charles J. Morse, of Evanston, Ill., whose death occurred on December 6, 1911, had become a member in 1909. Mr. Morse, who was an engineer by profession, spent some time in Japan and became interested in the art of the Far East. He gathered a rich collection of Chinese and Japanese paintings, porcelain, and other works of art, together with a library of works relating to the subject. This collection is preserved in a fireproof room in the residence of his widow at Evanston.

Dr. John Orne, Curator of Arabic manuscripts in the Semitic Museum at Cambridge, has also been removed from our list by death. He had been for twenty-one years a corporate member of the Society and had regularly attended the meetings held at Cambridge.

In concluding this report the Secretary desires to express once again his appreciation of the willing co-operation of all who are associated with him in the work of the Society, and to renew a hearty wish for its continued welfare.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, presented his annual report, as follows:

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1911.

Receipts.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1910		$ 860.94
Annual dues	$ 1216.23	
Sales of the Journal	303.55	
State National Bank dividends	127.93	
Contribution for the Library	100.00	1747.71
		$ 2608.65

Expenditures.

Printing of the Journal, Volume 31	$ 1096.80	
Sundry printing and addressing	53.12	
Editor's honorarium	100.00	
Balance to new account	1358.73	$ 2608.65

STATEMENT.

	1910	1911
Bradley Type Fund	$ 2,914.35	$ 3,052.29
Cotheal Fund	1,000.00	1,000.00
State National Bank Shares	1,950.00	1,950.00
Connecticut Savings Bank	6.00	
National Savings Bank	13.07	20.76
Interest, Cotheal Fund	284.71	330.05
	$ 6,169.03	$ 6,353.10

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The report of the Auditing Committee, Professors Torrey and Oertel, was presented by the Recording Secretary, as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the account book of the Treasurer of this Society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries in the cash book with the vouchers and bank and pass books and have found all correct.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., April 8, 1912. CHARLES C. TORREY, HANNS OERTEL } *Auditors.*

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The report of the Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, was presented by Dr. Haas, as follows:

During the past year the books and pamphlets which have been received have been acknowledged and taken care of as previously. Aside from the cataloguing of serial publications no attempt has been made to classify the accessions.

I need not repeat what has previously been stated concerning the condition of disorder which exists in the Library, making it an almost impossible task to locate works, other than serial publications, desired by members. As the Society is aware, the serial publications have been catalogued by Miss Whitney and her associates under the direction of the former Librarian, Professor Oertel.

During the winter I began to solicit subscriptions from members of the Society to put the Library into shape. In answer to eight letters I received only two replies that seemed favorable, one of them being an inquiry; whereupon I concluded that if the money was to be raised, some other method would have to be adopted. I have brought this matter to the attention of the Directors, asking whether the funds of the Society will not permit appropriating a certain amount for the maintenance of the Library.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Oertel and Jewett, was presented by Professor Oertel, as follows:

The date of publication of the four quarterly instalments has been changed from December, March, June, and September to January, April, July, and October, to make the publication of each volume fall within a single calendar year. The Editors respectfully request members of the Society to notify Professor J. C. Schwab, Librarian of Yale University, at once of any change in their mailing address. Failure to receive the current numbers of the Journal is in most cases due to neglect in keeping the mailing-list up-to-date. The Editors also request that all manuscript copy for the next volume of the Journal be handed to them immediately after the meeting. They further call the attention of contributors to the following rule adopted by the Directors: That each contributor to the Journal shall be allowed 10% of the cost of composition for author's alterations in proof, and that all cost of such alterations in excess of this allowance shall be charged against the author.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society (for convenience the names of those elected at a subsequent session are included in this list):

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mrs. Justin E. Abbott
Prof. Felix Adler
Mr. Ronald C. Allen
Rev. Dr. Floyd Appleton
Mrs. Daniel Bates
Mr. Granville Burrus
Rev. Mr. Wm. H. Du Bose
Mr. William T. Ellis
Dr. Henry C. Finkel
Prof. Alexander R. Gordon
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett
Mr. Newton H. Harding
Dr. Archer M. Huntington
Mr. S. T. Hurwitz
Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson
Dr. Hester D. Jenkins
Dr. Otto Lichti
Mr. H. Linfield
Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill
Mr. C. V. McLean
Rev. Mr. Elias Margolis
Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer
Mrs. Charles J. Morse
Prof. George A. Peckham
Dr. Arno Poebel
Dr. Caroline L. Ransom
Mr. G. A. Reichling
Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff
Mr. Martin Sprengling
Mr. Emanuel Sternheim
Mr. David E. Thomas
Rev. Mr. LeRoy Waterman
Mr. Arthur J. Westermayr
Mr. John G. White

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1912-1913.

The committee appointed at Cambridge to nominate officers for the year 1912—1913, consisting of Professors Lanman and Lyon and Dr. Charles J. Ogden, reported through the chairman, Professor Lanman, and made the following nominations:

President—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

Vice-Presidents—Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of New York.
Recording Secretary—Dr. George C. O. Haas, of New York.
Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.
Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of New Haven.
Directors—The officers above named, and Professors Richard Gottheil, of New York; Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; E. Washburn Hopkins and Hanns Oertel, of New Haven; Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore; George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr; Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York.

After presenting this report, Professor Lanman, speaking for himself, made the following comment:

For the first 64 years of our Society's history, it was the actual practice of the Society (except for some special reason) to re-elect a President at the expiration of his term. During these 64 years the office was held by as few as 9 men: Pickering, Edward Robinson, Salisbury, Woolsey, Hadley, S. Wells Williams, Whitney, Ward, and Gilman. Pickering presided from the founding until his death in 1846; Robinson, for 17 years, from Pickering's death until his own, in 1863. The brief incumbencies of Hadley and Williams were terminated by death; that of Whitney, by illness; and Gilman's incumbency of 13 annual terms, from 1893 to 1906, by advancing years. Mr. Salisbury held the office from 1863 to 1866, and again from 1873 to 1881, and his retirement was in both cases due, as I believe, to his natural disposition to shrink from publicity. As to the character of these admirable men, the discriminating remarks of Dr. Ward in our Journal (vol. 16, p. lix) may be consulted.

At the Springfield meeting of 1905 the nominating committee named Mr. Gilman for the office of President and recommended (JAOS. 26, 425) 'that in the future the President be requested to prepare an address on some phase of the progress or significance of Oriental studies, to be read at the annual meeting.' This recommendation was adopted. In the report of the nominating committee at the New Haven meeting of 1906 (JAOS. 27, 470) we read as follows:

> This Society has been peculiarly fortunate in its Presidents, and it has been accustomed to re-elect them from year to year as long as they were willing to serve it. In most of the other American learned societies the presidency is an honor which is annually conferred upon some distinguished scholar, and it was plainly in the mind of the Society in the plan which it adopted at Springfield that it should in future be so among us also. It is not proposed that any new rule be made, but merely that the usage hitherto prevailing shall not be regarded as having the force of prescription.

Professor Toy was elected President at that meeting. He was followed by Lanman in 1907, Hopkins in 1908, Ward in 1909, Bloomfield in 1910, and George F. Moore in 1911. It would manifestly have been most improper for me to say anything about this innovation at the time of my nomination or during my own incumbency; but now that I am not a candidate for re-election, I deem it to be for the interest of the Society that I should express my strong conviction about the matter.

The ability of the Society to command the unpaid services of a distinguished scholar who is at once an efficient chief executive and also a good

presiding officer is one of its most valuable resources. By handing around that office from one to another of all the more prominent members this valuable resource is, to my thinking, thrown away. Indeed, there is involved in this procedure a double loss: not only is the honor cheapened and lessened, but also the opportunity of the President to serve the Society effectively is reduced to the lowest limit.

The chief executive office, rightly administered, requires preparation and knowledge of the early history and precedents of the Society, such as it is by no means likely that a man chosen for one year will take the pains to acquire. He will think of the office simply as an honor, and of the service which it involves as confined to the sometimes exceedingly ill-performed duty of presiding for a dozen hours or so at our annual sessions. In fact, the President should be a watchful and active worker for the benefit of the Society throughout his whole term of office.

In a word, then, our recent innovation subordinates the best interests of the Society from the larger point of view, to considerations which must inevitably be primarily more or less personal and selfish.

To refer to the matter of the Vice-Presidency: it should be distinctly understood that the Constitution of the Society does not recognise any such thing as a First or Second or Third Vice-President and gives no countenance to the theory of promotion from the office of Vice-President to that of President, such as would seem to have been assumed in our most recent practise. On the other hand, the gift of the Vice-Presidency is indeed a recognition, on the part of the Society, of distinguished service to the cause of Oriental studies, such as it is altogether proper from time to time for us to bestow, and it is one which we can bestow without the serious disadvantage of the loss of continuity in the chief executive office.

It should also be added that other nominations than those presented may be made by any member; that the fullest weight has been given to the views of every member of the committee; and, in particular, that Professor Moore has been neither consulted nor informed concerning the intention of the committee to nominate him for another term.

At this point the President, Professor Moore, asked the Corresponding Secretary to take the chair and withdrew from the hall, in order that the Society might discuss the nominations without his being present. After discussion (remarks being made by Professors Bloomfield, Lanman, and H. P. Smith) the officers nominated were unanimously elected.

Professor Moore was then called in and again took the chair. Professor Lanman moved that it be recorded as the sense of the Society that the President should *not* be re-elected at the expiration of his term. [Note that the motion was made in a form adverse to his own recommendations.] Remarks on this motion were made by Professors Lanman, Barton, H. P. Smith, Bloomfield, Dr. Ogden, and Dr. Ward. It was decided to take a rising vote, the aye-and-no vote suggested by Professor Lanman being deemed needless. It appeared that 27 members were in favor of the resolution and 14 against it.

After a recess of ten minutes for tea, the President delivered the annual address, on 'The Mediterranean Civilization,' Vice-President Harper being in the chair. On the conclusion of the address, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be extended to Professor Moore for his interesting presentation of the subject.

The President again took the chair, and the Society proceeded to the hearing of the following communication:

Professor J. D. Prince, of Columbia University: A political hymn to Shamash.

The Society thereupon adjourned for the day.

SECOND SESSION.

The members re-assembled on Wednesday morning at 9:45 a. m. for the second session. The President, Professor Moore, was in the chair. The following papers were presented:

Rev. Dr. J. E. Abbott: The Marathi poet Tukaram. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: An archaic tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. F. A. Cunningham, of Merchantville, N. J.: Studies in the chronology of ancient history. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Dr. F. Edgerton, of Johns Hopkins University: Versions of the Vikramacarita. — Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor I. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Alexander the Great in the imagination of the East. — Remarks by Dr. Scott.

Professor M. L. Margolis, of Dropsie College: The mode of expressing the Hebrew *'ēd* in the Greek Hexateuch. — Remarks by Professor Moore.

Mr. E. A. Gelloy, of Ozone Park, N. Y.: Remarks on a few Hebrew words. — Remarks by Professor Barton.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University: On the supposed 'Streitgedicht,' RV. 4. 42. — Remarks by Professor Lanman.

Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University: Some Syro-Hittite figurines. — Remarks by Professor Max Müller and by Dr. Ward.

Professor C. R. Lanman, of Harvard University: Buddhaghosa's treatise on Buddhism entitled 'The Way of Salvation' — report of progress.

On suggestion of the Corresponding Secretary it was voted to send a greeting by cablegram to the International Congress of Orientalists, then assembled at Athens, and also to send the good wishes of the Society to a number of the oldest members: Professors Gildersleeve, Toy, and Goodwin, Mr. Van Name, and the Rev. Mr. Dodge.

At one o'clock the Society took a recess until half past two o'clock.

THIRD SESSION.

The Society met for the third session at 2:45 p. m. in the large lecture-room in Schermerhorn Hall, President Moore presiding. The following papers were presented:

Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University: Notes on Baluchistan and its folk-poetry. (Illustrated with lantern photographs.)

Professor R. G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Vedic 'path of the gods' and the Roman Pontifex.

Rev Dr. J. P. Peters, of New York: The cock in Oriental literature.

At four o'clock the Society adjourned to the room in Philosophy Hall in which the previous sessions had been held. The reading of communications was then resumed, as follows:

Dr. G. F. Black, of the New York Public Library: The present state of the Gipsy question. (Read by Professor Gottheil.)

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University: A remarkable series of word-plays in the Second Isaiah.

Professor J. A. Montgomery, of the P. E. Divinity School, Germantown, Pa: A magical text and the original script of Mani.

Professor W. Max Müller, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Kunjara language of Dār Fūr.

Rev. Mr. J. B. Nies, of Brooklyn: The sign *Geŝpu (m)*. — Remarks by Professor Max Müller.

At 5:50 p. m. the Society adjourned for the day.

FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth session was opened at 9:45 a. m. on Thursday morning, in Philosophy Hall, with the President in the chair.

The Corresponding Secretary reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting would be held at Philadelphia, Pa., on March 25, 26, and 27, 1913. He reported further that the Directors had appointed Professors Oertel and Torrey as Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The President then announced the following appointments:

Committee of Arrangements for 1913: Professors Jastrow and R. G. Kent, and the Corresponding Secretary.

Committee on Nominations: Professors Montgomery, Gottheil, and Barret.

Auditors: Professors Oertel and Torrey.

Committee to prepare a resolution of thanks: Dr. Peters and Dr. Scott.

The Society then proceeded to the hearing of the following communications:

Dr. C. J. Ogden, of Columbia University: The story of Udayana as used in the dramas of Harsha.

Miss E. S. Ogden, of Albany: Notes on the so-called Hieroglyphic Tablet in *TSBA.*, vol. 6, p. 454.

Professor S. G. Oliphant, of Grove City College, Grove City, Pa.: Sanskrit *dhenā* = Avestan *daēnā* = Lithuanian *dainà*.

Rev. Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, and Professor Jackson: On four rare manuscripts of the Persian romantic poet Nizami.

At eleven o'clock the Society took a recess of five minutes, to permit the Directors to assemble for a brief meeting.

After the recess the Corresponding Secretary announced that the Directors recommended four additional persons for election to corporate membership, and these were unanimously elected. (Their names have been included in the list on p. v, above.)

The reading of papers was then resumed, in the following order:

Rev. Dr. F. A. Vanderburgh, of Columbia University: Four Babylonian tablets from the Prince Collection of Columbia University.

Dr. A. Poebel, of Johns Hopkins University: The Sumerian incantation *CT.* 16, 7, 260—277.

Professor G. A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College: Recent researches into the Sumerian calendar. — Remarks by Dr. Poebel.

Professor I. Friedlaender, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Modern Hebrew literature.

Dr. F. Edgerton, of Johns Hopkins University: Vedic *sabhā*. — Remarks by Dr. Abbott.

Professor J. A. Montgomery, of the P. E. Divinity School, Germantown, Pa.: Some emendations to Sachau's Ahikar Papyri.

Through its chairman, Dr. Peters, the committee appointed to prepare an expression of the thanks of the Society presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

That the thanks of the American Oriental Society be extended to the President and Trustees of Columbia University for the hospitality of lodgment, to the Women's Graduate Club for its generous surrender of its spacious room for the sessions and for its kind ministrations, and to the Committee of Arrangements and the local members for the thoughtful provision they have made for the entertainment of the members.

The Society adjourned at 12:40 p. m., to meet in Philadelphia on March 25, 1913.

The following communications were presented by title:

Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Hebrew Chateph; (b) Reduplication in Tagalog.

Professor M. Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) On the 'superfluous' *r* of Sanskrit *chardis*; (b) On the theory of haplology as an aid to text-criticism.

Dr. E. W. Burlingame, of the University of Pennsylvania: (a) *Dukkham ariyasaccam* quoted in Bidpai's fables; (b) Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary.

Professor C. E. Conant, of Indiana University: Final diphthongs in Indonesian languages.

Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University: An amulet from Irbil with a Babylonian and a Phœnician inscription.

Dr. Lucia Gunve, of New York: The Hindu goddess Devi.

Dr. Mary I. Hussey, of Cambridge, Mass.: Tablets from Drehem in the Public Library of Cleveland, Ohio.

Professor S. A. B. Mercer, of Western Theological Seminary: The oath in Sumerian inscriptions.

Professor I. M. Price, of the University of Chicago: The published texts from Drehem.

Mr. G. P. Quackenbos, of Columbia University: The legend of the demon Mahiṣa in Sanskrit literature.

Rev. Dr. W. Rosenau, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The argument *a fortiori* in Biblical and post-Biblical literature; (b) Old Testament sources of parts of the apocryphal Esther.

Mr. E. B. Soane, of Southern Kurdistan: Some investigations on the Iranian languages of Kurdistan.

Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University: The original language of the Odes of Solomon.

List of Members.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. Auguste Barth, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.

Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, C. I. E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.

James Burgess, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.

Prof. Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.

Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, Harboro' Grange, Ashton-on-Mersey, England. 1907.

Prof. Berthold Delbrück, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.

Canon Samuel R. Driver, Oxford, England. 1909.

Prof. Adolph Erman, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennestr. 72. 1903.

Prof. Richard Garbe, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.

Prof. Karl F. Geldner, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.

Prof. Ignaz Goldziher, vii Hollô-Utcza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.

George A. Grierson, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.

Prof. Ignazio Guidi, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.

Prof. Hermann Jacobi, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.

Prof. Hendrik Kern, 45 Willem Barentz-Straat, Utrecht, Netherlands. 1893.

Prof. Gaston Maspero, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1893.

Prof. Eduard Meyer, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7) 1908.

Prof. Theodor Nöldeke, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.

Prof. Hermann Oldenberg, University of Göttingen, Germany. 1910. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.)

Prof. Eduard Sachau, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.

Emile Senart, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François Ier, Paris, France. 1908.
Prof. Archibald H. Sayce, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
Prof. Julius Wellhausen, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weberstr. 18a.) 1902.
Prof. Ernst Windisch, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitätsstr. 15.) 1890. [Total: 26]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with * are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. Justin Edwards Abbott, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
Mrs. Justin E. Abbott, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
Dr. Cyrus Adler, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
Prof. Felix Adler, 33 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1912.
William E. M. Aitken, Courtright, Ontario, Canada. 1910.
Ronald C. Allen, 148 South Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
F. Stubbs Allen, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.
Miss May Alice Allen, Northampton, Mass. 1906.
Rev. Dr. Floyd Appleton, 230 New Jersey Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. William R. Arnold, (Harvard Univ.). 25 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Prof. Kanichi Asakawa (Yale Univ.), 228 Park St., New Haven, Conn. 1904.
Rev. Edward E. Atkinson, 94 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. Lenoy Carr Barnes, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Mrs. Daniel Batten, 35 Brewster Street, Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
Prof. L. W. Batten, 418 W. 20th St., New York. 1894.
Prof. Hanlan P. Beach (Yale Univ.), Grove St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.
Dr. Harold H. Bender, Princeton University, Princeton New Jersey. 1906.
Rev. Joseph F. Berg, Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1898.
Prof. George R. Berry, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Julius A. Bewer (Union Theological Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. John Binney, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. George F. Black, N. Y. Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Dr. Frank Ringgold Blake, Windsor Hills, Baltimore, Md.
Rev. Philip Blanc, St. Johns Seminary, Brighton, Md. 1907.
Rev. Dr. David Blaustein, The New York School of Philanthropy, 105 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1891.
Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1898.
Francis B. Bloodgett, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. Carl August Blomgren, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
Dr. Alfred Bossiker, Le Rivage près Chambéry, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. George M. Bolling (Catholic Univ. of America), 1784 Corcoran St., Washington, D. C. 1898.
Prof. Cornelius B. Bradley, 106 Prospect Ave., Madison, Wis. 1910.
Rev. Dr. Dan Freeman Bradley, 2905 West 14th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1911.
Prof. Reinward Brandstetter, Reckenbühl 18, Villa Johannes, Lucerne, Switzerland. 1906.
Prof. James Henry Breasted, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Prof. Chas. A. Briggs (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Prof. C. A. Bradin Brockwell, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1906.
Pres. Francis Brown (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1881.
Rev. George William Brown, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1909.
Prof. Rudolph E. Brünnow (Princeton Univ.) 49 Library Place, Princeton, N. J. 1911.
Prof. Carl Darling Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Hammond H. Buck, Division Sup't. of Schools, Alfonso, Cavite Provinces, Philippine Islands. 1908.
Alexander H. Bullock, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
Dr. Eugene Watson Burlingame, 20 Graduate House, West Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
Charles Dana Burrage, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
Granville Burrus, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Prof. Howard Crosby Butler, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
Rev. John Campbell, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Pres. Franklin Carter, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass.
Dr. Paul Carus, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
Rev. John L. Chandler, Madura, Southern India. 1899.
Miss Eva Channing, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
Dr. F. D. Chester, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
Walter E. Clark, 37 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
Prof. Albert T. Clay (Yale Univ.) New Haven, Conn. 1907.
*Alexander Smith Cochran, Yonkers, N. Y. 1908.
*George Weymuss Collins, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
Prof. C. Everett Conant, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. 1905.
Rev. William Merriam Crane, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
Francis A. Cunningham, 508 W. Maple St., Merchantville, N. J. 1912.
Rev. Charles W. Currier, 913 Sixth St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
Dr. Harold S. Davidson, 1700 North Payson St., Baltimore, Md. 1908.
Prof. John D. Davis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis, Madison, Wis. 1900.

James T. Dennis, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Mrs. Francis W. Dickins, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
Rev. Wm. Harrell Du Bose, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
Dr. Harry Westbrook Dunning, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
Dr. Franklin Edgerton, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1910.
Prof. Frederick G. C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.
Mrs. William M. Ellicott, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.
William T. Ellis, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
Prof. Levi H. Elwell, (Amherst College), 5 Lincoln Ave., Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Dr. Aaron Ember, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Rev. Prof. C. P. Fagnani, 606 W. 122d. St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Edwin Whitfield Fay (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
Prof. Henry Ferguson, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1876.
Dr. John C. Ferguson, Peking, China. 1900.
Dr. Henry C. Finkel, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
Rev. Wallace B. Fleming, Maplewood, N. J. 1906.
Rev. Theodore C. Foote, Rowland Park, Maryland. 1900.
Prof. Hugbell E. W. Fosbroke, 9 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.
Dr. Leo J. Frachtenberg, Hartley Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Jas. Everett Frame (Union Theological Sem.), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Dr. Carl Frank, 23 Montague St., London, W. C., England. 1909.
Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, 356, 2nd Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909.
Prof. Israel Friedlaender (Jewish Theological Sem.), 61 Hamilton Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
Robert Garrett, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
Miss Marie Gelbach, Prospect Terrace, Park Hill, Yonkers, N. Y. 1909.
Eugene A. Gellot, 290 Broadway, N. Y., 1911.
Prof. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1858.
Geo. Wm. Gilmore, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y. 1909.
† Prof. William Watson Goodwin (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
Prof. Alexander R. Gordon, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
Prof. Elihu Grant (Smith College), Northampton, Mass. 1907.
Mrs. Ethel Watts Mumford Grant, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. Louis H. Gray, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
Mrs. Louis H. Gray, 291 Woodside Ave., Newark, N. J. 1907.
Miss Lucia C. Graves Grieve, Martindale Depot, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Louis Grossmann (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
Rev. Dr. W. M. Groton, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School, 5000 Woodlawn Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1907.

*Dr. George C. O. Haas, 254 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Miss Louise Haessler, 1230 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909
Mrs. Ida M. Hanchett, care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebraska. 1912.
Dr. Carl C. Hansen, Si Phya Road, Bangkok, Siam. 1902.
Newton H. Harding, 110 N. Pine Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Paul V. Harper, 59th St. and Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Prof. Robert Francis Harper, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
Prof. Samuel Hart, D. D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1879.
Prof. Paul Haupt (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht, Upland, Delaware Co., Pa. 1887.
Rev. Dr. William J. Hinke, 28 Court St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
Prof. Friedrich Hirth (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Charles T. Hock (Theological Sem.), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
*Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
Rev. Dr. Hugo W. Hoffmann, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
*Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
Wilson S. Howell, 416 West 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1911.
Henry R. Howland, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
Miss Sarah Fenton Hoyt, 17 East 95th St., New York, N. Y. 1910.
Dr. Edward H. Hume, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
Miss Annie K. Humphreys, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1878.
Dr. Archer M. Huntington, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
S. T. Hurwitz, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
Miss Mary Inda Hussey, 4 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass. 1901.
*James Hazen Hyde, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. Morris Jastrow (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St. Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
Dr. Hester D. Jenkins, 122 Pierrepont St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Rev. Henry F. Jenks, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
Prof. James Richard Jewett, (Harvard Univ.) Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Charles Johnston, 387 Ocean Ave., Flatbush, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
Arthur Berriedale Keith, Colonial Office, London, S. W., England. 1908.
Prof. Maximilian L. Kellner, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.

Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Prof. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
Prof. Gordon L. Kittredge (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Miss Lucile Kohs, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1907.
Richard Lee Kortkamp, Hillsboro, Ill. 1911.
Rev. Dr. M. G. Kyle, 1132 Arrow St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
Prof. George T. Ladd (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
M. A. Lane, 451 Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1907.
*Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
Dr. Berthold Laufer, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
Levon J. K. Levonian, Syrian Protest. College, Beirut, Syria. 1909.
Dr. Otto Lecht, 146 Tremont St., Ansonia, Conn. 1912.
H. Lenfield, 52 Middle Divinity Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Prof. Charles E. Little (Vanderbilt Univ.), 19 Lindsley Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
Prof. Enno Littmann, Schweighäuser Str. 24, II, Strassburg i. Els. 1912.
Percival Lowell, 53 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
Dr. Daniel D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Dr. Albert Howe Lybyer, 153 South Cedar Ave., Oberlin, Ohio. 1909.
*Benjamin Smith Lyman, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
Prof. David Gordon Lyon, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
Albert Morton Lythgoe, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
William E. W. Mackinlay, 1st Lieut. 11th U. S. Cavalry, Fort Ethan Allen, Vt. 1904.
C. V. McLean, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York. 1912.
Rev. Dr. Albert A. Madsen, 22 Courtney Ave., Newburgh, N. Y. 1906.
Prof. Herbert W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Max L. Margolis, 1519 Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. Winfred Robert Martin, Hispanic Society of America, West 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1889.
Isaac G. Matthews (McMaster Univ.), 509 Brunswick Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1906.
C. O. Sylvester Mawson, Box 886, Springfield, Mass. 1910.
Prof. Samuel A. B. Mercer (Western Theol. Sem.), 2735 Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
J. Renwick Metheny, "Druid Hill," Beaver Falls, Pa. 1907.
Martin A. Meyer, 2109 Baker St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
Dr. Truman Michelson, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.

Mrs. Helen Lovell Million, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
Prof. Lawrence H. Mills (Oxford Univ.), 218 Iffley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. J. A. Montgomery (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.
Prof. George F. Moore (Harvard Univ.), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
Dr. Justin Hartley Moore, 549 Springdale Ave. East Orange, N. J. 1904.
*Mrs. Mary H. Moore, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass. 1894.
Mrs. Charles J. Morse, 1825 Asbury Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1912.
Rev. Hans K. Mosbæk, 316 Third St., Watertown, Wis. 1906.
Prof. W. Max Müller, 4908 Market St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
Mrs. Albert H. Munsell, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
Dr. William Muss-Arnolt, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
Rev. Jas. B. Nies, Hotel St. George, Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
Rev. William E. Nies, Port Washington, Long Island, N. Y. 1908.
Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dennis J. O'Connell, 800 Cathedral Place, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
Prof. Hanns Oertel (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Dr. Charles J. Ogden, 250 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Samuel G. Oliphant, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
Prof. Albert TenEyck Olmstead, 911 Lowry St., Columbia, Mo. 1909.
Prof. Paul Oltramare (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
*Robert M. Olyphant, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
Rev. Dr. Charles Ray Palmer, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Prof. Walter M. Patton, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. 1903.
Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. George A. Peckham, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
Prof. Isaac J. Peeler, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Walter Petersen, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. 1909.
Prof. David Philipson (Hebrew Union College), 3947 Beechwood Ave., Rose Hill, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
Dr. Arno Poebel, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1912.
Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
Prof. Ira M. Price, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Prof. John Dyneley Prince (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
George Payn Quackenbos, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. Caroline L. Ransom, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1912.

G. A. Reichling, 466 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Prof. George Andrew Reisner, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
Bernard Revel, 2113 North Camac St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
Prof. Philip M. Rhinelander (Episcopal Theological Sem.), 26 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1908.
Ernest C. Richardson, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
Edward Robinson, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. Dr. George Livingston Robinson (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 4 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Hon. William Woodville Rockhill, American Embassy, Constantinople, Turkey. 1880.
Prof. James Hardy Ropes (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Dr. William Rosenau, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Rev. Dr. Edward S. Rousmaniere, 56 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1911.
Robert Hamilton Rucker, 27 Pine Street, New York, N. Y. 1911.
Miss Adelaide Rudolph, 2024 East 115th St., Cleveland, O. 1894.
Mrs. Janet E. Ruutz-Rees, Rosemary Cottage, Greenwich, Conn. 1897.
Mrs. Edw. E. Salisbury, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
Pres. Frank K. Sanders, Washburn College, Topeka, Kans. 1897.
Johann F. Scheltema, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heerengracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.
George V. Schick, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1909.
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
Wilfred H. Schoff, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., Peking, China. 1899.
Dr. Gilbert Campbell Scoggin, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1895.
*Mrs. Samuel Bevan Scott (née Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
Rev. John L. Scully, Church of the Holy Trinity, 312-332 East 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1908.
Rev. Dr. William G. Seifle, 217 Turner St., Allentown, Pa. 1902.
Prof. Charles N. Shepard (General Theological Sem.), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
Charles C. Sherman, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.
*John R. Slattery, 14 bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903
Major C. C. Smith, P. S., Manila, Philippine Islands. 1907.
Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, Theological School, Meadville, Pa. 1877.
Prof. John M. P. Smith, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
Ely Bannister Soare, care of Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, SW., England. 1911.
Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Martin Sprengling, care of Prof. R. F. Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Rev. Dr. James D. Strele, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.

Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
Mayer Sulzberger, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. George Sverdrup, Jr., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
David E. Thomas, 6407 Ingleside Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Eben Francis Thompson, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
Prof. Henry A. Todd (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Olaf A. Toftteen, 2726 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
*Prof. Charles C. Torrey, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
Prof. Crawford H. Toy (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Rev. Sydney N. Ussher, St. Bartholomew's Church, 44th St. & Madison Ave., N. Y. 1909.
Rev. Hervey Boardman Vandersloot, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1911.
Rev. Dr. Frederick Augustus Vanderburgh, 53 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
Addison Van Name (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
Miss Susan Hayes Ward, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
Miss Cornelia Warren, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
Prof. William F. Warren (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
Rev. LeRoy Waterman, 5815 Drexal Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1912.
Prof. J. E. Wemben, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Jens Iversen Westengard (Harvard Univ.), Asst. Gen. Adviser to H.S.M. Govt., Bangkok, Siam. 1903.
Arthur J. Westermayr, 100 Lenox Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
Prof. John Williams White (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge Mass. 1877.
John G. White, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
*Miss Margaret Dwight Whitney, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
Hon. E. T. Williams, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.
Prof. Frederick Wells Williams (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
Dr. Talcott Williams, Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y. 1884.
Rev. Dr. William Copley Winslow, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. John E. Wishart, So. Pasadena, California. 1911.
Henry B. Witton, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
Dr. Louis B. Wolfenson, 1620 Madison St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
Prof. Irving F. Wood, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
William W. Wood, Shirley Lane, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
Prof. James H. Woods (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Dr. William H. Worrell, 53 Tremont Street, Hartford, Conn. 1910.
Rev. Dr. Abraham Yohannan, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
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Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)
Munich: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
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Tübingen: Library of the University.
Great Britain, London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S.W.)
Society of Biblical Archæology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
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ERRATA.

Page 97, l. 4 read: (cf. below p. 100).
" 100, l. 16 read: (cf. above p. 96).

Some Difficult Passages in the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I. — One of the most difficult passages in the cuneiform account of the Deluge is the beginning of the story of the Babylonian Noah, contained in lines 11—15 of my edition.[1] This section begins: *Ál Šúripak, álu ša tidûšu atta, ina kiššâdi nâr Purâti šakan*, which is generally translated: The city of Suripak, the city which thou knowest, is situated on the bank of the Euphrates; see *e. g.* Geo. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (London, 1880) p. 279. Similarly Jules Oppert, *Le poème chaldéen du déluge* (Paris, 1885) p. 7 rendered: *Il est une ville de Surippak, que tu connais; elle est située sur les bords de l'Euphrate.* François Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire* (Paris, 1880) p. 601 has: *La ville de Schourippak ville que tu la connais sur l'Euphrate existe.*

The site of the ancient city of Surippak, the most primitive Sumerian settlement known to us, was discovered, eight years ago, in the ruins of *Fâra*, N of *Warka* = Erech, SE of *Nuffar* = Nippur.[2] At the time of the Flood, Suripak was situated on the Euphrates, and the Persian Gulf extended as far north as Suripak. Just as the Crocodile Lake and the Bitter Lakes in Egypt formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus,[3] so Lake *Nâjaf*, which is now practically dry,[4] was the northern end of the Persian Gulf at the time of the Flood, or at the time when the story of the Flood originated in the third prechristian millennium (*cf.* UG 191). Ea bade Hasis-atra float his ship near the sea,[5] *i. e.* at the former northern end of the Persian Gulf, W of Suripak. The Euphrates emptied at that time into Lake *Nâjaf*. Abulfedâ[6] states that according to the ancients the Persian Gulf formerly stretched up to *Hîrah* on Lake Najaf, *i. e.* about 30 miles S

of Babylon.[7] Hirah (*cf.* BL 118, n.*) was situated at 32° N, 44° 20′ E, about 4 miles SE of the modern town *Nâjaf*.

Jensen, in his *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (Strassburg, 1890) p. 369 translated: *Surippak, eine Stadt, die du kennst — am Ufer des Euphrat ist sie gelegen.* But this would be in Assyrian: *ina kišâdi* (or *axi*) *Purâti šakin*, not *šaknu*. The final *u* in *šaknu* shows that this is a relative clause (BA 1, 10). We have here two coördinated relative clauses: *âlu ša tîdûšu atta*, the city which thou knowest, and *ša ina kišâdi nâr Purâti šaknu*, which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates river; but the relative pronoun is not repeated before the second clause. Similarly we have in the last paragraph but one of the Code of Hammurapi:[8] *çimma*[m] *marçu*[m] *ša lâ ipûšaxu, âsû qiribšu lâ îlâmadu, ina çimdi lâ inâznûšu, kîma nišik mûti*[m] *lâ innasaxu*, a malignant sore[9] which does not heal, whose nature a physician cannot learn, which he cannot soothe with a bandage, which like a deadly bite cannot be extirpated.[10] *Tîdûšu atta* cannot be regarded as a parenthesis;[11] in that case we should expect *tîdîšu atta*, not *tîdûšu*. The rendering *The city which, as thou knowest, lies on the Euphrates* (RBA 495; *cf.* JAOS 25, 79) is therefore inaccurate.

II. — The following two lines, *âlu šû lâbîr-ma îlâni qirbûšu ana šakân abûbi ûbla libbašunu îlâni rabûti*, are generally translated: That city was old, and the gods therein—their heart induced the great gods to make a deluge, or cyclone;[12] but *îlâni rabûti*, at the end, must be regarded as accusative depending on *ûbla*. The two lines are equivalent to *libbu ša îlâni qirib âl Šuripak ûbla îlâni rabûti ana šakân abûbi*, the heart of the gods in Suripak induced the great gods to make a cyclone. The *greads gods* are here distinguished from the local *gods of Suripak*.[13] *Îlâni* before *qirbûšu* is a *casus pendens*;[14] the suffix of *libbašunu* refers to *îlâni qirbûšu*.[15] *Îlâni rabûti*, however, does not stand in apposition to *îlâni qirbûšu*, but is an accusative depending on *ûbla*. The queens induced the great kings to make a fight would be in Assyrian: *šarrâti ana epêš tuqunti*[16] *ûbla libbašin šarrâni rabûti*; and The queen induced the great king to make a fight would be: *šarratu ana epêš tuqunti ûbla libbuša šarra rabâ*.

The accusative *îlâni rabûti* is on a par with the suffix *-ni* in *minâ libbaša ûblâni*, What does she want me to do? in the

Descent of Istar (obv. l. 31).[17] Jensen (KB 6, 83) translates: *Was hat ihr "Inneres (hervor)gebracht," was hat [ihren] Ban[ch bewegt]?* and in the commentary (KB 6, 395): *Was hat ihr Inneres mir hervorgebracht — Was hat sie gegen mich ersonnen?* Ungnad (TB 65) disregards the suffix *-ni*, translating: *Wozu hat ihr Herz sie veranlaßt, wozu hat ihr Sinn sie getrieben!* Delitzsch (HW 231ᵃ) renders: *Womit hat sich ihr Herz gegen mich getragen? d. h. Was will sie von mir? Ublâni* cannot mean *carried against me*, but only *carried me*.[18] Similarly Nebuchadnezzar (iii, 19) says: *ana ebêšu Esagila našâni libbi*, my heart induced me to build Esagil,[19] Delitzsch (HW 484ᵇ; *cf.* 231ᵃ, 317ᵃ) has called attention to the fact that this phrase corresponds to the Biblical *nēsa'ô libbô*, his heart stirred him up (GB 518ᵃ, i).[20] In *ustâbil karassu* (or *qurrušu*) we have according to Delitzsch (HW 7ᵃ) not the stem *gabâlu*, to bring, but the stem *abâlu* (AJSL 26, 235) to be full; see, however, KB 6, 320; SFG 66, 3. These phrases were discussed by Guyard in §§ 88 and 96 of his *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1883). *Abâlu* and *našû* in this connection correspond to the Arabic *ḥámala* (*ḥâmalahu 'âlâ 'l-'amri = 'aǧrâhu*).

Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 84 renders: *Sarippak, die Stadt, welche du kennst, [welche am Ufer] des Euphrat gelegen ist, jene Stadt besteht seit alters, die Götter in ihr. Einen Flutsturm zu machen trieb ihr Herz an die großen Götter*; but *ilâni girbûšu* must be combined with the following line. Jensen (KB 6, 231) gives the meaningless translation: *die Götter in ihr die Sturmflut zu machen "brachte hervor" ihr Herz, die großen Götter.* The verb *abâlu* does not mean *to produce*, but *to induce*. According to Jensen (KB 6, 320, below; *cf.* p. 316) *libbu* in this connection does not mean *heart*, but *abdominal cavity* (cf. JBL 19, 76, n. 99). I have discussed some of Jensen's peculiar renderings in JAOS 22, 19 (*cf.* also 16, cxi; AJSL 19, 199;[21] 26, 15. 24; ZDMG 63, 517).[22]

Ungnad's *die Götter standen ihr nahe* (TB 50; UG 53) is very improbable. *Qarâbu* means in Assyrian *to attack* (cf. Syr. *ittaqrab*, to be attacked; contrast AJSL 23, 243) and *karâbu* (= *barâku*) means *to be propitious, to bless* (GB 358ᵃ). Nor does Zimmern's former reading *lâ bir*, corrupt, lit. *impure*,[23] instead of *lâbîr*, old, commend itself (*cf.* KB 6, 482, l. 1). I pointed out

in BA 1, 325 that *lâbîru*, old, was probably a compound with prefixed *lâ*, not: cf. *barâru*, to be bright (HW 187[a]) and Heb. *bar*, pure. I mentioned Zimmern's conjecture in my (unpublished) translation (printed in 1895) of the cuneiform account of the Deluge, which I had prepared for the third edition of Schrader's KAT, and Jastrow adopted it in RBA 495 (*cf.* JAOS **25**, 70; ZDMG 64, 711, l. 18).

If my translation of ll. 13. 14 of the Flood Tablet is correct, the great gods were induced by the local gods of Suripak[12] to send a cyclone. Just as we have here the gods of Suripak, so we find the gods of Erech in the fragment K 3200 (NE 51, 11) which I translated in JAOS **22**, 8 (*cf.* ZDMG 64, 712, l. 8).[24]

III. — A desperate passage is the beginning of l. 15. This is preserved exclusively in the Babylonian fragment S. P. II, 960 (NE 121, 15) which I published thirty years ago, from a copy made by Pinches, in my inaugural lecture *Der keilinschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881). I read there *mâla bašû*, as many as there were; but *bašû* would be written *ba-šu-u*, and if *ilâni rabûti* and *mâla bašû* belonged together, *ilâni rabûti* would not stand at the end of the preceding line.

In his *Kosmologie* (1890) Jensen read *ibâšû*, there were their father Anu, &c; and Zimmern made the same mistake in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 423. Even Ungnad (TB 50) rendered: *und zwar waren es*.[25] Also R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) has: *There were their father Anu*, while he translates the preceding lines: *Shuripak, a city which thou knowest, which lies on the bank of the Euphrates. That city was very old, and the heart of the gods within it drove them to send a flood, the great gods.* But *ibâšû* would mean *they will be*, not *they were*. The passage NE 67, 68,[26] to which Jensen referred in his commentary, is quite different: there *ibâši* means *there will be*. Similarly *kima ili tabâši* (NE 3, 7; 12, 34) means *thou wilt be like a god*, not *thou art like a god*, as Jensen (KB 6, 127, 34) and Ungnad (UG 12, 184) translate.[27] I added the translation *du wirst sein wie Gott* (NE 12, below) in 1883, in order to call attention to the similarity with *Eritis sicut Deus* in Gen. **3**, 5.[28] Jastrow has since shown that the story of Eabani (or *Engidu*; cf. ZDMG 64, 712, n. 2)

and the Woman is the prototype of the Biblical legend of the Fall of Man,[28] which symbolizes the first connubial intercourse.[30]

Nor can we read, with KB 6, 230, *qir-ba-šu* at the beginning of l. 15. In the first place, we should expect *qirbûšu*, as in l. 13, and then, the characters *ba-šu* are extremely doubtful. According to iv R[2] the two signs are *iz* (*giš*) and *mal* (*kit*, *bit*). A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 33 supplied at the beginning of l. 15: *es hielten Rat*, they held a council, took counsel together, Heb. *yaʿ-ăṣûnaʿāçū* (2 Chr. 30, 23). This would be in Assyrian: *imdâlkū* for *imtâlikū*.[31] Ungnad (UG 53, below) is inclined to supply *es treten zusammen*, they assemble. But the traces preserved do not lend themselves either to *imdâlkū*, *imtâlikū*, they took counsel, or to *paxrû*, *iptáxrū*, they assembled (NE 49, 197; 141, 162).

I am inclined to read *u-ka-pid*; the traces before *mal* — *bit*, *pit* may be the remnant of the Babylonian character for *ka*. Professor R. F. Harper, who is working in the British Museum at present, has been kind enough to re-examine this tablet, and he informed me (on April 4, 1911) that the reading [*u-k*]*a-pid* was at least as good as any other. Winckler *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (1903) p. 84 read *bit abišunu*, their family, which is impossible. *Ukâpid*, for *ukappid*, would mean *he planned*; so the meaning would be: It was planned by their father Anu (lit. *es plante es ihr Vater Anu*). I have shown in JAOS **25**, 73 (1904) that we must read in l. 5 of the Flood Tablet: *gummur ka*[*pâd*] *libbi ana epêš tuquntí*,[16] Whole is the striving of the heart to make war, or *eager is the desire of thy heart to do battle*.

Assyr. *kapâdu* means especially *to plot*, to conspire, to bring on some disaster. In Syriac this stem appears, with partial assimilation of the *d* to the *p*, as *kappiṭ*, to knot, to tie in a knot. The Qal is used of plants forming knots; *cf.* German *Fruchtknoten* and Goethe's translation of Cant. 2, 13: *der Feigenbaum knotet* (BL 105) for Heb. *hat-tĕnâh hanṭâh paggêhā*. German *Knoten* is connected with *Knospe*, *Knopf*, *Knorren*, *Knödel*, *Knute*. Luther has Ex. 9, 31: *der Flachs* (*hatte*) *Knoten gewonnen* for Heb. *hap-pištâh gibʿōl*; AV, the flax was bolled; the noun *boll*, which is merely an earlier spelling of *bowl*, denotes a rounded pod or capsule. For the semasiological development *cf.* Heb. *qâšar*, to tie, to conspire. In post-

Biblical Hebrew this verb means also *to resolve*. For the post-Biblical noun *qāšr*, knot, *cf.* Assyr. *qiçru*, knot, Ethiop. *queçr*. In Arabic we find *kâbada*, to plan (syn. *qâçada*) which may stand for *kâpada* with partial assimilation of the *p* to the *d*;[32] it can hardly be a denominative verb derived from *kâbid*, liver. The original form of *kabid*, liver, was *kabit*, just as Heb. *abâd*, to perish, was originally *abat* (BA 1, 2).

IV. — In ll. 19—22 of the account of the Deluge we read that Ea, the Lord of Unfathomable Wisdom, sat (in counsel)[33] with the gods and revealed their plan to the reed-huts,[34] saying: Reed-hut, reed-hut! brick-house, brick-house! Reed-hut, hear! brick-house, pay attention! This has been correctly explained in HW 327b. The reed-hut denotes the hovels of the lower classes, and the brick-house represents the dwellings of the upper classes;[35] so Ea announced the plan of the great gods to rich and poor alike, but only to Ḫasis-atra he gave in a dream special indications showing him how he might save himself. All people could see that a seismic catastrophe was imminent,[36] but Ḫasis-atra was the only one who took the necessary precautions.

Assyr. *qiqqîšu* is a synonym of *xuççu* = Arab. *xuçç*, cottage, cabin, booth (ZK 1, 347) and Assyr. *igaru*, brick-wall, stands for *ḫigaru* (cf. Arab. *ḥijr*, wall, and *ḥâjar*, stone). Also Assyr. *agurru*, or *agûru*, burnt brick, which has passed into Arabic as *ajûr* (or *iâjûr*) stands for *ḫagûru*.[37] Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter* (Leyden, 1886) p. 5 pointed out that in the *Kitâb al-Aġâni* (xvi, 43, 3; *cf.* Divan Huḏeil. 66, 10; Nâbiġa 7, 16) a hut of reeds (*xuçç*) is contrasted with a house of brick (*ajûr*) and plaster, just as *qiqqîšu* = *xuççu* is contrasted with *igaru* (for *ḫigaru*) brick-wall, brick-house, in the present passage of the Flood Tablet. Assyr. *qiqqîšu* (for *qîšqîšu*) is connected with Heb. *qaš*, straw, stubble, Aram. *qaššâ*, which has passed into Arabic as *qašš*; cf. the post-Biblical *qašqaššîm*, stubble, litter, shake-down, and *qîššôṯ* (or *qîššêṯ*) stalk of grain, straw.

CT 14, 48 (No. 36, 331) gives several Sumerian equivalents of *qiqqîšu*.[38] The first (Sum. *gi-ru-a*) means a structure (Assyr. *tabannû*) of reeds. The second (Sum. *gi-dim*) has the same meaning (= Assyr. *riksat qanî*). The third (Sum. *gi-sik*)[39] designates the reed-hut as a slight, frail (Assyr. *enšu*) struc-

ture of reeds.[40] • Assyr. *enšu* is used especially of tumble-down (*qa'āpu*)[41] buildings; so Sum. *gi-sig* is a *mean habitation*, a humble cottage, a poorly constructed cabin, a frail thatched structure. Sum. *sik* means also *small*, Assyr. *çiçru* (= Heb. *çaʿîr*) and *qatnu* (= Heb. *qaṭôn*).

W. Andrae[42] says that the walls of the "houses" of the laborers at *Kalah Shergât* (Aššur) consist of very light mats of rushes; *cf.* Meissner's remarks[43] on the modern Babylonian *çarîfah*, i. e. an arched structure of reeds and reed-mats, fenced in with reeds, whereas the *maftûl*, a round tower where the people seek refuge in times of danger, is built of bricks. The reed-huts were especially endangered by a cyclone; the *qiqqîšu* are therefore mentioned first in l. 20 of the Flood Tablet; but the tidal wave threatened also the brick houses.

The translation of this difficult passage, which I gave, 23 years ago, in BA 1, 123. 320, and which Jensen (KB 6, 483) calls *sonderbar*, is still nearer the truth than the latest efforts of Jensen, Ungnad, &c. Jensen's idea[44] that Ea spoke to the wall of a reed-house, and that the wall communicated this message in a dream to Hasis-atra, who slept behind the wall, is untenable. Ea did not communicate in a dream the decision of the gods to send a cyclone; this was made known to all the people, both rich and poor; but the instructions showing Hasis-atra how he might save himself were communicated to him by Ea in a dream. The story of Midas' barber (who dug a hole in the ground, whispering into it: King Midas has ass's ears) affords no parallel.

The repetition of the words *qiqqiš qiqqiš igar igar* is equivalent to *every reed-hut and every brick-house* (GK, § 123, c). The "construct" in distributive repetitions corresponds to the "absolute" state in Syriac[45] and to the forms without nûnation in Arabic phrases like *baita baita*, *yauma yauma*.[46] I have pointed out the connection between the "construct" in Assyrian and the "absolute state" in Syriac on p. 113, below, of the Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT).[47]

V. — In my paper on the beginning of NE[48] I stated that *parîsu* in l. 65 of the account of the Deluge meant *mast*, more accurately *pole-mast*, not *setting pole*.[49] This interpretation is not at variance with the tenth tablet of NE where we read that Nimrod and the ferryman of Hasis-atra used 120 *parîse*,

each 60 cubits (about 100 feet) long, to get across the Waters of Death. Gressmann's idea (UG 138) that Nimrod built a hanging bridge of the 120 pole-masts is grotesque. How could Nimrod build a hanging bridge across the Waters of Death without fastening the end on the other side? A rope bridge of rushes would have been more natural than a hanging bridge of 120 enormous pole-masts. According to Gressmann this hanging bridge served as a passageway between the boat and the shore of the Island of the Blessed; but this gangway would have been more than two miles long (*cf.* JAOS 22, 10, n. 6).

Nimrod did not construct a hanging bridge out of the 120 long pole-masts, but he used them as setting poles to push the boat through the Waters of Death (cf. *ratem conto subigit*, Virg. Æn. 6, 302). Setting poles are still employed in Babylonia. Meissner[50] states that he was transported to Nippur in a boat by two boys who used bamboo stems, with an asphalt ball at one end, as setting poles. Bamboo stems may be over 100 feet long, and nearly 3/4 ft. thick. They are often used as masts. Nimrod, it may be supposed, could not sail across the Waters of Death because there was a dead calm. The water was nearly 100 feet deep, and whenever Nimrod touched the boggy bottom with one of his poles, he could not lift it up again, so that he was compelled to take a fresh pole. They stuck in the quagmire at the bottom of the Waters of Death;[51] *cf.* Virgil's lines, Æn. 6, 295—297:

Hinc via, Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
aestuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat arenam;

and 415. 416:

Tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.

Finally, when the 120 poles were gone, Nimrod unstepped the mast of his boat and used it as a setting pole. This enabled him to land at the Island of the Blessed.

The Ferryman was wont to take along a chest full of stones. In *šad*[52] *abne* the first word is connected with the Talmudic *šiddāh*, chest, box. The stones in this chest were *abnê* which served as anchors. The most ancient anchors consisted of large stones. Ordinary stones, however, could not be used for this purpose; they had to be provided with holes to attach hawsers to them. He would attach a hawser to one of them

and throw it into the bog as far away as possible from the bow of the boat; then he hauled the boat up to it. In this way he was able to warp the boat across the Waters of Death. Warping anchors (German *Warpanker*) are known as *kedges*, and the hawsers attached to them are called *kedge-ropes*. In the case of a large vessel the kedge is carried out in a boat, and then dropped overboard, and the vessel hauled up to it; but the Ferryman had only a small boat; so he was compelled to throw the kedges as far away from the boat as possible.

After Nimrod had smashed the stones in the Ferryman's chest, it was difficult to obtain new large stones provided with holes. Therefore the Ferryman told Nimrod to cut 120 pole-masts. These were, of course, not carried in the boat, but towed through the water by means of a rope attached to the stern of the boat. They probably used the kedging-rope for this purpose. This, I think, is the solution of the mystery of the stones and the pole-masts.

VI. — I have explained some difficult passages of the Flood Tablet in my lecture on *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 3, ll. 18—20; p. 30, nn. 32—36;[44] also in AJSL. **24**, 128, n. †; 143, *ad* v. 3;[45] **26**, 15. 16. 24. 25, nn. 60—67; ZDMG **61**, 276, ll. 20. 43;[46] **63**, 516, l. 42—517, l. 32;[47] **64**, 711, ll. 15—30;[47] *cf.* 714, ll. 3. 8. 15. The first seven lines of the Flood Tablet were explained in JAOS **25**, 68—75. For the phrase *sirjâm nadâta eli çirika*, armor thou hast placed upon thy body, lit. *upon thy back*, we must remember that we use *back* in the same way. Shakespeare says: *I bought you a dozen of shirts to your back*; cf. our vulgar phrase *to keep a person back and belly*, i. e. to keep him in clothes and food. *To back* was formerly used in the sense of *to clothe*. Ungnad's renderings *Gänzlich ist dein Wesen dazu angetan zu streiten, und dennoch pflegst du, auf deinem Rücken liegend, der Ruhe!* (TB 50) or *Gänzlich ist mein Wesen dazu geschaffen, Kampf zu führen; du aber bist müßig, auf deinem Rücken liegend* (UG 53) are impossible.

Ungnad also adheres to the untenable rendering *measures*, although I showed 24 years ago that *mînâti* in the third line of the Flood Tablet means *looks, appearance*.[48] This rendering has been adopted also by Jastrow (RBA) and Rogers.[49] Lines 28, 29 should be rendered: *The ship which thou art to build, let her lines be long, and let her width equal her depth*[50]

—*mindudâ* = *middudâ*, *mitdudâ*, the reflexive stem of *madâdu*, corresponding to Arab. *imtâdda*, to be extended, to be long. *Madâdu*, to measure, is a denominative verb which means originally *to ascertain the extent of a thing*. According to ll. 58. 59 both width and height of the Babylonian Ark were 120 cubits or about 200 feet, and the length was considerably more. *Cf.* my paper on the dimensions of the Babylonian Ark AJP **9**, 422.[1]

Notes.

(1) See Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 134. For the name *Nimrod* see my article on Adar and Elul in ZDMG **64**, p. 712, n. 2. The abbreviations used in the present article are explained in vol. xxviii of this JOURNAL, p. 101, n. 6; p. 112, n. 1: *cf.* ZDMG **64**, 703, n. 1. Note especially GE = P. Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (Straßburg, 1906). — TB = Hugo Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (Tübingen, 1909). — UG = A. Ungnad und H. Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911). — RBA = M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898).

(2) See MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. *; UG 79. 191.

(3) See OLZ **12**, 245. 249. 251; ZDMG **63**, 529, ll. 6. 29.

(4) See B. Meißner, *Von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Hira und Ḫuarnaq* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 12, l. 4; p. 18, l. 10; p. 20, l. 1. *Cf.* OLZ **12**, 68, n. 6.

(5) Despite the statement in l. 9 of the so-called Nippur fragment of the Babylonian Deluge story, *çulûla danna çullil*, Roof with a strong roof (JAOS **31**, 31; UG 73. 212) we must translate l. 31 of the Flood tablet, [*e*]*ma apsî šâši çullilši* (NE 135, 31): Float her near the (fresh-water) sea, i. e. Lake *Nâjaf*. Assyr. *çalâlu* is a synonym of *utûlu* (= *nuta'ulu* = *nutahhulu*). *Cf.* NE 50, 208: *utâlû-ma edlû ina ma'âl mûši çallû*. The men lay down and rested on the night couches. For *utûlu* and *ma'âlu* see my paper on the Heb. stem *nahâl*, to rest, AJSL **22**, 195. 199. For *çalâlu* cf. my remarks on Heb. *çalalû* (Ex. **15**, 10) in AJSL **20**, 162. Contrast KAT[2], 69, l. 5; UG 53, l. 31. *Ema* (HW 79[a]) = Heb. *'im*, Arab. *ma'a* (e. g. *ma'a 'l-ḥâ'iṭi*, along the wall).

(6) See Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, vol. ii, part 2 (Paris, 1883) p. 73. The Arabic text (p. 299, below, of the

Paris edition) reads as follows: البحيرة على موضع يقال له النجف زعم الاوائل ان بحر فارس كان يتّصل به وبينهما اليوم مسافة بعيدة. *Nâjaf* means *dam, dike.* Cf. OLZ 12, 251; ZDMG 63, 521, n. 42.

(7) *Cf.* A. Sprenger, *Babylonien* (Heidelberg, 1886) pp. 33, 45, 73. See also Haupt, *Über die Ansiedlung der russischen Juden im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiete* (Baltimore, 1892) p. 16. Contrast H. Wagner, *Die Überschätzung der Anbaufläche Babyloniens*, pp. 289—296 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen, 1902, part 2).

(8) See R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904) p. 108; H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 83, ll. 57—63.

(9) Assyr. *çimmu marçu* = Heb. *makkāh nahlāh* (Nah. 3, 19). *Çimmu* may be connected with Arab. *çâmma*, to strike (cf. *çâmmama 's-saifu*). It could stand also for *çimu* = Arab. *ḍaim*, hurt, injury, oppression; but this is less probable. Nor can it be combined with Arab. زحمة, *zâḥmah, zuḥmah*, trouble, disease.

(10) For the omission of the relative pronoun *cf.* GK, § 116, x; Duval, *Grammaire syriaque* (Paris, 1881) § 401.

(11) Nor is *tâmur ātâmar* (KB 6, 265) in the last column of the twelfth tablet a parenthesis; see BA 1, 69, n. **; GE 53, n. 6; TB 61; UG 68.

(12) *Cf.* HW 4*; UG 53, 57, 59; E. Suess, *Die Sintflut* (Prag, 1883) pp. 21, 24, 44—49, 54, 68; also the remarks at the end of my paper *The Dimensions of the Babylonian Ark* in AJP 9, 424. Praetorius' combination of *abûbu* with Arab. *habûb* (KAT², 66, 19) may be correct (*cf.* Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 389). The catastrophe was caused chiefly by Enlil, and he was the god of storms; Ea, the god of the sea, saved Hasisatra, but he could not prevent the cyclone. *Enlil* = *bêl šâri*, lord of the wind; it does not mean *lord of the plain*; contrast PSBA 33, 78; *cf. ibid.* p. 80, and below, end of n. 20.

(13) The chief deity of Suripak seems to have been *Sukurru*; cf. MDOG, No. 16, p. 14, n. *; Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (Paris, 1905) p. 215, No. III; German edition (Leipzig, 1907) p. 151, below. This deity may have been the consort of Enlil; *cf.* BA 5, 537, l. 18, and p. 554, below; UG 79, below; RBA, German edition, p. 55. It is possible that Enlil was induced by his consort

to send the cyclone (*cf.* ll. 120—122 of the Flood tablet, UG 56) just as Anu was instigated by Ištar to send the celestial bull (UG 33, l. 94). It is noteworthy that we find in ll. 118. 163 *dingir max* (not *maŋ*! cf. below, n. 39) the mighty deity = *bēlit ilāni*, the lady of the gods. The name *Ištar* (JAOS **28**, 116) in l. 117 is a later adaptation. *Cf.* RBA, German edition, p. 82.

(14) See GK, § 143, b; WdG **2**, 256; Driver, *Heb. Tenses* (1892) § 197.

(15) *Qirbāšu* is accusative, and *libbašunu* is nominative; cf. *iplax libbašunu*, their heart feared; *ikpud libbašunu*, their heart planned; *kabittaki lipšax*, may thy mind be appeased; see HW 526ᵃ, 346ᵃ, 317ᵃ; AG², pp. 188. 227.

(16) *Tuquntu* = *tuqumtu*; cf. Heb. *miṯqōmēm*. For secondary stems with prefixed *t* see ZDMG **63**, 518, l. 37; *cf.* below, n. 33.

(17) The second hemistich was, it may be supposed, *mimā kabtassa išši'āni*.

(18) In the phrase *Marduk ušalkā-ni libba*, Marduk stirred up my heart (HW 216ᵇ) the suffix *-ni* is dative (German, *Marduk regte mir an das Herz*). *Cf.* GK, § 117, x; WdG **2**, 192, A. Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) reads *ŋaŋ-ŋāleq* instead of *ŋaŋ-ŋāreq* in Gen. **14**, 14, and combines this with the Assyr. *deqû* (cf. GB 746ᵇ). But Winckler's reading *deqû* (with *q*) is as unwarranted as his reading *nišiq*, bite, instead of *nišik* (see his edition of the Code of Hammurapi cited above, n. 8). If the Assyrian stem had a *q* instead of *k*, it might be identical with Arab. *dā'ā, ǰal'ā*; cf. *ārgā* (Jer. **10**, 11) for *ār'ā*, earth; Assyr. *raggu*, evil = Heb. *ra'*; see WZKM **23**, 361, n. 4. The synonym of *raggu*, evil, *ṣenu* means originally *foolish*; cf. Heb. *nēbālāh*, folly, depravity, and *ṣenu*, sheep = Heb. *ṣōn* (ZDMG **65**, 107, l. 9). For Arab. *dā'ua*ⁿ claim, lawsuit, *cf.* Assyr. *rugummā* (HW 612; AJSL **26**, 7).

(19) *Cf.* MDOG, No. 7, p. 2 and p. 3 of Meissner's paper cited above, n. 4.

(20) *Cf.* Ex. **25**, 2; **35**, 21. 26. 29; **36**, 2. In 2 K **14**, 11, on the other hand, we must read *ṯē-hiššāṯā libbēḵa* (cf. Ob. 3). Stade was inclined to read *ṯē-issā'aḵa*. This *hiššī*, to lead astray, must be derived from the stem of *šau*, vanity, falsehood (*tertiæ Aleph*). To the same stem belong Heb. *šū'ōn* (cf. JBL. **26**, 19. 44) and the Assyr. synonym of *mexû*, gale: *šû* (NE 140,

n. 11; BA 1, 134). *Ittarik šū* means: the storm abated (*abate* means originally *to beat down*). Another word for *gale* is *kûku* (in ll. 46, 88) = Syr. *kaukiṭa*, whirlwind, tempest. Jensen (KB 6, 233, 235, 485) and Ungnad (UG 55) adhere to the translation *darkness*, which I suggested more than 22 years ago, but which I declared to be extremely doubtful (JHUC, No. 69, p. 18). I showed BA 1, 130 (printed in 1888) that we should restore at the beginning of l. 46: *ša ûdânu Šamaš išâkanu-ma*, when the sun (not the Sun-god!) indicates the appointed time. The Sun-god did not reveal anything to Husis-utra; contrast Zimmern, *Beiträge zur babyl Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 88, n. 2; UG 195, n. 6, also pp. 200, 209, 213. *Mu'ir kûki ina lîlâti ušaznankunnši šamûtu kîbâti* means: The Ruler of the Whirlwind will cause to rain upon you in the evening a downpour of destruction. *Kîbâti* is the plural of *kîbtu*, a fem. of *kêbu*, *kîbu* = Syr. *kêḇâ*, pain, grief; *cf.* Heb. *kik'ib* in 2 K 3, 19. If *kibtu* were a derivative of the stem *kabâtu*, to be heavy (HW 317ᵃ) the fem. plural would be *kibtâti*, not *kibâti*. Jensen translates: *Schmutz-Regen*; Ungnad: *furchtbarer* (?) *Regen*. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, in thesis ix of his inaugural dissertation, derived *kîbâti* from *qâpu*, to fall into decay, go to ruin (HW 583ᵃ). For *mu'ir* = *mumâ'ir* see JBL 19, 58. The *mu'ir kûki* is Enlil; *cf.* above, n. 12. For the correct translation of ll. 43—45, which Jensen (KB 6, 233) and Ungnad (UG 54) have misunderstood, see Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. xli; JHUC, No. 69, p. 18. These lines do not contain an *infamous lie*, as Jensen (*Kosmol.* 405) says. At the beginning of l. 33 we may read *ezêb âli*. For *izrâni* in l. 39 Jensen may compare GK, § 106, g.

(21) If Ungnad and Gressmann had considered this passage, they would not have rendered (UG 27, 109): *Schön ist ihr Schatten, ist voller Jubel*. I referred for *mali rîšâti* to Lat. *lucus laetissimus umbrae* &c. Nor does Ungnad (UG 8) seem to know my explanation of NE 8, 36, 37, given in BA 5, 471 (Friedrich's remarks in BA 5, 468—477 should have been cited in UG 1) and the interpretation of the description of the garden of the gods (UG 43, 164—167; *cf.* p. 163) which I gave in *Proverbs* 60, 30—40. For Gressmann's *Brunnenschwengel* (UG 103) see AJSL 23, 234.

(22) UG 60, 224—229; 62, 262 (*cf.* p. 141) practically repeats Jensen's meaningless translations.

(23) Cf. *lâ ḫanâtu*, impurity (HW 180ᵃ) or *lâ ullâti* (Zimmern, *Šurpu*, p. 53, below) and Heb. *lō-kēn* &c.

(24) Gressmann's idea (UG 123, n. 5) that this text belongs to the myth of Irra and Išum (TB 71) is at variance with the line (NE 51, 17) *Ištar ana nakrīšu ul išâkan qaqqadša*, Ištar cannot resist its (the city's) enemy. Ištar did not send an enemy against the city of Erech, but Erech was besieged by enemies for three years, and Ištar could not make head (Heb. *nāṯān rôš*; cf. GB 524ᵃ, l) against them.

(25) The same reading was adopted by A. Jeremias in *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 228.

(26) *Cf.* KB **6**, 216, 28; UG 46, 78. The end of this line may be read *iqâtap ligna*, he plucks a thistly plant; *cf.* JAOS **22**, 11, l. 4; KB **6**, 250, l. 284; UG 62, 284. In Syriac, *lâgnâ* denotes an artichoke. Pliny (**19**, 152; **20**, 262) calls the artichoke *carduus* (Greek σκόλυμος). *Carduus benedictus*, the blessed thistle, was held in high esteem as a remedy for all manner of diseases. In Arabic, *lajîn* denotes leaves (of thorny gum-acacias, Arab. *falḥ*) used as food for camels; see G. Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897) pp. 13, 240. For the Assyrian stem *lagânu* see HW 373ᵇ; also Zimmern's *Beitr. zur bab. Rel.* 176, 18. In S⁵ 2 (AL³, 77) *ligittu* (for *ligintu*) appears as a synonym of *nibittu* (cf. NE 147, 295). *Nibittu* stands for *marbattu*, and means *interlacement, intertwinement, interwoven foliage*; cf. Heb. *'ēṣ 'abōṯ*, leafy tree; Syr. *'ûbê 'abbîṯê*, dense woods.

(27) At the beginning of this line we may read: *Lû damqata*, be good; *cf.* NE 42, 7—9 (UG 30). The preceding line (NE 12, 33) shows that there is space enough for *lu-u dam-* before *-qa-ta* in l. 34. The meaning of the line is: *Be good*, love me; then *thou wilt be like a god.*

(28) *Cf.* my remarks in JHUC, No. 163, p. 50, n. 9; JAOS **25**, 71, n. 1; also RBA 476.

(29) See AJSL **15**, 193—214; *cf.* especially p. 202, n. 33, and p. 209, n. 54; also ZAT **23**, 174; Skinner's *Genesis*, p. 91; UG 99. Contrast KAT³, 528, n. 3; Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 38. For Eve (Heb. *Ḥawwâh*) = serpent (Aram. *ḥiwyâ*) see AJSL **23**, 228; *cf.* ZDMG **42**, 487, cited in EB 61.

(30) See JBL **21**, 66; ZDMG **63**, 519, l. 22. *Cf.* Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 31, conclusion of *b*.

(31) *Cf.* the first line of the seventh tablet of the Nimrod

epic (NE 50, 212; KB 6, 179; UG 36) and Syr. *itmallāk* (Heb. *yaṯ-ṯimmalēk* Neh. 5, 7).

(32) Assyr. *kapādu* has no connection with Arab. *qāfada;* contrast Muss-Arnolt's dictionary, p. 421[b]; BA 1, 167, n. [*].

(33) Read *tašīb* (not *tame!*) For secondary stems with prefixed *t* cf. above, n. 16.

(34) *Qiqqīšu*, at the end of l. 20 is an archaic plural in *-ū*; cf. SFG 23, 5; AG[2], p. 192, 5. It could, of course, stand also for the gen. sing. (*cf. e. g.* NE 142, n. 7).

(35) *Cf.* Amos 6, 11: For lo! JHVH commands, and the great house is dashed to pieces, and the small house to splinters, which is a misplaced gloss to vv. 14. 15:

On the day when I punish her — Ivory houses go to ruin;
I 'll destroy the winter house — along with the summer house.

(36) There may have been minor preliminary seismic floods; see Suess' work (cited above, n. 12) p. 68.

(37) Cf. *Proverbs* (SBOT) 53, 34, and my paper on *immeru*, lamb = *ḫammar, ḫammal* in ZDMG 65, 107.

(38) *Cf.* SAI 692 s. v. *kikkišu*.

(39) For the final *k* in *sik* see ZDMG 64, 705, n. 1; *cf.* above, n. 13.

(40) *Cf.* Is. 1, 8 and the cut on p. 162 of the translation of *Isaiah* in SBOT.

(41) *Cf.* the conclusion of n. 20 (thesis ix of Lehmann).

(42) See MDOG, No. 22, p. 70; *cf.* also No. 25, p. 74; contrast No. 31, pp. 8. 39. 44; No. 32, pp. 23. 25; No. 43, p. 19.

(43) On p. 8 of the paper cited above, n. 4; *cf. ibid.* p. 12, l. 12.

(44) See KB 6, 483; *cf.* UG 192.

(45) See Duval (*cf.* above, n. 10) § 356, c; § 368, a; Nöldeke's Syr. grammar, § 202, C.

(46) See H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (Leyden, 1898) p. 444.

(47) See also *Kings* 262, n. [**].

(48) JAOS 22, 10, n. 6; *cf.* ZDMG 63, 516, l. 42.

(49) Contrast UG 194, l. 7.

(50) See p. 9 of the paper cited above, n. 4.

(51) Contrast Schneider's explanation cited in UG 138, n. 3. As to the force necessary to pull out poles 120 feet long, after they have been imbedded in quagmire, I was informed by an engineer, who has had much experience in driving and subsequently pulling piles used for piers and wharves,

that a wooden pole, 120 feet long, having a diameter at the butt of 25 inches and at the point of 4 inches, would weigh, approximately, 5400 pounds. While such a pole can be readily driven, it requires a force equal to 25 horse-power to withdraw it when it is imbedded in mud and clay to a depth of 50 feet. Using a 25 horse-power engine to pull these poles, it is necessary to employ what is known as a triple rig or pulley. Of course, if such a rig were not used, the direct force necessary to pull the piles in question would be much greater, probably about 50 horse-power. I am indebted for information to Professor Gellert Alleman, of Swarthmore College.—The ancient cuneiform poet believed, of course, that paddles and oars were unknown in the times of Nimrod. *Cf.* EB 4478, l. 20.

(53) Not *šûl*! Contrast UG 137, n. 2; *cf.* also pp. 184. 207.

(54) UG 195 still thinks that Hasis-atra gave the people of Suripak daily banquets while he was building his ship!

(55) Contrast UG 55, below.

(56) *Cf.* above, note 22.

(57) According to Jensen (KB 6, 488, below) these plugs were intended for holes in the bottom through which the ship was supplied with water! A. Jeremias, following Winckler, gives the meaningless translation: I poured water over the *šikkat* in its interior. *Cf.* above, n. 25.

(58) *Cf.* JAOS: **13**, ccxliii, n. 14; **25**, 71; **31**, 37; BA **1**, 124.

(59) *Op. cit.* *Cf.* above, p. 4.

(60) Literally *height*. It cannot be *length*.

The five Assyrian stems la'u.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

I.—In my paper on Leah and Rachel (ZAT **29**, 281)[1] I showed that Leah meant *cow*, Assyr. *lētu*, feminine of *lû*, bull. *Lû* is a contraction of *lē'u*, and corresponds to the Arabic *lā'a*ⁿ (for *lā'aju*ⁿ) wild bull. *Lē'u* (for *lēju*, *la'ju*, *lā'iju*) means originally, like Heb. *abbīr*, strong (*cf.* OLZ **12**, 214, n. 18; UG 130). Arab. *la'a*ⁿ means also *misfortune*, lit. *strength, hardship* (cf. Arab. *šiddatu*ⁿ). This explains the meaning of Assyr. *lā'u* (for *lāju*, *lā'aju*) wretched (not *lā'û*, HW 366ᵇ) which means originally *hard up*. There is no connection between *lā'u*, wretched, and the negative *lā*, not (contrast AJSL. **22**, 261, n. 17). In Hebrew, we have the stem *la'āh*, to trouble oneself, lit. *to try hard*. Assyr. *lû*, bull (Arab. *lā'a*ⁿ) appears in the story of Hagar (Gen. **16**, 14) as *rôi* (for *lôi*, *lāi*, *la'i*, *lā'ij*). See my explanation of this passage in ZAT **29**, 284; contrast Gunkel's *Genesis* (1910) p. 189; and Skinner's commentary (1910) p. 288.

The name *Bĕnē Le'āh* meant originally *cowboys*, and *Bĕnē Raḥēl* denoted the southern *sheepmen*. Westerners say, cattle and sheep do not mix.[2] There has always been more or less trouble between cowboys and sheepmen. Their interests can never be mutual, since cattle and sheep cannot thrive on the same range. The sheep absolutely spoil the pasturage for the cattle by cropping the grass so close that no sustenance is left to the bigger animal, and, besides that, they are supposed to leave a taint that is highly offensive to the bovines. The close nibbling of the herbage is not the only damage done by the sheep. They travel in dense formation, and their sharp hoofs cut the sod and pack it down so hard that it takes the range a long time to recuperate.

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[1] For the abbreviations see above, p. 10, n. 1.

[2] Quoted from an article in the Baltimore *American*, Nov. 15, 1909.

The Assyrian stem *lâ'u*, to be strong, means also *to have power, to be able* (HW 365ᵇ). *Ilêʾi*, he can, stands for *ilâ'aį*.

II.—On the other hand, *ilêʾi*, he likes (HW 364ᵇ, below) stands for *ilâhaį*, and must be connected with Arab. *lâhija, ʾâlhâ*, to like (syn. *aḥâbba*). Ethiopic *alhâja*, to cheer up, to comfort (Arab. *âlhâ* or *lâhhâ*) means originally *to make pleased, satisfied, reconciled*; cf. Arab. *lâhija ʿan* (contrast ZAT **29**, 282, l. 10). Delitzsch (HW 365ᵃ) correctly derives *lêʾu*, sensible, intelligent, wise, from this stem, pointing to Assyr. *têmu* (for *ta'mu*) which means *will, mind, sense, intellect, intelligence, information, news.*[1] Similarly *milku* (HW 413ᵇ) means *counsel, decision, deliberation, understanding, insight*. Our *mind*, which corresponds to the Latin *mens*, means not only *intellect*, but also *desire, intent, purpose, will*. To have a *mind* means *to be inclined, to intend, to like*.

Assyr. *têmu*, intelligence, message, appears in Aramaic as *ṯîbbâ*. This is often used in the Talmud in the sense of Heb. *mišpâṭ*, the right way of doing a thing, the proper manner, German *Art*. Heb. *mišpâṭ* may mean also *skill, knack*, just as *Art* is identical with our *art* (cf. AJSL. **27**, 20, n. 24). German *artig* means *mannerly, well-mannered, well-bred*. In Middle High German, *Art* denoted *family, extraction*. In Wagner's *Lohengrin* Lohengrin says to Elsa: *Nie sollst du mich befragen, noch Wissens Sorge tragen, woher ich kam der Fahrt, noch wie mein Nam' und Art.*

In the Syriac Bible, *mâ ṯibbêk(i)* appears in Ruth **3**, 9 as the equivalent of Heb. *mî att*, and in the shorter recension of *Judith*,[2] published by Gaster in PSBA **16**, 162, Seleucus says to Judith: *Mâh ṯibêk*. Gaster translates: *What is it that thou wishest?* but it means: *How art thou?* Heb. *mî att* in Ruth **3**, 9 has the same meaning; the rendering *Who art thou?* is incorrect (see BA **1**, 17, l. 1; AJSL. **24**, 127). The literal meaning of *mâh ṯibêk* is *What is thy report*, i. e. *the report concerning thee, what is the news of thee?* The suffix must be explained according to GK § 128, h; § 135, m.

The traditional Jewish pronunciation is *ṯîbâ*, for *ṯêbâ*, not

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[1] HW 297; cf. *Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBOT) p. 34, l. 49. Syr. *ṯîbbâ* (originally *ṯêbâ*) means *message, news, tidings, rumor, fame, report*.

[2] For the Book of Judith, which is a Palestinian Pharisaic Purim legend, see Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 7, ll. 33—39.

ṭibbā. Also the Aleph in Syriac ܛܒܐ (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 35) points to an original pronunciation *ṭêḇâ*. The Aleph in this case must be explained in the same way as in *kĕmĕnā*, *nōṣĕṣā*, *mĕlĕ'ā*, discussed in BA 1. 7. 166; BL 123, n. †. The Syriac Pael *ṭabbiḇ* (cf. *ṭêḇîḇa*, renowned, *ṭêḇîḇûṯā*, renown) is denominative, derived from *ṭibbā* = *ṭîḇā*, *ṭêḇā* = Assyr. *ṭēmu* = *ṭa'mu*. For the interchange of *m* and *b* see *Ezra and Nehemiah* (SBOT) 67, 33. There is certainly no connection with Arab. ظُلْم *ẓu'b*, *ẓâb*, clamor, noise, injustice, violence, although Fleischer raised no objections to this etymology in Levy's Talmudic dictionary (2. 153. 210). In his Targumic dictionary (1. 292) Levy reads *ṭibbā*, but in his Talmudic lexicon (2, 153) he has *ṭîḇā*. Dalman's *Wörterbuch* (p. 156) gives Heb. *ṭeḇ* (with suffixes *ṭibbô*, like *libbô*, his heart) and Aram. *ṭibbâ*, Art, Wesen, Ruf; but on p. 159 he gives Heb. *ṭēḇ*, Art und Weise. This would seem to be the original pronunciation. The form *ṭibbā* instead of *ṭîḇā* = *ṭêḇā* = Assyr. *ṭēmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) may be influenced, not only by τύπος (which is used also in the sense of *characteristic assemblage of particulars or qualities*, character, quality) but also by *dibbāh*: in Gen. 37, 2 some Targumic MSS read *dibbĕhôn* instead of *tibbĕhôn*. *Ṭibbā*, or rather *ṭêḇā*, is the Assyrian *ṭēmu* (for *ṭa'mu*) which was afterwards pronounced *ṭēʾu*, *ṭîʾu*, and *dibbāh* is connected with Assyr. *dabābu* which belongs to the same root (AJSL. 23, 252) as Heb. *dibbēr*, to speak.[1]

Assyr. *lē'u* (not *le'û*) wise, stands for *lēju*, *lâju*, *laḫju*, *lâḫiju*.

III.—Assyr. *lî'u* (not *li'û*, HW 366[b]) tablet, stands for *liḫu*, which corresponds to Heb. *lûḥ*, just as we have in Arabic, *rîḥ*, wind, and *rûḥ*, spirit, whereas in Hebrew, *rûḥ* is used for both *wind* and *spirit*; cf. *Kings* (SBOT) p. 96, l. 25.[2]

IV.—Assyr. *lû'û* (*lu'û*, HW 366[a]) soiled, defiled, disgraced, may stand for *luḫḫuju*, and may be connected with Arab. *laḥâ*, *yâlḥâ*, which means not only *to blame* and *to curse*, but also *to disgrace, vilify, insult*, (syn. *qâbaḥa*). Assyr. *lû'û* could be connected also with Arab. *lâṭ'atu*, which is said to mean

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[1] Both Heb. *dōḇ*, bear, and *dĕḇōrāh*, bee, mean originally *Brummer* (growler, hummer). *Cf.* Heb. *ḥamāh* and *haḡḡāh*, also the remarks in my paper on the trumpets of Jericho, WZKM **23**, 360—362.

[2] The phrase *lĕ-rûḥ haj-jôm* (Gen. 3, 8) means according to Gunkel, *Genesis* (1910) *at daybreak*; see BL 74; contrast AJSL. **22**, 303; **24**, 136.

shame, disgrace, or Ethiopic *laqqâq*, perverse, depraved; but this is less probable.

V.—Assyr. *la'û*, a kind of wine (HW 366[b]) may be compared with Syr. *lâ'*, *nĕlû'*, to lick, to lap. Also the word *lû*, discussed in HW 374[a], iii, may be connected with this stem. This Assyr. *la'û* may mean *to sip, to swallow*, and may stand for *la'âqu*, just as we have *urû* (cf. Heb. *'ărqâh*, Arab. *'ărjatu*[m]) and *âru* (Arab. *'âqratu*[m]) shame; *cf.* ZDMG **65**, 108, l. 14.

VI.—For the etymology of Heb. *leqî*, Levite, see OLZ **12**, 163; ZDMG **63**, 522, l. 9; ZAT **29**, 286.

Babylonian Legends, BM Tablets 87535, 93828 and 87521, CT XV, Plates 1—6. — By Rev. Frederick A. Vanderburgh, Ph. D., Columbia University, New York City.

Part XV of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* contains twenty-four plates of "Early Sumerian Religious Texts." It also contains, at the beginning, six plates, entitled "Old Babylonian Legends." The religious texts are purely Sumerian, but the so-called legends are Assyrian. There are really three tablets of the legends, which, according to the publication, seem to be considerably broken. Yet cols. i and viii of the first tablet, cols. i and ii of the second tablet and cols. ii and vii of the third tablet furnish six interesting texts which may properly be called poems, a translation of which is given in the following pages.

I take great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor John Dyneley Prince of Columbia University for much valuable help in the translation of these difficult Old Babylonian unilingual poetic texts.

I.

Plate 1, Tablet 87535, Obverse, Col. i.

This poem relates to the goddess Mama. Its language reminds us of the phrase in Psalm xix, 11: מתוקים מדבש ונפת צופים "sweeter than honey and the honey-comb." The poet dwells on the pleasure of singing the song of the goddess Mama and the character of her maternal relations.

za-ma-ar ^{ilat} bi-li-it ili a-za-ma-ar
The song of Belit ili I sing.

ib-ru uš-ši-ra ḳu-ru-du ši-me-a
O friend regard, O warrior listen!

^{ilat} ma-ma za-ma-ra-ša-ma e-li
The goddess Mama, her song more

di-iš-pi-i-im u ka-ra-nim ṭa-bu
than honey and wine is sweet;

ṭa-bu-u e-li di-iš-pi u ka-ra-ni-i-im
sweeter than honey and wine;

ṭa-bu-u e-li ha-na-na-bi-i-ma ha-aš-hu-ri-i-im
sweeter than sprouts and herbs;

e-lu-u lu hi-me-e-tim za-ku-u-tim
superior indeed to pure cream;

ṭa-a-bu e-lu ha-na-na-bi-im-ma ha-aš-hu-ri-i
sweeter than sprouts and herbs.

^{ilat} ma-ma iš-ti-na-am u-li-id-ma
The goddess Mama, one she hath brought forth,

a-ap-pa-a-am na-ši-u pi-ri šar-ra-am
who in the vanguard beareth the ivory of the king.

^{ilat} ma-ma ši-e-na u-li-id-ma
The goddess Mama, two she hath brought forth,

ši-e-na-ma ša ^{ili} za-ri-bi il ekalli-šu
two by the god Zaribu, the god of that temple.

^{ilat} ma-ma ša-la-ti u-li-id-ma
The goddess Mama, three she hath brought forth.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — — —

1. *bi-li-it ili* (or *belit ilāni*): NI.NI is a common compound ideogram for *ili* "gods" (Br. 5356), probably derived from reading NI.NI phonetically as *i-i* (Br. 5307 & 5309). That *bi-li-it ili* is an epithet is shown by the fact that several goddesses bear the title. The consort of Ea, Damkina, for example, was called *Belit ilāni: e-a mu-uš-ti-šir nak-bi-šu bi-lit ilāni mu-rap-pi-šat-ta lit-ti-šu.* Cylinder of Sargon, line 70.

2. *ib-ri* (חבר): root literally = "surround, protect." *up-pi-ra* (prob. עפר), II. 1. 2d. m. s. impv.

3. *^{ilat} ma-ma*, the name of a very ancient divinity, as is evinced by its appearance in personal names of early Babylonian times. It may be found in the name of a man who was an official (*damḳar*) apparently before the days of Urn-

kagina: (^{dingir} *u*) *in-din-dug-ga ur-ma-ma* (*d*)*am-kar* (^{ki} *e*)*n-*(*lil*) (*a-mu-na-šub*). Pl. 43. No. 95. Old Babylonian Inscriptions, Part II. There was also a Patesi, before the days of the dynasty of Ur, bearing this name: *nu ur-ma-ma pa-te-si;* Thureau-Dangin, *Récherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*, No. 184. In later Babylonian times, beginning even with the period of Hammurabi this goddess seems to appear as Gula, which is evidently a form of Mama (*m* = *g*, &c.). Here her personality has developed into that of the consort of Ninib: *nin-ib šar šamê u irṣitim u gu-la kal-lat ê-šar-ra;* Inscription of Nebuchadezzar I, Col. ii, line 39. In union with Ninib she performs the function of life-giving: nin tin dib-ba (V R. 52. Col. iv. 7). She is called the great physician: ^{dug} *gu-la-a asitu gal-la-tu* (III R. 41. c. 11).

6. *ha-na-na-bi-i-ma* (really *hanabu*) exhibits a curious reduplication of the syllable *na*. It seems proper here to raise the question as to whether wine and herbs had any relation in thought to her art of healing. We know that these products were used to some extent in incantations: *šikari sa-kil-bir u šamni išteniš tuballal šipti* III-*šu tamanni i-na ši-in-ni-šu tašaklan*, "wine of *sa-kil-bir* and oil together thou shalt pour; the incantation thrice thou shalt repeat: on his tooth thou shalt put it" ("Legend of the Worm," lines 25 & 26, see Thompson's Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia). *ar-su-up-pu še-gu-šu in-nin-nu ša i-na ši-ir-'-i-ša ûm-ša kaš-da-at pur-šum-tu ina katâ-ša ellâti li-te-en-ma išteniš bu-lul-ma ina kak-ka-di-šu šu-kun* "the *ar-su-up-pu*, *še-gu-šu* and *in-nin-nu* which in its height its day has reached, let an old woman with her clean hands grind it, mix it together, on his head place it" (Headache Series, Tablet IX, lines 125—130; see Thompson). (*diš-pu*) *hi-me-tu eli-šu šu-ru-up-ma* "honey and butter upon it burn" (Fever Incantation, Plate 58, line 59; see Thompson).

9. *u-li-id-ma*, I. 1. pret. This act of giving birth attributed to the goddess here may be the second birth over which she presided apparently even in earliest times as this song with this interpretation attests.

12. *ṣa-ri-bi* "fiery one." Nergal the war god sometimes is called *ṣarbu*.

II.

Plate 2, Tablet 87535, Reverse, Col. viii.

This plate being a part of the reverse of the same tablet as plate 1, must naturally present a phase of the same subject as that of the plate just read. While that one gave us a story of coming to life, this, however, contains a story of departing from life. The concrete factor here is that of the land of Sumer which seems to have been devastated by flood. Inhabitants were carried away to the lower world through the machinations of evil spirits. Some people remained in desolation.

— — — — — — — —

— — — *ma i-ri* — — — — — — — — — — — —

an-nu-um ša-al-la-at šu-mi-ri — — *e-li ša a-a i-li*
On account of sin the booty of Sumer (is carried away);

šu-ba-ru-u-um lu-u ir-ši-id ḳa-ṣa-ṣi-im-ma
Protection, let it be established because of diminution!

ša-at-ti-ša-am-ma šu-mi-ru-um li-iḳ-ta-ṣa-aṣ-ṣi
Yearly (they say), let Sumer be diminished!

iš-um-ma da-mu-u-šu ^{ᵘᵈ} *ištar u šu-u*
They seek its blood; Ištar and he

ina pu-ḫu-ur ur-du-ni-i-im
are among the assembly of those who go down (trial).

^{ᵘᵈ} *ištar i-ga-tu gi-ni-i-ša*
Ištar, come to an end hath her offering.

u-li i-pa-ša-ḫa-am a-na-a-ma ^{ᵈᵘ} *li-el-li*
"My woes are appeased, I repulse the divine Lellu."

i-ḫu-uz-ma-ḳar-ra-di-i-ša
He seized her strong ones.

^{ᵘᵈ} *dīklat i-na ḳu-ut-la-ti ṣi-pa-ri iz-ḳi-e-ir*
The river Tigris with the slain of Sippar was raised;

i-na ḳu-ut-la-ti ṣi-pa-ar-ri
with the slain of Sippar

ši-ga-ri pi-ri-im ^{ᵘᵈ} *dīklat iz-ḳi-ir*
a bar of ivory the Tigris ran high.

i-lu i-ri-bu-ma a-li-šu-nu
The god, he forsook their city,

13 *šu-ub-ti-šu-nu ma-ši-iš uš-bu*
in their dwellings forgotten they sat.

3. *an-nu-um*, apparently accusative. *šu-mi-ri:* perhaps the idea is that the Sumerians are already feeling the overpowering effect of Semitic intrusion in the Euphrates valley. Sumer of course means Babylonia.

4. *šu-ba-ru-u-um*, same root as *ib-ru*, plate 1, line 2. *ir-ši-id*. I. 1. pret. *ḳa*(KA)-*ša*(ZA)-*ri*(ZI)-*im-ma*, probably pl.

6. *iš-um-ma* = *išeu-ma* from *še'u*. *da-mu-u-šu:* the first sign seems to be *id* not *da*, no doubt a scribal error. ^{ilat} *ištar u šu-u:* reference to Ištar and Tammuz in the lower world.

7. *ur-du-ni-i-im*. I. 1. pret. m. pl. from *arâdu*.

8. *i-ga-tu*. I. 1. pres. from *ḳatû*. *gi-ni-i-ša*, Ištar's offering for Tammuz.

9. *u-li* from *alû* "lament." *i-pa-ša-ḫa-am* seems to be f. pl. *a-na-a-ma* (אֲנִי), I. 1. pres. 1st per. s.

^{u} *li-el-li*, no doubt the same as the Sumerian *lil-la* (to which לִילִית must be related), mentioned in several lists of demons as *lilu*, who are opposed to the gods and to whose devices the ills of human life are attributed; see Incantation K 3586 (IV R. 16. 15—22) where *lilu* is listed with the evil *utukku* and fourteen other demons. In hymns, however, we find *lillu* (rather than *lilu*); see K 4980 (IV R. 27. 57), Hymn to Bêl: ^{ilu} *lil-lum* (Sum. $^{me-a}$ *lil*), where the phrase ^{ilu} *lil-lum* is attributively given to Bêl who was chief demon when the name *en-lil* lord of demons was first applied to him.

10. *i-ḫu-uz-ma*. I. 1. pret. 3d. per. m. s.; the subject is Lelu.

11. ^{nâr} *diklat: id* or *i* (A.TUR) = *nâru*. *idigna* (BAR.TIG. KAR) = *diklat*; the derivation of the Semitic *diklat* from the Sumerian *idigna* is apparent, but some steps of contraction might elude us in tracing the derivation of *idigna* from the signs A.TUR.BAR.TIG.KAR (water-course-cutting-banks-powerfully). *ḳu-uṭ-la-ti*, a rare word but having a meaning similar to *kaṣaṣu*. *si-pa-ri*, also *ṣi-pa-ar-ri* in the next line: the more common spelling is Sippar, modern Abu Habba, situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates, north of Babylon, seat of the cult of Šamaš. *iz-ki-e-ir:* I. 1. is unusual from this root.

15. *uš-bu* (ašâbu), contracted form of I. 1. pret.

III.

Plate 3, Tablet 93828, Obverse, Col. i.

Plate 3 gives us a prayer to a goddess for some king that he may have victory in conquest; the prayer is continued in plate 4, plates 3 and 4 forming successive columns in the obverse of the same tablet. In lines 1 to 7, the petitioner, whoever he may be, extols the virtues of the goddess and states his petition. Perhaps the petitioner is the king himself. Lines 8 to 14 seem to interrupt the prayer by giving us a picture of a council of war among the gods with whom the goddess is in communication, while the battle is already going on.

— — *ši-e-me ik-ri-bi lu na-i-id*
O hear my truly solemn prayer!

al-ti ši-e-me ik-ri-bi lu na-i-id
O my lady, hear my truly solemn prayer!

šar ku-um-mi a-na ^{di} *ramani*
O king of my habitation, on behalf of the divine Ramanu!

ni-ši im-me-ir ni-ta šu-pi aš-ša-at
My prayer is pure; in attack, O my glorious one, thou art supreme.

i-ni-i-ma ma-ta-am la uš-ni-e-eš
He repulseth the land, it resisteth him not.

ti-bi-e mi-gi-i gi-bi-šu li-iš-me
In attacks and conquests, to his word may he hearken!

a-ma-ta ak-li-ni i-ra-az-zu
The word our mighty ones obey.

^{dn} *bêl pa-šu i-pu-šu-am-ma i-pu-'-ru*
Bêl opened his mouth and took account;

ka-la i-li iz-za-ag-ga-ar
all the gods he mentions.

iš-ti-a-nim ša-du-u i-li ma-ḫu-ur
The mountain is sought, the gods are present.

ša-aš-ma-am il-gi-e-ma e su-lum-ma
The battle he begun, no quarter (is allowed).

bi-li-it i-li li-ib-bu-ku-nim
O lady of the gods, let them turn back,

li-ši-ri-bu-ni iš-ši a-na mah-ri-ia
let them enter with me in my presence!

bi-li-it i-li ib-bu-ku-ni-ma
For the lady of the gods they turn back

15 ^{dv} *bêl ši-a-ši-im iz-za-ag-ga-ar-ši*
Bêl, unto her he calls.

— — — — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — —

1. *ik-ri-bi*, from *karâbu* with preformative *mi* or *ni* shortened to *i*. *lu* = adv. *na-i-id* = adj. from *na'idu*.

3. *šar*, probably the consort of the goddess. *ku-um-mi* (כּוּם): the construct would be *kum*. ^{ni} *ramani*: the aid of the storm-god might be essential, as kings often invoked the wrath of the storm-god on their enemies.

4. *ni-ši*, from *našû* "lift up." *im-me-ir*, from *namâru*, I. 1. pregnant pret. *ni-ta*, f. noun, from same root as *a-na-a-ma*, plate 2, line 9. *aš-ta-at*, from *ašţu* "high," perm. form.

5. *uš-ni-e-eš*, III. 1. with suf.

6. *ti-bi-e*, pl. *mi-şi-i*, from *maşû* "find, take possession of by force."

7. *ak-li-ni* "our mighty," probably from same root as *akîu* "food." *i-ru-uz-zu*, from *razû*.

8. *i-pu-'-ri* (פּעד), word of rare occurrence.

10. *iš-ti-a-nim*, I. 3. *ma-hu-ur*: must be perm. for *mahir*.

11. *il-gi-e-ma*, from *laķû*, I. 1. pret. *e* = "not," like לא. *li-ib-bu-ku-nim*, I. 1. pret. 3d per. pl. with prec. *li*.

12. *bi-li-it ili* suggests that the goddess addressed in this tablet is most likely Mama the object of praise in tablet 87535. We can see how Gula, being the lady of the gods and the goddess who giveth life as well as being the consort of Ninib who was considered a god of battle, could be properly invoked by a king for military achievement.

IV.

Plate 4, Tablet 93828, Obverse, Col. ii.

Continuing the prayer of the preceding plate, in lines 1 to 6 of this plate, the petitioner appeals for divine aid on behalf

of the stricken in battle. Lines 7 to 13 touch upon the enhancement of the honor of divinity. Lines 14 to 19 renew the direct petition for the king's victory.

im-ḫu-ur-šu-ma a-bu i-li — — — — —
He received him — — — —

zi-ik-ri ta-ni-it-tim iz-za-ga-ar-šu
My name of majesty he names to him,

ašarid-a il-li-i-ka šu-ur-ša ma-a-i
O my leader! Turn thee to the woe-stricken ones, O my mighty one!

ša na-ap-ša-at ka-la ni-ši it-ti-i-ka
Thou from whom cometh the life of all people!

im-ma-ti-ia ša-ḫu-ur-ra ta-am-tu at-bu-uk
My petition in the enclosure of the sea I pour out.

ku-ul-la-at ta-at-mi ga-ab-la-ka im-ru-ur-ma
All that thou sayest is bitter in the midst of thee.

uš-ta-at-li-im ku-um bi-li pa-ra-ak-ki
It hath been given in the room of the lord of the shrine.

e-bi-a-tim a-na bi-ti-i-ka eš-ši-id
Adornments for thy house are gathered.

im-ma-ti-ia li-ku-un šu-pa-at-ka
It is my petition, may thy dwelling endure!

ki u-mi ta-la-ka-am im mu-ut-ti
When thou goest to the front,

pa-aš-šu-ru lu-u li-ri-iš u-um-šu
the festal table, may it be spread on that day!

šar-ru um-šu ud-ab-bi-i-šu li-ib-la-'-ka
The king on that day will beautify it, may he honor thee!

at-ta ši-me-e mi ik-ri-bi-i-šu
Do thou hearken to his prayer!

ka-ak-kal-la-a-am šu-uz-ni-na-am ma-ti-šu
With long life do thou adorn his land!

ša-at-ti-i-ša-am-ma ši-im-ta-šu ka-tu-ur
Annually do thou increase his fortune!

ma-ta-tim šu-uk-ni-ša-am ši e-pi-iš-šu
The lands do thou subjugate! it is his work.

i-nu-ša ina ni-iš i-ši-ab-ba-šam-ma
when in prayer he desireth it!

iš-ti-i-šu a-li-ik tu-pu-un ma-hi-ir-šu
From him do thou go, conquer his opponent!

ši e-pu-uš-šu šu-uk-ni-ša-am ma-ta-am
That is his work: do thou subjugate the land!

— — — — — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — —

2. *ta-ni-it-tim*, same root as *na-i-id*, plate 3, line 1.

3. *ih-hi-i-ka* (אחה), I. 1. impv. with suf. *-ka*. *ma-a-i*, adj. from *ma'u*.

5. *im-ma-ti-ia*, same as *amâtu*, with suf. *ia*.

6. *ta-at-mi*, I. 1. pret. from *tamû*. *im-ru-ur-ma*, also pret. of I. 1.

8. *e-bi-a-tim* (והב), "produce, gifts." *eš-ši-id*, probably for *e-ši-id*.

9. *ki u-mi* — "according to the day, when." *mu-ut-ti* "front;" probably *im-mu-ut-ti*.

11. *li-ri-iš*, from root represented by ערש.

16. *ši*, personal pronoun.

17. *i-nu-ša*, noun with suf. *ša*.

V.

Plate 5, Tablet 87521, Obverse, Col. ii.

This plate seems obscure except in the light of plate 6 which gives the sequel. In plate 5, Bêl is incensed at a goddess; that goddess is evidently Ištar who seems to be guilty of an offense which cannot be condoned in the family of the gods. According to plate 6, Ištar becomes of child by her brother Šamaš. The family relationships are as follows. Sin is the offspring of Bêl; Ningal is the consort of Sin; Ištar is the offspring of Sin; Šamaš is the offspring of Sin.

Lines 1 to 3, the anger of Bêl. Lines 4 to 8, the exalted position of Sin. Lines 9 to 11, interview of Sin with Ningal.

i-na e-ir-ši id-di i-ni-lu
On the couch he threw it, it lay.

^{dn} bêl i-zi-ib ri-hi-iṣ-ṣu ik-ka-ar-ši
Bêl hath abandoned her; his trust is estranged to her.

iš-bu-ba-am-ma wa-ta-ar-bi šal-ta-am
He has become enflamed; he has begun the battle.

^{dn} sin i-na ba-ku-ur ^{dn} bêl ša-ni-ni la i-šu
O Sin, as the first born of Bêl, no equal thou hast.

a-wa-u-da-at i-ra-am ^{dn} sin
Thou hast firmly fixed it; Sin has had compassion;

i-na ma-na ri-ši-ib-šu ki-na-at
by means of tribute thou hast fixed his power.

pa-ši ka-az-zu zi-u-zu la-a i-na mu-ti-iš-šu
My reign his hand apportions; not with his property,

e-li ba-e-ru-ti-im uš-ta-ab-ni-i-ma
among the hunters it is formed.

a-na ^{dat} nin-gal iš-ta-ka-an u-zu-un-šu
Unto the goddess Nergal he (Sin) giveth ear.

^{dn} sin ik-ru-uš a-na kar-ri-iš ik-ra-ab
Sin has brought her; at his summons she approacheth.

— — ši-i-ma u-uš i-ša-al a-ba-šu
She maketh no petition to her father.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — — — —

1. *i-ni-lu*, from *na'alu*.

3. *iš-bu-ba-am-ma*, from *šababu*. *wa-ta-ar-bi*, from *erêbu*. *šal-ta-am*, from *šalâ* "shoot."

5. *a-wa-u-da-at*, root *emêdu*- *i-ra-am* from *râmu*.

6. *ri-ši-ib-šu* from *rašâbu*.

7. *pa-ši*, root *pâšu*. *ka-az-zu* "his hand" or "thy hand." *zi-u-zu*, root *zâzu*. *mu-ti-iš-šu*, root *išu*.

8. *ba-e-ru-ti-im*, from *bêru*.

9. *^{dat} nin-gal*: Ningal, "great lady," appears particularly in the time of Rim-Sin. The title "mistress of Ur" may be found several times.

VI.

Plate 6, Tablet 87521, Reverse, Col. vii.

Lines 1 to 6, confession of Ištar. Lines 7 to 12, reprimand of Bêl.

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — —

— — *a-at-ma a-ḫa aš-tu na-aṣ* — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

iš-ta-ri-i-tim it-ta-na-al
The goddess Ištar hath gone to rest;

la ag-gi ir-bu-um ê-kur
let not the turbulent enter the temple.

a-na-ku a-ḫi te-ri-a-ku a-ḫi
I, O my brother, am of child by my brother,

ša a-na a-ḫi-ia wa-al-du
I who to my brother have borne a child.

*d*EN *bêl pa-a-šu i-pu-ša-am-ma*
Bêl, his mouth he opened:

*iz-za-ag-ga-ar a-na la-pa-tim d*IŠTAR *ištar*
He mentions the fall of Ištar.

a-a-ia-am a-ḫa-ki ta-ri-a-at
Woe is me! by thy brother thou art with child,

a-ḫa-ki ša a-na a-ḫi i-na a-ḫi-i-ki wa-al-du
by thy brother thou who by thy brother hast borne a child.

*d*EN *i-ša-am d*NIN-LÍL *nin-lil*
O divine Išum! Bêlit

*a-na d*UTU *šamaš u-li-id-ma*
unto the god Šamaš hath borne a child.

3. *it-ta-na-al*, see *i-ni-lu*, plate 5, line 1.
4. *ag-gi*, from *agâgu*. *ir-bu-um*, I. 1. impv. *erêbu*.
5. *te-ri-a-ku*, a perm. form from *erû;* in line 9 a noun from the same root.
6. *la-pa-tim*, root *lapâtu*. *d*IŠTAR *ištar*, confirmation that *iš-ta-ri-i-tim* in line 3 is correctly rendered *ištar*.

I. $^{d_{IM}}$ *i-ša-am:* Išum was no doubt a local deity. The word Išum appears in proper names as early as the time of Hammurabi. In some inscriptions he appears as a sun-god brought into subjection to Šamaš. He also appears sometimes as a servant or guardian (*rabiṣu*), a position which he seems to occupy in this tablet.

$^{d_{NIN-LIL}}$ *nin-lil*, title applied to Ištar in about the same way that the name Bêl is applied to Marduk.

The Vedic Dual[1]*: Part VI, The Elliptic Dual; Part VII, The Dual Dvandva.*— By Dr. SAMUEL GRANT OLIPHANT, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

THE purpose of this paper is to present various phenomena that are associated with the elliptic dual and the dual dvandva, to present for reference what is believed to be complete lists of these two species of the dual as found in the Rig and Atharva Vedas, and to propose solutions of the mooted problems of their genesis and relationship.

I.

The elliptic dual, or, as I should prefer to call it were not the term so firmly established in its literature, the sylleptic dual, is the dual of one substantive connoting both its own singular and another singular suggested by it. In its obvious kinship with such rhetorical tropes as metonymy, synecdoche, antonomasia, &c., and with such syntactical schemata as zeugma, ellipsis, syllepsis, &c., as well as in its possible relationship to the so-called σχῆμα Ἀλεξανδρικόν of Greek poetry (*Vid.* Fraser, *Classical Quarterly*, IV, 25 ff.), this dual is essentially artistic and poetic. This appears also from the fact that even the Vedic *pitárā* and *mātárā*, though occurring eighty-five times in the Rig Veda alone, are used figuratively at least seventy-two times. In nine of the remaining instances the words may be duals in comparison with a dual antecedent and not elliptic duals at all and in at least three of these instances this would seem unmistakably the preferable interpretation.

The ratio of one hundred and twenty-nine instances (including the doubtful cases) of this dual in the Rig Veda to only sixteen independent examples in the Atharva Veda, would show that it is also essentially hieratic as well as poetic.

[1] See this Journal, XXX, 155 ff.

These conclusions find additional corroboration in the infrequency of this dual even in the ancillary Vedic literature, in which except a mere[1] handful of analogical growth, only a[2] few stereotyped forms remain, reminiscential of the older lieratic and more artistic period, and also in its[3] non-occurrence in the later poetic recrudescence.

In their use of the elliptic dual the rishis show in various ways that they are quite conscious of the syllepsis. In ninety-nine of the hundred and forty-five instances in the two Vedas they seem to have taken especial pains that others should not misunderstand them by taking the words too literally. Their methods show considerable variety and artistic skill and seem important enough to warrant a rather full presentation. They may be subsumed under eight classes, described as follows:

I. The dual of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis follows closely in the context the dual of the expressed member.

Thus *mātárā* in[4] III, 7, 1[b], referring to *dyávāpṛthivī* as the parents of Agni is followed in the very next *pāda* by *pitárā* with the same meaning and reference. In this instance there is the additional reinforcement of *pitṛbhyām* in 6[a]. Similar are,

III, 5, 7[d], mātárā, and 8[d], pitrór,

I, 140, 3[b], mātárā, and 7[d], pitróḥ,

I, 159, 2[c], pitárā, and 3[c], mātárā,

IX, 75, 2[c], pitróḥ, and 4[b], mātárā.

Thus this phenomenon is associated with eleven of the duals.

II. There is in the neighboring context either specific mention or suggestion, or both, of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis.

(*a*) Mention. In VIII, 27, 2[b]—*uṣásā náktam óṣadhīḥ*, the *náktam* implicit in *uṣásā* is expressed immediately after it.

I, 155, 3[b], mātárā = dyávāpṛthivī, 3[c] pitúr = dyáuṣ,

I, 140, 3[b], mātárā, 3[d] pitúḥ,

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[1] The following have been noted in Pāṇini, Hemachandra and the *Amarakoça*: śunāsīrau, kukkuṭau, dṛṣadau, putrau, brāhmaṇau, bhrātarau and çvaçurau. There are probably a few others of sporadic occurrence.

[2] See, *e. g.* under adhvaryú, uṣásā and pitárā in the appended list.

[3] Ahani alone of the Vedic elliptic duals is cited by PWB. for the *Mahābhārata*.

[4] All references are to the RV. unless the AV. be particularly specified.

I, 140, 7^a, pitrór, 9^a, mātṛ́,

IV, 5, 10^a, pitrór, 10^c, mātṛ́ṣ,

VIII, 25, 2^a, mitrā́ (initial in *pāda*), 2^b váruṇo (also initial in *pāda*).

(*b*) Suggestion.

I, 31, 2^d, the epithet *dvimātā́* referring to the *aráṇī* as parents of Agni, suggests the member implicit in the *pitrór* of 4^c.

V, 3, 2^a and X, 68, 2^b,—the mention of *Aryamā* suggests marriage and the unexpressed member of *dámpatī* in 2^d and 2^c respectively.

VIII, 52, 1^b,—*kṣoṇí* is followed in the same *pāda* by *súryam*, suggestive, if not metonymic, of the connoted *dyā́us*.

I, 146, 1^b,—*pitrór* finds its connoted feminine amply suggested by *ene* in 2^a and *dhenā́* in 3^b.

(*c*) Both mention and suggestion.

III, 1, 7^d,—*mātárā* (= *dyā́vāpṛthivī́*) has its connoted masculine mentioned in *pitúṣ* in 9^a and 10^a and suggested by the *diváḥ* of 2^c, 6^b and 9^c and both its members are explained by 3^b—

diváḥ subándhur janúṣī pṛthivyáḥ.

In addition to these twelve, three others are listed under class VIII.

III. The unexpressed member is sometimes represented by a heterogeneous adjective as an attributive of the expressed member. So *pūrvajé* with *pitárā* in VII, 53, 2^a and *pūrvajā́varī*, also with *pitárā*, in X, 65, 8^c. Conversely we have the masculines *ubhā́*, *kṛṣṇaprā́tāu* and *sakṣítāu* with *mātárā* in I, 140, 3^b.

As *dyā́vā* is the masculine element in *dyā́vāpṛthivī́*, so it would seem preferable to take it when it is the elliptic dual as still masculine and explain *máhine* in III, 6, 4^b, and *ubhé* in IX, 70, 2^b as heterogeneous adjectives representing the unexpressed member.

In X, 76, 1^c *sacābhúvā* and *udbhídā*, heterogeneous attributives to *áhanī*, seem due to the thought of the dual *náktā*. In I, 113, 2^{cd}, the adjectives *amṛ́te*, *anūcí* and *áminānē* may be taken as neuters in a *constructio ad sensum* with *dyā́vā* as equivalent to *aharātré*.

IV. The implied member of the syllepsis is sometimes sug-

gested by a differentiating adjective, sometimes with a distinctly oxymoronic effect.

In I, 123, 7[b] and VI, 58, 1[b], *viṣurūpe* applied to *áhanī* differentiates between day and night. So *vírūpe* as applied to *uṣásā* in III, 4, 6[a] and V, 1, 4[a] distinguishes between the connoting and connoted members. The phrase *várṇam ... āmināné*, attribute of *dyávā* in I, 113, 2[d], has a similar function.

In the Atharva Veda we find *nánārūpe* applied to *áhanī* in XIII, 2, 3[b], *sámyatoḥ* to *áhnos* in XVI, 8, 22[a] and *sám carataḥ* predicated of *uṣásā* in VIII, 9, 12[c], all serving to mark a distinction between the expressed and unexpressed members of the syllepses.

V. The most frequent method is the use of distributive appositives or attributives.

(*a*) Distributive appositives.

I, 160, 3[a], pitróḥ, 2[b], pitá mātá ca.
X, 32, 3[b], pitrór, 3[c], jāyā́ pátim vahati.
(?) I, 36, 17[c], mitrā́, 17[c], médhyatithim + 17[d] upastutā́m.
X, 10, 5[a], dámpatī — yamó yamī́ ca.
X, 85, 32[b], dámpatī — sómaḥ sū́ryā ca.
X, 95, 12[c], dámpatī — purūráva urváśī ca.
III, 33, 1[c], mātárā, 1[d], vípāṭ chutudrī́.
III, 33, 3[c], mātárā, 3[a], sindhúm mātṛ́tamām + 3[b], vipāçam.
IV, 55, 3[c], áhanī, 3[d], uṣásānáktā.
III, 31, 17[a], kṛṣṇé, 16[d], dyúbhir ... aktúbhir.
I, 142, 7[c], mātárā, 7[b], náktoṣásā.
IV, 22, 4[c], mātárā, 3[d], dyā́m .... bhū́ma.
4[b], dyā́úr .... kṣā́ḥ.
V, 5, 6[b], mātárā, 6[c], doṣā́m uṣā́sam.
VII, 2, 5[c], mātárā, 6[b], uṣā́sānáktā.
VII, 7, 3[c], mātárā, 5[c], dyā́úç ca yā́m pṛthivī́.
X, 1, 7[b], mātárā, 7[a], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
X, 35, 3[b], mātárā, 3[a], dyā́vā no adyá pṛthivī́.
X, 64, 14[a], mātárā, 14[c], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
I, 31, 9[a], pitrór, 8[d], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
I, 110, 8[a], pitárā, 6[c], pitúr + 8[c], mātárām.
I, 121, 5[a], pitárāu, 11[a], dyā́vākṣā́mā.
III, 3, 11[c], pitárā, 11[d], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
X, 65, 8[a], pitárā, 8[c], dyā́vāpṛthivī́.
V, 65, 6[a], mitrā́, 1[c], váruṇo, 1[d], mitró.
4[a], mitró, 4[c], mitrā́sya.

5ᵃ, mitrásya, 5ᵈ, váruṇa.

The AV. instances belonging here are:

XIV, 2, 9ᵇ, dámpati, 9ᵉ, vadhvāí.
7ᶜ, vadhú, 7ᵈ, pátye.
1ᵉ, pátibhyo, jáyām.
2ᵃ, pátnim, 2ᵉ, pátir.
XIV, 2, 64ᵇ, dámpati, 63ᵃ, nárī, 63ᵉ, pátir.
VI, 120, 3ᵈ, pitárāu, 1ᵇ, mātáram pitáram va.
2ᵃ, mātá, 2ᶜ, pitá.
XX, 34, 16ᵃ, pitárāu, 14ᵃ, dyáva cid asmāi pṛthivī.

(*b*) Distributive attributives.

VI, 58, 1ᵇ, áhanī, 1ᵃ, çukrám ... anyád.
1ᵃ, yajatám ... anyád.
X, 120, 7ᶜ, mātárā (= dyávāpṛthivī).
7ᵃ, ávaram, páram.
I, 146, 1ᵇ, pitŕor (= dyávāpṛthivī).
1ᶜ, cárato (dyáus), dhruvásya (pṛthivī).

(*c*) The distributive appositives are sometimes suggested rather than expressed.

VIII, 7, 22ᵇ, kṣoní, equivalent to dyávāpṛthivī,
22ᵇ, apáḥ (pṛthivī), súryam (dyáus).
VII, 65, 2ᵈ, dyávā, 1ᵃ, súra (dyáus), 2ᵇ, kṣítiḥ (pṛthivī).
VIII, 31, 5ᵃ, dámpati, 6, 7, 8, 9, *passim*, suggest the married pair.
X, 162, 4ᵇ, dámpati, all the poem suggests the pair, esp. the wife.
AV. V, 1, 4ᶜ, mātárā, 2ᶜ, dhāsyur yónim.

(*d*) Two of the foregoing may be united.

a + *b*. I, 113, 2ᵈ, dyávā = daily and nightly heavens.
2ᵃ, rúçatī çvetyá, 2ᵇ, kṛṣṇá.
1ᵈ, rā́tri, 3ᵈ, náktoṣā́sā.
I, 122, 4ᵈ, mātárā = ahorātré.
2ᵇ, uṣā́sānáktā.
2ᶜ, starír (barren night).
2ᵉ, sudŕ̥si (fair morn).

a + *c*. X, 37, 2ᵇ, dyávā, 2ᵈ, ápo, súryaḥ.
6ᵃ, dyávāpṛthivī.
I, 161, 10ᵈ and 12ᵇ, pitárā = dyávāpṛthivī.
11ᵃ, udvátsv asmā akṛṇotanā tŕ̥ṇam.
11ᵇ, nivátsv apáḥ (akṛṇotanā).
11ᶜ, ágohyasya gṛhé, 13ᵇ, ágohya.

12[a], bhúvanā.
14[b], divā ... bhúmyā.
AV. XIV, 2, 37[a], pitárāu, 37[b], mātā́ pitā́ ca.
37[c], márya iva yóṣām.
37[d], prajā́ḥ kṛṇvāthām.

XII, 3, 7[d]
3, 14[d]
3, 27[c]
3, 35[a]
} dámpati, 1[a], púmāṃs, 1[b], priyā́, context of hymn *passim*.

VI. The appositive is sometimes a collective dual.
III, 2, 2[b], mātŕór, 2[a], ródasī.
III, 26, 9[a], pitŕór, 9[c], ródasī.
VII, 6, 6[d], pitŕór, 6[c], ródasyor.
IX, 68, 4[a], mātárā, 3[c], mahí apāré rájasī.
IX, 70, 6[a], mātárā, 2[b], ubhé dyā́vā.
5[b], ródasī.
IX, 75, 4[b], mātárā, 4[b], ródasī.
IX, 85, 12[d], mātárā, 12[d], ródasī.
X, 11, 6[a], pitárā, 9[c], ródasī deváputre.
X, 140, 2[c], mātárā, 2[d], ródasī.

VII. The appositive sometimes refers only to the expressed member, by name or suggestion.
(*a*) By name.
I, 28, 8[c], vanaspatī, 6[a], vanaspate.
7[a], áyajī vājasātamā.
1[c], 2[c], 3[c], 4[c], 5[b], ulū́khala.
X, 79, 4[b], mātárā, 3[b], mātáḥ.
X, 8, 3[b],
X, 8, 7[c],
} pitŕór, 7[b], pitúr párasya.
(*b*) By suggestion.
X, 39, 12[a], áhanī, 12[c], duhitā́ divā́ḥ (uṣás).
12[d], vivásvataḥ (morning sun).
II, 16, 3[a], kṣoṇíbhyām, 3[b], samudrā́iḥ párvatāir.
X, 115, 1[b], mātárāv, 1[c], anūdhā́.
I, 124, 5[d], pitŕór, 3[a], divó duhitā́.
X, 31, 10[c], pitŕór, 10[d], çamyā́m.

VIII. Two or more of the foregoing may unite into a complex.
I + II a.
I, 159, 2[c], pitárā = 3[d], mātárā.
2[a], pitúr, 2[b], mātúr.
1[a], dyā́vā yajñā́iḥ pṛthivī́.

I + IIa + III.

I, 140, 3[b], mātárā = 7[d], pitróḥ.
3[d], pitúḥ, 9[a], mātúḥ.
3[a], kṛṣnaprútāu, sakṣítāu.
3[b], ubhá.

I + IIb + VI.

IX, 75, 4[b], mātárā = 2[a], pitrór,
2[d], diváḥ.
4[b], ródasī.

IIb + IV + VII.

I, 185, 1[d], áhanī, 1[a], púrvā, áparā.
4[c], ubhāyebhir áhnām.
5[a], saṅgáchamāne yuvatí.
5[b], svásārā jāmí, κατὰ σύνεσιν with áhanī as daughters of dyávāprthivī.

III + IVa + Va + b.

I, 123, 7[b], áhanī, 7[c], anyá (attracted by uṣáḥ).
7[b], viṣurūpe.
7[a], ápānyād éty abhy ànyád eti.
7[c], támo, 7[d], uṣáḥ.

III + Va + c.

VII, 53, 2[a], pitárā, 2[a], pūrvajé.
1[a], dyávā yajñáiḥ prthivī.
2[c], dyávāprthivī.
1[d], mahī deváputre.

IV + Vc + VII.

V, 1, 4[c], uṣásā, 4[c], virūpe.
2[b], prātár, 2[d], támaso.
4[c] & 5[a], ágre áhnām.
1[b], uṣásam.

Va + VI.

VI, 17, 7[d], mātárā, 7[a], kṣám, 7[b], dyám.
7[c], ródasī.

III, 6, 4[b], dyávā, 2[b], diváç cid agne mahiná prthivyá.
2[a], ródasī.

IV, 56, 5[a], dyávā, 1[a] and 3[b], dyávāprthivī.
4[a], ródasī.

I, 185, 2[c], 5[b], pitrór, 2[d]—8[d], dyávā rákṣatam prthivī.
11[a], dyávāprthivī.

10[d], pitá mātá ca rakṣatam.
11[b], pitar mātar.
3[a], ródasī.
4[b], ródasī deváputre.

X, 12, 4[d], pitárā, 4[b], dyávābhūmī.
4[b], ródasī.

X, 59, 8[b], mātárā, 7[a], pṛthivī, 7[b], dyāúr.
8[d], dyāúḥ pṛthivī.
8[a], ródasī.

Vc + VI.

IX, 70, 2[b], dyávā, 3, double ref. to gods and men.
1[b], purvyé vyómana.
4[b], madhyamāsu mātṛ́ṣu.
5[b], ródasī.

The AV. has the following:

IV + Va.

XIII, 2, 3[b], áhanī, 3[b], nánārūpe.
8[d], cukró, 8[d], támo.
5[d], ahorātré.

XVI, 8, 22[a], áhnos, 22[c], sámyatoḥ.
21[c], ahorātráyoḥ.

IV + VII.

VIII, 9, 12[a], uṣásā, sám caratah.
12[c], súryapatnī.

Of the elliptic duals not listed in the foregoing classes, the unexpressed members of thirty in the RV. and of three in the AV. are clearly suggested by the general context, as in those instances in which *mātárā* or *pitárā* is a term for the *araṇī* as parents of Agni, or for *dyávāpṛthivī* as the parents of the Ribhus, &c. Of the remaining thirteen, ten are used in similes with the Açvinā as the second member and one each in comparisons with *kṣoní*, *ródasī* and *indrāvárunā*.

The irreversibility of the elliptic dual has been remarked by others. Only one member of each pair can, in general, be used. *Pitárā* and *mātárā* are the striking exception and are used in the RV. in the ratio of forty-nine to thirty-six, in the AV. of three to two. Another exception does not appear to have been noted. The compound is *dyávākṣámā*, but *kṣámā* is an elliptic dual. Here *dyávā* would suggest only the far

more frequent *pṛthivī*. The same is true of *kṣoṇī*, though the compound is not Vedic.

§ 2.

Elliptic Duals.

The following alphabetic list of these duals is believed to be complete for both the Rig and the Atharva Veda.

RV.

adhvaryú (2) = adhvaryú + (pratiprasthātṛ).

I, 16, 5[c], and to be supplied with *dvá* in VIII, 72, 7[b].

Cited also for ÇB. 4, 3, 4, 22 and Kātj. ÇS. 5, 5, 24, 26.

áhanī (7) = áhan + (rátri).

I, 123, 7[b]; 185, 1[d]; IV, 55, 3[c]; V, 82, 8[a]; VI, 58, 1[b]; X, 39, 12[d]; 76, 1[c].

Cited also for MBh. I, 301.

udumbalāú (1), see under *çabálāu* infra.

X, 14, 12[b].

uṣásā (5) = uṣás + (nákta).

I, 188, 6[c]; III, 4, 6[a]; 14, 3[a]; V, 1, 4[c]; VIII, 27, 2[b] (cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. Ved.* 1, 248, n).

Cited also for VS. 21, 50; 29, 6.

kṛṣṇé (2) = kṛṣṇá + (çvetá, cf. VII, 90, 3[d]).

III, 31, 17[b], kṛṣṇé vásudhitī = ahorātré (Sāy.).

IV, 48, 3[a], kṛṣṇé vásudhitī = dyávāpṛthivī (Say.).

(VS. 28, 15, explains *vásudhitī* as *dyávāpṛthivī*. As *kṛṣṇá* is not applicable to *áhar* or *dyáús*, we follow Bergaigne in *Rel. Ved.* 1, 250, in taking it as an elliptic dual,—"la noire et la brillante").

kṣámā (2) = (dyáús) + kṣám.

II, 39, 7[a]; X, 106, 10[d].

(Both instances are in Açvin similes. In both the *Padapāṭha* reads *kṣáma-iva* and GWB. takes it as the sing. of *kṣāman*. Sāyaṇa writes *kṣámā* each time, but paraphrases the former by *rôdasī*, the latter by *kṣíṇā gāuh*. LRV and GRV interpret the word differently in the two passages. *kṣámā* in X, 12, 1[a], is unmistakably a dual from *kṣám*

Dyávā ha kṣámā prathamé ṛténa.

In a comparison with the Açvinā the law of numerical concord holds with great strictness and almost of itself compels

us to take both instances as duals, elliptic duals equivalent to *rôdasī* or *dyāvāpṛthivī*. This gives also a much better interpretation in each instance and has the added virtue of consistency. The *sám ajatam rájāṅsi* of the former passage and the *ūrjá sacethe* of the latter both become especially apposite. The second passage would mean—"As Earth and Heaven ye help strengthen with food from the grassy mead" or perhaps, better, "help with strength the creature that grazes the grassy mead", comparing *sāyavasād* in I, 164, 40 and Sāyaṇa's derivation of the word in our passage from the radical **ad**. In either case it becomes another allusion to the Açvinā as the great succorers).

kṣoṇī (4) = (dyāûs) + kṣoṇi.
II, 16, 3[b]; VIII, 7, 22[b]; 52, 10[b]; 99, 6[b].
(*kṣoṇa*, "earth", is cited for R. I, 42, 23 and Bh. P. V, 18, 28; VIII, 6, 2. So *kṣoṇi* in Bh. P. IV, 21, 35 and *kṣāuṇi* in Bh. P. III, 14, 3 and 24, 42. These seem to justify the inclusion of this word among the elliptic duals, a view supported by Naigh. 3, 30. The word presents also the phenomena associated with the elliptic duals).

dāmpatī (7) = dāmpati + (dāmpatnī).
V, 3, 2[d]; VIII, 31, 5[a]; X, 10, 5[a]; 68, 2[c]; 85, 32[b]; 95, 12[c]; 162, 4[b].

dyávā (4) = dyāûs + (pṛthivī).
III, 6, 4[b]; VII, 65, 2[d]; IX, 70, 2[b]; X, 37, 2[b].

dyávā (1) in sense of náktoṣāsā, or the sky by day and the sky by night. See pp. 35 and 37.
I, 113, 2[d].

dyávī (1) = dyāûs + (pṛthivī).
IV, 56, 5[a].
(Lanman, N.I. 433[c] and Grassmann WB. agree that this anomalous ἅπαξ εἰρημένον is a neuter form).

pitárā (49) = pitā + (mātā).
I, 20, 4[a]; 110, 8[a]; 111, 1[c]; 161, 10[d], 12[b]; IV, 33, 2[a], 3[a]; 34, 9[a]; 35, 5[a]; 36, 3[c], (ṛbhūṇām).
I, 31, 4[c], 9[a]; 146, 1[b]; III, 3, 11[c]; 5, 8[d]; 18, 1[b]; 26, 9[a];
VI, 7, 5[c]; VII, 6, 6[d]; X, 8, 3[a]; 11, 6[a]; 31, 10[c], (agnés).
I, 121, 5[a], (indrasya); I, 124, 5[d], (uṣásas).
I, 160, 3[a], (súryasya); II, 17, 7[a], (aparināyās).
IX, 75, 2[a], (sómasya); X, 8, 7[c], (tritásya).
X, 32, 3[b], (kásya cid); X, 61, 1[c], (pakthasya).

I, 140, 7[d]; 159, 2[f], 185, 2[c], 5[b]; III, 7, 1[c], 6[d]; IV, 5, 10[c]; VI, 7, 4[d]; VII, 53, 2[c]; X, 12, 4[d]; 65, 8[b], (= dyávāprthivī).

IV, 41, 7[d], comparison with mitrávárunā.

III, 54, 16[c]; 58, 2[b]; VII, 67, 1[d]; X, 39, 6[b]; 85, 14[d]; 106, 4[a]; 131, 5[d], comparison with açvinā.

Cited also from VS. 19, 11, and from the Kāṭhaka recension of the YV. 23, 12.

mātárā (36) = mātá + (pitá).

I, 122, 4[d]; 140, 3[b]; III, 1, 7[d]; 2, 2[b]; 5, 7[d]; V, 11, 3[a]; VII, 3, 9[c]; 7, 3[c]; VIII, 60, 15[a]; X, 1, 7[b]; 79, 4[b]; 115, 1[b]; 140, 2[c], (agnés).

I, 142, 7[c]; V, 5, 6[b]; VI, 17, 7[d]; IX, 102, 7[b]; X, 59, 8[b], (rtásya).

IX, 75, 4[b]; 85, 12[d], (sómasya).

I, 155, 3[b]; 159, 3[b]; III, 7, 1[b]; IV, 22, 4[c]; VI, 32, 2[a]; IX, 9, 3[c]; 68, 4[a]; 70, 6[a]; X, 35, 3[b]; 64, 14[a]; 120, 7[c], (= dyávāprthivī).

IX, 18, 5[b], (= ródasī).

III, 33, 1[a], 3[c], comparison with vipāṭ chutudrī ca.

VII, 2, 5[b], comparison with uṣásānáktā.

VIII, 99, 6[b], comparison with kṣoṇī.

mitrá (5) = mitrá + (váruṇa).

I, 36, 17[c], so Ludwig, Grassmann and Bergaigne (2, 116) take it, but Sāyaṇa takes it as *mitrāṇi*, plural. It may be taken also as dual, "friends", in apposition to the proper names immediately after it.

I, 14, 3[b], if the *Padapātha* is correct in its resolution of *mitrágnim* into *mitrá-ágnim*. The metre does not favor this and the presence of *ágna . . . mitrásya* in 10 below, without any reference to *váruṇa* makes it more doubtful whether we have a dual here at all.

V, 65, 6[a]; VIII, 25, 2[a].

X, 106, 5[b], in comparison with *açvinā*. Sāyaṇa takes it as equivalent to *mitrávāruṇāu*, but GWB. and LRV. take it as "*freunde*".

vanaspatī (2), metonym = ulúkhala + (músala).

I, 28, 8[a] and to be supplied also in 7[a] with the adjectives *áyajī* and *vājasátamā*.

çabálau (1) = çabála + (çyamá).

X, 14, 10[b]; (see Bloomfield: "*Cerberus, The Dog of Hades*", p. 32).

The foregoing equation is based on AV. VIII, 1, 9[a]. The color of these hell hounds is stated in RV. X, 114, 12[b] to

be *udumbulāú*—evidently another elliptic dual. In VII, 55, 2^{ab}, the colors *árjuna* and *piçáṅga* are used in reference to one of them.

Açvinā and *ródasī*; the evidence seems too meagre to warrant the admission of these into the number of elliptic duals.

AV.

aghnyāú (1) = aghnyás + (aghnyá).
XIV, 2, 16^{a} if a metaphor for the bride and groom; if, as Kāuç. 77, 15 takes it, the two oxen that drew the bridal car, it is not an elliptic dual at all.

áhanī (2) = áhan + (rátri).
XIII, 2, 3^{b}; XVI, 8, 22^{a}.

uṣásā (1) = usás + (nákta).
VIII, 9, 12^{a}.

dámpatī (7) = dámpati + (dámpatnī).
VI, 122, 3^{d}; XII, 3, 7^{d}, 14^{d}, 27^{c}, 35^{c};
XIV, 2, 9^{b}, 64^{b}.

pitárāu (3) = pitá + (mātá).
VI, 120, 3^{d}; XIV, 2, 37^{a}, literal.
XX, 34, 16^{c}, figurative = dyávāprthivī (indrasya).

mātárā (1) = mātá + (pitá).
V, 1, 4^{c}, figurative? = dyávāprthivī? (súryasya)?

sammātárāu (1).
XIII, 2, 13^{b}, if literal, dual is due to comparison with ántāu preceding; if figurative, perhaps alludes to the *aráṇī* as parents of Agni.

The following are common to both Vedas:
dámpatī, RV. X, 85, 32^{b} = AV. XIV, 2, 11^{b}.
RV. X, 10, 5^{a} = AV. XVIII, 1, 5^{a}.
pitárā, RV. X, 11, 6^{a} = AV. XVIII, 1, 23^{a}.
RV. X, 12, 4^{d} = AV. XVIII, 1, 31^{d}.
çabálāu, RV. X, 14, 10^{b} = AV. XVIII, 2, 11^{b}.

II.

The Dual Dvandva.

In our presentation of this dual we shall start with that form which, from one view taken of its historical relationship to other forms, may be called the tmetic dvandva, or, from an-

other view, the inchoative dvandva. In this there is an "alien intrusion" of one or more words between the parts of the compound. We may select as one extreme RV. VI, 42, 5[a]—

á náktā barhíḥ sadatām uṣásā

in which the members are, practically, at the opposite ends of a triṣṭubh pāda and separated by the maximum of five full syllables. To illustrate the other extreme we may select RV. V, 45, 4[b]—*índra ne àgní*, in which the intervening monosyllabic word coalesces in pronunciation with the second term and disappears as a separate entity.

The appended list of dual dvandvas shows that the RV. has thirty-five instances of this form, in only two of which five syllables intervene; in eighteen, three syllables; in eight, two syllables; in five, one full syllable and in two a syllable that coalesces with the second term. The AV. has but one example of this class, in which a monosyllable comes between the members of the compound.

That this class is of pro-ethnic origin is shown by the few parallels found in the Avestan and the Old Russian, in both of which languages, however, the degree of possible separation is narrowly restricted. The Avestan *haurvatāšča nō amərətātā*, in Vr. 9, 3 and *pāyūča ϑwōrəštāra*, in Y. 42, 2, show that the limits for that language are one or two monosyllabic enclitics. The three examples given by Zubaty (*Věstník České Akademie*, X, 520) show that the Old Russian allows only a monosyllabic conjunction to come between the members of the dvandva, *e. g.*

perenesena vysta Borisa i Glěba.

In the second form this foreign matter is extruded and the two duals stand juxtaposed but without any other evidence of incipient coalescence into a compound; *e. g.*, RV. VII, 66, 1[a]—*mitráyor váruṇayoḥ*, and I, 147, 1[c],—*tokḗ tánaye*. The RV. has four examples of this and the unique tmetic "freak", V, 62, 3[b]—*mitrarājānā varuṇā*. The AV. has no example of this type. That it is at least [1]Aryan, however, is shown by the fact that it is the usual and final form of the dual dvandva in Avestan. A rather short search has yielded a full score of examples,

[1] Since writing this I have somewhere seen a statement that Wackernagel has suggested this as an additional explanation, of the much mooted Homeric Ἀτρεΐδαι Μενέλαε in A, 750. I regret I have no access to Wackernagel's book.

such as *pasu vīra* (nom.), Yt. 13, 12; *pasvā vīrayā* (gen.), Yt. 13, 10; *pasubya vīraēibya* (inst.), V, 6, 32; *antarə aēθrya aēθrapaiti* (acc.), Yt. 10, 116; *tbīšī utayūiti* (acc.), Y. 45, 10; &c., &c.

In our third type the two members, each preserving its own accent and dual form, coalesce into a compound. This doubly dualized dvandva is the prevailing type in either Veda, occurring 321 times out of a total of 487 in the RV. and 126 times out of a total of 237 in the AV. It is found, however, only in the strong cases, the nom., acc. and voc.; *e. g. indrāvárunā, agnīṣóma, indrābṛhaspáti*, &c.[1] In the weak cases one of the two concords is lost, either that of number or that of case. The loss of numerical concord occurs four times, only in the RV. *divāspṛthivyós*; the loss of case concord occurs three times in the RV. and ten times in the AV.; e. g. *dyāvāpṛthivíbhyām, dyávāpṛthivyós*, &c.

In our next type the doubly dualized dvandva appears with only one accent, as that of the prior member is absent. Slight as this change is, it is very significant as it indicates a growing feeling of the compound. The RV. preserves only six examples of this type; the AV., thirteen; *e. g. somāpūṣábhyām, sūryācandramásāu*, &c.

In our final type the two members are fused into a unit by the complete loss of inflection of the prior element; *e. g., indravāyú, párjanyavātā* (voc.), &c. The RV. has 120 cases of this, or nearly 25%; the AV. has 87 cases, or 33%. This is the regular dual dvandva of the later language. The other types are distinctively poetic and hieratic and hieratic conservatism seems to be shown in the eighteen instances of the metrical resolution of *indrāgní* out of a total of eighty-nine instances in which the form is found.

There are some noteworthy phenomena associated with the hieratic types of the dual dvandva. Of the thirty-five examples of our first type, the prior members of thirty-two stand initial in their *pādas* and the other three are preceded only by a prepositional particle.

The doubly dualized dvandva also has its favorite positions. Of the 321 in the RV., 119 are initial in their *pādas*; 30 stand second, usually preceded by a monosyllabic particle; 154 stand

[1] The AV. shows in *agnāvisnú*, VII, 29, 1[a], 2[a], a metabolism in the stem of the prior element, due to analogy with the numerous *a* stems.

in the exact middle of a triṣṭubh or jagatī *pāda* and only 18 are final. This is not *metri causa* as they would frequently scan as well in other positions, but seems due rather to an artistic desire to get the long compound into one of the two effective positions of the *pāda*, either initial or at its medial summit. It would seem to have been done for conscious effect as the instances seem too numerous to be accidental.

The dual dvandva resembles the elliptic dual in its general irreversibility. The appended list shows that in the Vedas only *uṣāsānáktā*, *parjányāvātā* and *dyāvāpṛthivī* can be reversed to *nāktoṣāsā*, *vātāparjanyā* and *pṛthivīdyāvā* respectively. The last of these is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in RV. III. 46, 5ᵃ.

§ 2.

The Dual Dvandvas.

In the following lists we follow the order in which the various types were presented and give first the RV. and then the AV. examples of the respective types.

I. The tmetic dvandva.

agní, see indrā.

índrā.

V, 45, 4ᵇ; VI, 59, 3ᵉ,—índrā nv àgni.
VI, 60, 1ᵇ,—índrā yó agní.
VI, 57, 1ᵃ,—índrā nú pūṣáṇā.
IV, 41, 1ᵃ,—índrā kó vāṁ varuṇā.
IV, 41, 2ᵃ,—índrā ha yó váruṇā.
IV, 41, 3ᵃ,—índrā ha rátnaṁ váruṇā.
IV, 41, 4ᵃ, 5ᵃ,—índrā yuvāṁ varuṇā.
IV, 41, 6ᵉ,—índrā no átra váruṇā.
VI, 68, 5ᵇ,—índrā yó vāṁ varuṇā.

uṣásā and *uṣásā*, see nāktā.

kṣámā, see dyávā.

dyávā.

X, 12, 1ᵃ—dyávā ha kṣámā.
I, 63, 1ᵃ—dyávā jajñānáḥ pṛthivī.
I, 143, 2ᵉ,—dyávā çociḥ pṛthivī.
I, 159, 1ᵃ; VII, 53, 1ᵃ,—dyávā yajñāíḥ pṛthivī.
I, 185, 2ᵈ—8ᵈ,—dyávā rakṣatam pṛthivī.
II, 12, 13ᵃ,—dyávā cid asmāí pṛthivī.
II, 41, 20ᵃ,—dyávā naḥ pṛthivī.

V, 43, 2[b],—dyāvā vājāya prthivī.
VI, 11, 1[d],—dyāvā hotrāya prthivī.
VIII. 97, 14[a],—dyāvā rejete prthivī.
X, 35, 3[a],—dyāvā no adyá prthivī.
X, 46, 9[a],—dyāvā yām agnim prthivī.
X, 91, 3[d],—dyāvā ca yāni prthivī.
I, 61, 14[b],—dyāvā ca bhúmā.

nāktā.
I, 73, 7[c],—náktā ca cakrūr uṣásā.
VII, 42, 5[c]—á náktā barhiḥ sadatām uṣāsā.

pūṣāṇā, see indrā.

prthivī, see dyāvā.

bhúmā, see dyāvā.

mitrā.
VI, 51, 1,—mitrāyór áṁ óti priyáṁ váruṇayoḥ.
The AV. has its only example in
XVIII, 1, 29[a], dyāvā ha kṣāmā, = RV. X, 12, 1[a].
II. Our second type, juxtaposition without composition, appears in I, 147, 1[c]; VIII, 103, 7[c],—tokó tánaye.
IX, 58, 3[a],—dhvasráyoḥ puruṣántyor.
VII, 66, 1[a],—mitráyor váruṇayoḥ.
V, 62, 3[b],—mitrarājānā varuṇa, a unique variant and sort of hybrid between the types.
III. The doubly dualized dvandvas.

**āgnīparjanyāu*, VI, 52, 16[a].

āgnīṣomāu, I, 93, 1[a], 5[a], 10[a], 11[a].

āgnīṣomā, I, 93, 2[a], 3[a], 4[a], 6[c], 7[a], 9[a], 12[a]; X, 19, 1[c].

agnīṣómā, I, 93, 8[a]; X, 66, 7[a].

**ārṇācitrārathā*, IV, 30, 18[c].

**indrākutsā*, V, 31, 9[a].

indrāparvatā, I, 122, 3[c]; 132, 6[a].

indrāparvatā, III, 53, 1[a].

indrāpūṣāṇā, VII, 35, 1[d].

indrābṛhaspatī, IV, 49, 1[a], 2[b], 3[a], 4[a], 6[a].

indrābṛhaspátī, IV, 49, 5[a].

**indrābrahmaṇaspatī*, II, 24, 12[c].

indrāvaruṇā, I, 17, 7[a], 8[a], 9[b].

indrāvaruṇā, III, 62, 1[c], 2[a], 3[a]; IV, 41, 1[d]; 42, 9[b], 10[c]; VI, 68,

* *Āṛṣ stipatur* in the Veda cited.

4ᵉ, 7ᵇ, 8ᵃ; VII, 82, 8ᵈ, 9ᵃ; 83, 1ᵈ, 2ᵈ, 3ᵇ, 7ᵇ, 9ᵈ; 84, 1ᵇ, 4ᵃ; VIII, 59, 3ᵃ, 4ᵉ, 5ᵉ.

indrāvaruṇā, I, 17, 5ᵇ; VI, 68, 10ᵉ, 11ᵃ; VII, 82, 1ᵃ, 3ᵉ, 4ᵈ, 5ᵃ, 7ᵇ; 83, 4ᵃ; VIII, 59, 1ᵇ, 2ᵇ, 6ᵉ, 7ᵃ.

indrāvárṇā, VI, 68, 3ᵇ; VII, 35, 1ᵇ; 82, 2ᵇ.

indrāvaruṇāu, VI, 68, 6ᵉ; VII, 83, 8ᵇ; 85, 2ᵉ.

indrāvaruṇāu, VII, 83, 5ᵃ.

indrāvárṇāu, VI, 68, 1ᵉ.

indrāviṣṇū, I, 155, 2ᵇ; IV, 55, 4ᵃ; VI, 69, 1ᵇ, 3ᵃ, 4ᵇ, 5ᵃ, 6ᵉ, 7ᵃ; VII, 99, 5ᵃ.

indrāviṣṇū, IV, 2, 4ᵇ; VI, 69, 2ᵇ; VIII, 10, 2ᵈ; X, 66, 4ᵇ.

indrāsomā, II, 30, 6ᵉ; VI, 72, 1ᵃ, 2ᵃ, 4ᵃ, 5ᵃ; VII, 104, 1ᵃ—6ᵃ, 7ᵉ.

indrāsómā, VII, 35, 1ᵉ.

indrāsomāu, VI, 72, 3ᵃ.

uṣāsānáktā, I, 122, 2ᵇ; 186, 4ᵇ; II, 3, 6ᵇ; 31, 5ᵇ; IV, 55, 3ᵈ; V, 41, 7ᵃ; VII, 2, 6ᵇ; X, 36, 1ᵃ; 70, 6ᵇ; 110, 6ᵇ.

turváśāyādū, IV, 30, 17ᵃ.

dyāvākṣāmā, VIII, 18, 16ᵃ,

dyāvākṣāmā, I, 96, 5ᵉ; 102, 2ᵇ; 121, 11ᵇ; 140, 13ᵇ; III, 8, 8ᵇ; VI, 31, 2ᵉ; X, 36, 1ᵇ.

dyāvāpṛthivī, I, 31, 8ᵈ; 159, 5ᵉ; 160, 5ᵇ; 185, 11ᵃ; II, 32, 1ᵃ; VI, 50, 3ᵉ; VII, 52, 1ᵈ; 53, 2ᵉ, 3ᵇ; VIII, 42, 2ᵈ; IX, 69, 10ᵈ; X, 67, 12ᵈ; 93, 1ᵃ, 10ᵉ.

dyávapṛthivī, I, 35, 9ᵇ; 52, 14ᵃ; 61, 8ᵉ; 101, 3ᵃ; 112, 1ᵃ; 115, 1ᵉ, 3ᵈ; 160, 1ᵃ; II, 1, 15ᵈ; 2, 7ᵉ; III, 3, 11ᵈ; 25, 3ᵃ; 26, 8ᵈ; 30, 4ᵉ; 32, 10ᵉ; 58, 8ᵈ; IV, 14, 2ᵉ; 54, 6ᵉ; 56, 1ᵃ, 3ᵇ; V, 47, 2ᵈ; 51, 11ᵈ; 55, 7ᵉ; 63, 2ᵈ; 83, 8ᵉ; VI, 18, 15ᵃ; 44, 24ᵃ; 70, 1ᵉ, 4ᵃ, 5ᵃ; 75, 10ᵇ; VII, 35, 5ᵃ; 44, 1ᵈ; VIII, 22, 5ᵉ; 48, 13ᵇ; 96, 16ᵉ; IX, 68, 10ᵉ; 81, 5ᵃ; 97, 42ᵈ; X, 1, 7ᵃ; 2, 7ᵃ; 31, 7ᵇ, 8ᵇ; 35, 1ᵉ; 36, 1ᵈ; 37, 6ᵃ; 45, 12ᵉ; 47, 8ᵉ; 63, 9ᵈ; 64, 14ᵃ; 65, 8ᵉ; 66, 4ᵉ, 6ᵉ, 9ᵃ; 70, 10ᵈ; 81, 4ᵇ; 82, 1ᵈ; 89, 6ᵃ; 92, 11ᵉ; 110, 9ᵉ; 113, 1ᵃ, 5ᵇ; 114, 8ᵇ; 125, 6ᵈ; 149, 2ᵈ.

dyávābhūmī, IV, 55, 1ᵇ; VII, 62, 4ᵃ; X, 12, 4ᵇ.

dyávābhūmī, X, 65, 4ᵇ; 81, 3ᵈ.

**dhiṣṇíyāsúmurī*, VI, 20, 13ᵇ.

nāktoṣāsā, I, 13, 7ᵃ; 96, 5ᵉ; 113, 3ᵈ; 142, 7ᵇ; IX, 5, 6ᵉ.

parjányāvātā, VI, 50, 12ᵈ; X, 65, 9ᵉ.

**pṛthivīdyāvu*, III, 46, 5ᵃ.

**mātárāpitárā*, IV, 6, 7ᵉ.

mitrāvaruṇā, I, 15, 6ᵇ.

mitrāvaruṇā, I, 122, 6ᵃ, 15ᵉ; 137, 1ᶠ, 3ᶠ; 152, 1ᵈ, 3ᵇ, 7ᵃ; 153, 1ᵇ—3ᵇ;

II, 27, 5[c]; 29, 3[c]; 31, 1[c]; 41, 4[a]; III, 62, 16[a]; IV, 39, 2[d], 5[d]; V, 47, 7[a]; 51, 14[a]; 62, 2[a]; 63, 1[c], 4[a], 5[b], 7[a]; 64, 4[a]; 69, 3[c], 4[d]; VI, 67, 3[a], 9[a]; VII, 36, 2[a]; 50, 1[a]; 52, 1[c]; 60, 2[a], 3[c]; 61, 3[a], 6[b]; 62, 5[d]; 63, 5[d]; 64, 2[a], 4[c]; 65, 2[c], 3[c], 4[a]; VIII, 72, 17[a]; 101, 3[a]; X, 51, 2[c]; 132, 2[a].

mitrāvaruṇā, V, 63, 2[b].

mitrāvāruṇā, I, 2, 9[a]; 23, 5[a]; 71, 9[c]; 75, 5[a]; 111, 4[c]; III, 20, 5[c]; 56, 7[b]; V, 46, 3[a]; 63, 3[b]; VI, 11, 1[c]; 49, 1[b]; 67, 1[b]; VII, 33, 10[b]; 41, 1[b]; 42, 5[d]; VIII, 23, 30[b]; 25, 4[a]; IX, 7, 8[a]; 97, 42[b], 49[b]; 108, 14[c]; X, 61, 17[c]; 64, 5[b]; 93, 6[b]; 125, 1[c].

mitrāvaruṇāu, I, 2, 8[b]; 122, 9[a]; V, 41, 1[a]; 62, 9[c]; 63, 6[a]; VI, 67, 2[c], 11[b]; VII, 60, 12[b]; 61, 2[a].

mitrāvārunāu, I, 35, 1[b]; 167, 8[a]; VII, 35, 4[b]; VIII, 101, 1[c]; X, 93, 6[b].

**çināśīrāu*, IV, 57, 5[a].

sūryāmāsā, VIII, 94, 2[c]; X, 64, 3[c]; 68, 10[d]; 92, 12[c]; 93, 5[b].

sōmāpūṣaṇā, II, 40, 1[a], 3[a].

sōmāpūṣaṇāu, II, 40, 5[c].

sōmārudrā, VI, 74, 1[a], 2[a], 3[a].

sōmārudrāu, VI, 74, 4[b].

AV.

āgnāviṣṇū, VII, 29, 1[a], 2[a].

āgnīṣomā, I, 8, 2[d]; XVIII, 2, 53[a].

agnīṣómā, VI, 93, 3[c].

agnīṣomāu, VI, 54, 2[a].

agnīṣómāu, III, 13, 5[b]; VIII, 9, 14[a].

indrāpūṣaṇā, VI, 3, 1[a].

indrāpūṣāṇā, XIX, 10, 1[d].

indrāvaruṇā, VII, 58, 1[a], 2[a].

indrāvāruṇā, XIX, 10, 1[b].

indrāsomā, VIII, 4, 1[a]—6[a], 7[c].

indrāsómā, XIX, 10, 1[c].

uṣāsānāktā, V, 12, 6[b]; 27, 8[c]; VI, 3, 3[b].

dyāvāprthivī, II, 29, 4; IV, 22, 4; 26, 1; VI, 40, 1.

dyávāprthivi, II, 12, 5; 16, 2; IV, 26, 2—6; V, 14, 12.

dyāvāprthivī, II, 1, 4; 10, 1—8; 12, 1; 29, 5; III, 4, 5; 15, 2; 31, 4; IV, 6, 2; 26, 7; 30, 5; V, 12, 9; 23, 1; 24, 3; VI, 3, 2; 8, 3; 55, 1; 58, 1; 62, 1; 94, 3; VII, 30, 1; 82, 4, 5; 112, 1; VIII, 2, 14; 5, 3, 6, 18; 8, 21, 22; IX, 2, 20; 4, 10; X, 7, 35;

8, 39; XI, 3, 2; 7, 2; XIII, 1, 5, 6bis, 7, 37; 2, 26, 35; 3, 1, 4; XIV, 1, 54; XIX, 10, 5; 14, 1; 15, 5; 20, 4; 49, 1; 58, 3.

dyávābhūmī, XVIII, 1, 31[b].

bhávāçarvāu, IV, 28, 1[a]; VIII, 2, 7[c]; XI, 2, 1[a].

mitrāvarunā, VI, 97, 2[a]; IX, 10, 23[b]; XIX, 11, 6[a].

mitrāvarunā, IV, 29, 3[b], 4[b].

mitrávárunā, III, 4, 4[a]; 16, 1[b]; IV, 30, 1[c]; XIV, 1, 54; XVIII 3, 12[a].

mitrāvarunāu, I, 20, 2[a]; III, 25, 6[a]; IV, 29, 1[a]; VI, 32, 3[a].

mitrāvarunāu, IV, 29, 6[b]; XIII, 1, 31[c].

mitrávárunāu, IV, 29, 7[c]; V, 24, 5[a]; 25, 4[a]; VI, 89, 3[a]; 132, 5[a]; XIII, 1, 20[b]; XVI, 4, 7; XIX, 10, 4[b].

sómārudrā, VII, 42, 1[a], 2[a].

sómārudrāu, V, 6, 5[c], 6[c], 7[c].

The instances in which there is a loss of numerical concord in the weak cases are

divāprthivyós, RV. II, 2, 3[b]; V, 49, 5[d]; X, 3, 7[b]; 35, 2[a].

Those in which there is a loss of concord in case are

agnīṣómābhyām, AV. XII, 4, 26[a].

indrāvárunayos, RV. I, 17, 1[a].

dyāvāprthivíbhyām, AV. V, 9, 7; VII, 102, 1; XI, 3, 33; XIX, 17, 5.

dyāvāprthivyós, AV. VI, 58, 2; XVI, 8, 23.

mitrávárunābhyām, RV. V, 51, 9[a].

mitrávárunayos, RV. X, 130, 5[a].

AV. X, 5, 11[a]; XI, 3, 44[d]; XVI, 8, 25[c].

IV. Doubly dualized dvandvas with single accent.

RV.

**vātāparjanyā*, X, 66, 10[b].

sūryācandramásā, I, 102, 2[a].

sūryācandramásāu, V, 51, 15[b]; X, 190, 3[a].

Here, too, there is loss of case concord in the weak cases:

indrāpūṣṇós, I, 162, 2[d].

somāpūṣábhyām, II, 40, 2[a].

AV.

**bhavārudrāú*, XI, 2, 14[a].

bhavāçarvāu, IV, 28, 7[c]; X, 1, 23[a]; XI, 6, 9[a]; XII, 4, 17[c].

vātāparjanyā, X, 4, 16[c].

sūryācandramásāu, VIII, 2, 15[d]; XI, 3, 2[b]; 6, 5[b].

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Weak cases with loss of case concord are
vātāparjanyāyoḥ, VI, 93, 3[d].
sūryācandramāsābhyām, VI, 128, 3[b]; XI, 3, 34.
sūryāmāsāyoḥ, III, 29, 5[d].

The vocatives of these words are naturally not indicative of their accentual condition, so they are included in the longer lists preceding.

V. The dvandva in its final form.

RV.

indravāyū, I, 2, 4[a]; 135, 5[f]; II, 41, 3[b]; IV, 46, 3[b], 4[b], 5[c], 6[a], 7[a]; 47, 4[d]; VII, 90, 5[c], 6[c]; 91, 2[a], 4[d], 5[b], 6[b].
indravāyú, I, 14, 3[a]; 23, 2[b], 3[a]; 139, 1[c]; VII, 90, 7[b]; 91, 7[b]; X, 65, 9[b]; 141, 4[b].
indrāgnī, I, 108, 1[a], 2[b], 3[c], 4[d], 5[a], 7[a]—13[a]; 109, 5[a], 6[d], 7[b], 8[b]; VI, 59, 4[a]; X, 161, 1[d].
indrāgnī, I, 21, 5[b], 6[c]; 109, 1[b], 2[d], 4[b]; III, 12, 1[a], 2[a], 5[c], 6[a]—9[a]; V, 27, 6[a]; VI, 59, 1[d], 7[a], 10[a]; 60, 8[c], 9[c], 15[a]; VII, 94, 1[b]—3[b], 7[a], 8[c], 9[c]; VIII, 38, 1[c]—9[c].
indrāgnī, I, 21, 1[a], 2[b], 3[b], 4[c]; 139, 9[c]; III, 12, 4[c]; V, 46, 3[a]; 86, 2[d]; VI, 60, 14[d]; VII, 35, 1[a]; VIII, 40, 4[b]; X, 125, 1[d]; 161, 4[d].
indragnibhyām, I, 109, 3[c]; VIII, 40, 5[b], 12[a]; X, 116, 9[a]; 128, 9[b].
indragnyōḥ, VIII, 38, 10[b]; 40, 8[c].
ṛkṣāmābhyām, X, 85, 11[a]; 114, 6[d].
pārjanyavātā, VI, 49, 6[a].
**viçvāmitrajamadagnī*, X, 167, 4[d].
**sōçanānaçanē*, X, 90, 4[d].
**satyānṛtē*, VII, 49, 3[b].

In the following instances the double dual of *indrāgnī* is practically restored by the metrical resolution. A comparison of the numerical citations shows that the two forms sometimes exist side by side.
indrāgnī, VI, 60, 13[a].
indrāgnī, V, 86, 1[a]; VI, 59, 2[b], 6[a], 8[a], 9[a]; 60, 7[a]; VII, 93, 1[b], 4[c]; VIII, 40, 1[a].
indrāgni, V, 86, 4[b]; VI, 60, 4[c], 5[b]; VII, 93, 3[d]; 94, 10[b]; VIII, 40, 3[a]; X, 65, 2[a].
indrāgnibhyām, V, 86, 6[a].

AV.

**akṣujālābhyām*, VIII, 8, 18[a].
**aghaçaṅsaduhçaṅsābhyām*, XII, 2, 2[a].

**arkāçvamedhāú*, XI, 7, 7ᵉ.
ahorātré, X, 7, 6ᵇ; 8, 23ᶜ; XI, 5, 20ᵇ; 6, 5ᵃ, 7ᵇ; 7, 14ᵈ; XII, 1, 9ᵇ, 36ᵈ, 52ᵇ; 2, 49ᵃ; XIII, 2, 5ᵈ, 32ᶜ; XV, 6, 6; 18, 4ᵃ.
ahorātrābhyām, VI, 128, 3ᵃ; XIII, 2, 43ᵇ; XIV, 2, 40ᵇ; XIX, 8, 2ᵉ, 7ᵇ.
ahorātrāyos, XV, 6, 6; XVI, 8, 21ᵉ.
**ādānasamdānābhyām*, XI, 9, 3ᵇ.
**indravāyū*, III, 20, 6ᵃ.
indrāgnī, III, 11, 1ᵈ; IX, 1, 12ᵉ.
indrāgnī, XIII, 1, 31ᵇ.
indrāgní, I, 35, 4ᵉ; III, 3, 5ᵉ; IV, 30, 1ᵈ; V, 7, 6ᵇ; VI, 104, 3ᵃ; 132, 4ᵃ; VIII, 1, 2ᵈ, 16ᵈ; 2, 21ᶜ; IX, 2, 9ᵃ; 3, 19ᵉ; X, 1, 21ᶜ; XI, 8, 5ᵉ; XIV, 1, 54ᵃ; XIX, 10, 1ᵃ; 16, 2ᵉ; 20, 1ᵇ.
indrāgnibhyām, V, 3, 10ᵇ.
indrāgnyós, IX, 1, 12ᵉ; XVI, 8, 24.
**uchocanapraçocanāú*, VII, 95, 1ᵇ.
unmocanapramocané, V, 30, 2ᵉ, 3ᵉ, 4ᵉ.
**ṛṣāmābhyām*, XIV, 1, 11ᵃ.
**kapotolūkābhyām*, VI, 29, 2ᵉ.
**palālānupalālāu*, VIII, 6, 2ᵉ.
**pitāputrāu*, VI, 112, 2ᵈ.
prāṇāpānāu, III, 11, 5ᵃ, 6ᵃ; VII, 53, 5ᵇ.
prāṇāpānau, II, 16, 1ᵃ; XVI, 4, 5ᵇ.
prāṇāpānāú, V, 10, 8ᵃ; VII, 53, 2ᵇ; VIII, 2, 11ᵉ; X, 7, 34ᵃ; XI, 4, 13ᵃ; 5, 24ᵉ; 7, 25ᵉ; 8, 4ᵃ, 26ᵃ; XVI, 4, 7.
prāṇāpānābhyām, II, 28, 4ᵈ.
**bodhapratibodhāú*, V, 30, 10ᵉ.
**brahmarājanyābhām*, XIX, 32, 8.
**ródhacakre*, V, 1, 5ᵈ.
vyānodānāú, XI, 8, 4ᵉ, 26ᵉ.
vrīhiyavāú, VIII, 2, 18ᵉ; XI, 4, 13ᵉ; XII, 1, 42ᵉ; XX, 129, 15, 16.
vrīhiyavābhyām, X, 6, 24ᵈ.
**satyānṛté*, I, 33, 2ᵇ.
**sadohavirdhāné*, XII, 1, 38ᵉ.

The number of ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in this AV. list is noteworthy as indicative of the freedom with which the unified dvandva is thus employed.

III.

Origin and Relationship.

What is the origin of the elliptic dual? What of the dual dvandva? What genetic relation, if any, exists between them?

Diametrically differing answers have been given to these questions. The traditional and native theory seems to derive the elliptic dual from the dual dvandva. Such is the natural inference from the name—dvandva ekaçeṣa—given the former by the Hindoo grammarians. Such was the descent approved by G. Meyer (*KZ.* XXII, 8 ff.) and Wackernagel (*KZ.* XXIII, 309). Bergaigne (*Rel. Ved.* II, 116) and Delbrueck (*S. F.* V, 98), however, reverse the process and consider the dual dvandva a development from the elliptic dual. This view seems now the one more generally accepted.

It will be patent to the careful observer that we may begin with either the elliptic dual or the dvandva and work our way by successive stages to the mechanical evolution of the other, or that we may begin in the middle, *e. g.* with the doubly dualized dvandva, and work both ways. In either of the latter two methods, however, a practical test shows that we must make more assumptions and pass through more complex processes than in the case of the first. There are other difficulties also.

If we start with the elliptic dual we must first find an answer to our first question, the origin of this dual.

The fact that in the RV. *pitárā* and *mātárā* together stand in the ratio of 85 to 129, or almost exactly 2 to 3, to the whole number of its elliptic duals and the fact that these represent the one syllepsis, if any, that can be proved for Indo-European, as shown by the Avestan dual[1] *pitarə*, the Greek dual τοκῆε δόω, and the pluralized duals, Greek πατέρα, Latin[2] *patres*, Lithuanian[3] *tẽvaĩ*, Gothic *berusjos*, Greek γονεῦς and τοκῆς, Latin *parentes*, &c., all used to signify "father and mother" or the two parents, though in the strictest etymological sense applicable to but one of the pair, may warrant the

[1] Yt. 10, 117. — *satāyuš* (sc. *asti miθrō*) *antarə pitarə* (acc. du.) *paθβrəmča*.

[2] Surviving in this meaning in the Spanish *los padres*, as Dr. C. J. Ogden informs me.

[3] Shown by Joh. Schmidt (*KZ.* XXV, 34) to be from **ptēras* = Greek πατῆρ.

assumption that this particular syllepsis was a nidus, if not the nidus, of the usage. Its extension to *dampatī*, real or potential parents, which in the two Vedas stand next in numerical precedence, and then to other and personified couples exercising some real or fancied parental or generative functions, would be both easy and natural. The Adhvaryu and Pratiprasthātr by an easy figure may be the parents of the sacrifice. Morning and evening, a necessarily complemental pair, may be imagined as parents, and in fact are actually so called in more than one Vedic passage (*e. g.*, I, 142, 7[c]; V, 5, 6[b]; VII, 2, 5[c]; VIII, 99, 6[a]). If Bloomfield is right in identifying the hounds of Yama with the sun and moon, the elliptic duals *udumbalāū* and *çabalāu*, admit the same explanation. Only *mitrā* remains and IV, 41, 7[a] shows that *mitrāvárunā* are compared to *pitárā*.

Thus one syllepsis and its analogical and figurative inclusions account for every elliptic dual in the Vedas and also for the few others cited from the grammarians and lexicographers. This is the whole story for Sanskrit and for Avestan with its unique elliptic dual (see above).

There seems to be no other pro-ethnic elliptic dual. Sporadic instances in individual languages have been cited. Some of these are doubtful. This interpretation of the Homeric Ἄλκητε, so ingeniously supported by Wackernagel (*KZ.* XXIII, 308), is not accepted by competent Hellenists. The Latin *Cereres* and *Castores* undoubtedly came to be used as the plurals of such duals, but the origin of the plurals can be explained otherwise.[1] The Greek πενθεροί and Latin *soceri* are akin to and includible under the general syllepsis above. The Old Norse *fedgar* and *mædgar*, if genuine, are merely an independent syllepsis. Admitting all of these we have only a handful of isolated syllepses, a weak foundation for the Indo-Europeanism of the elliptic dual outside of the almost necessary syllepsis for parents and its kindred.

In the presentation of the phenomena of the elliptic dual we have shown how often, 99 out 145 instances, the rishis

[1] There were, for instance, two *Cereres*, one native, one imported. The former was the daughter of Caelus and Vesta and wife of Sicanus, king of the Siculi. She taught the Siculi the use of grain. Also Proserpina is called *Ceres inferna* and *Ceres profunda*. Again Ceres was identified with Terra, Luna and Libera. Cf. also the Catullan plurals *Veneres*, *Cupidines*.

seem to make a conscious effort to mention or suggest the connoted member of the syllepsis, somewhere in the neighboring context. The degree of propinquity may vary from several stanzas to consecutive *pādas*. Assuming that form in which the connoted member is expressed in the dual, either by mere attraction or by a conscious effort to express the parity of the members, as a starting point, we may readily show the possible mechanical evolution of the dual dvandva.

An example like RV. III, 7, 1[bc]—

á mātárā viviçuḥ saptá vāṇīḥ
parikṣitā pitárā sám carete,

in comparison with VI, 42, 5[a]—

á náktā barhíḥ sadatam uṣásā

will show how little these two duals may differ. Intermediate between these is such an instance as VI, 51, 1[ab],—

íd u tyác cákṣur máhi mitráyor á̀
éti priyám váruṇayoḥ adabdham,

which seems to partake almost equally of the characteristics of each. On its formal side the difference appears to be one of degree of propinquity. When the dual of the connoted member of an elliptic dual is expressed within some arbitrary limit,—as the *pāda*, the elliptic dual becomes a dual dvandva. Further increments of increase of propinquity will give the successive forms in the order presented above.

Such is an explanation of the dual dvandva consonant with the current view of its origin from the elliptic dual. Easy as this is on the formal side there seems to be ground for objection. It seems too mechanical, too wooden. It takes no account of the prevailingly differing content of these two species of dual. It divorces the origin of the dual dvandva from that of the other forms of the dvandva compound. The dvandva compound is undoubtedly, indisputably pro-ethnic in Indo-European and has a far wider range than can be traced for the elliptic dual. Its obvious origin is a simple asyndeton. Its original type is represented by the Vedic *turvaçam yadum, turvaçeṣu yaduṣu*, Avestan *Vandarəmainiš Arəjataspō*, Lithuanian *tẽtės matės*, Lettish *mīſch-āņſus*, Old Bulgarian *bratŭ sestra*, Latin *pactum conventum*, &c. Juxtaposition led naturally to composition. This in the case of two parathetic singulars gave either a dual or a dvandva singular. Both of these are Vedic. The latter is common to all the Indo-European group.

The general loss of the dual probably made the former less demonstrable.

We are prone to believe that the doubly dualized dvandva of Vedic and Avestan is but a hieratic variant of this former type. If we compare the contents of the lists of doubly dualized dvandvas and of completely unified dvandvas, given above, we see at once that with the exception of a half dozen ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, the former is made up of sets of names of pairs of associated deities. The latter list presents a marked contrast. It is a distinctively Atharvanic or demotic aggregation of associated pairs of various kinds, but has only three sets of deities. Of these *indravāyū* is found only in this list. *Pūrjanyavātā* occurs only once in this form. The numerous metrical resolutions of *indrāgnī* shows that it is now in one class, now in the other, though prevailingly in the latter.

This hieratic variant is Aryan. Vedic confined it quite strictly to its hieratic character. In Avestan, of which only hieratic literature remains, it became propagative practically to the exclusion of other types. The double dual is not due to a mere grammatical attraction of number, but rather, we fancy, to a formalistic parataxis or a liturgical fulness of expression arising from a desire to magnify equally each of the associated deities somewhat after the manner of a *dualis maiestatis* or, at least, to express a formal parity between them. This could be effected by making both members either dual or singular, but the singular dvandva was too prone to be either collective or suggestive of a practical unity and too largely pre-empted by the neuter, to be appropriate. In other cases than that of associated deities there would not be the same formal scrupulosity. Hence the doubly dualized dvandva with its special range.

The genetic relation between the elliptic dual and the dual dvandva disappears in this view. The origins of the two kinds of dual become quite distinct. One is an evolution from asyndeton; the other from syllepsis. Thus both are rhetorical in origin. Both belong to the hieratic and more artistic sphere. On the side of form there are strong resemblances, but the genetic development from different sources shows these to be accidental. This hypothesis accounts for differing content, for relative age, for special ranges and for associated phenomena. It keeps together things that seem naturally to belong together. It presents no mechanical but an organic evolution.

The Dūtāṅgada of Subhaṭa, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prakrit.—By Dr. Louis H. Gray, Newark, N.J.[1]

The *chāyānāṭaka* is a dramatic *genre* unrecognised by Sanskrit works on dramaturgy, yet to this category belong at least seven dramas, the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa, Rāmadeva's *Subhadrāparinaya*, *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, and *Rāmābhyudaya*, the anonymous *Harid(y)ūta*, Viṭṭhala's *chāyānāṭaka*, and the modern *Sāvitricarita* (Schuyler, *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, 102). Of these the only one yet published is the drama here translated, the *Dūtāṅgada*, edited by Durgāprasāda and Parab as the twenty-eighth volume of the *Kāvyamālā* (2d ed., Bombay, 1900; cf. also Schuyler, 85). This is the earliest extant play of its type. According to its *prastāvanā*, it was produced during the reign of Tribhuvanapāladeva, a Chaulukya king of the dynasty of Aṇhilvāḍ or Aṇhilpūr, who ruled in Gujarat in 1242—1243 (Bendall, *JRAS*, 1898, 229—230, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 105—106; Duff, *Chronology of India*, 189). The play was presented at a festival in honour of Kumārapāladeva, a monarch of the same line who ruled from 1143 to 1172 (Bendall, *opp. citt.*; Duff, 149—159; Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 138—157), the particular event commemorated being Kumārapāladeva's restoration of a

[1] This translation was originally presented to the Society in 1906. Almost immediately afterward I learned that Professor Richard Pischel was working on the drama, with special reference to the longer recension. Although he very kindly urged me to publish this present version of the shorter text, and most generously added: "I am ready to send you the various readings of doubtful or difficult passages," it seemed to me presumptuous to issue my translation, especially as he proposed to give one in his own edition. Professor Pischel's death—so sore a loss to Sanskritists—renders improbable any completion of his labours on the *Dūtāṅgada*, at least in the near future. Meanwhile the present translation may serve to give some idea of Subhaṭa's literary worth.

Śaiva temple at Devapattan or Somnath in Kathiawar, Bombay (Bendall, *JRAS*, *loc. cit.*; Forbes, 147—148). The exact time of year at which the play was produced is given by the reading *yātrāyāṁ dolāparvaṇi* in a manuscript recorded by Aufrecht (although the Bombay edition omits the latter word). It was, consequently, given at the *dhooly* festival on the fourteenth of Phālguna (March 7), 1243.

In his *Das altindische Schattenspiel* (*Sitzungsberichte der königlich preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1906, 482—502) Pischel has very pertinently remarked (p. 16 f. of the offprint) that 'there are almost as many *Dūtāṅgadas* as there are manuscripts' (for a convenient summary of these cf. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 257; ii, 55, 205; iii, 55); but in general two recensions, a longer and a shorter, may be distinguished. The shorter recension is that on which the present translation is based. Of the longer recension, as represented by a manuscript of the India Office, Eggeling writes (*Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office*, vii, no. 4189): 'not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verses are also thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem. This latter character of the composition is rendered still more pronounced by an introduction of 39 (12 + 27) stanzas in mixed metres (partly, however, placed in the mouths of *Rāma* and *Hanumat*), referring to incidents which lead to the discovery of Sītā's hiding-place.' As the author implies in his closing stanza, he has not hesitated to draw on his predecessors for material, among his sources being, according to Pischel (17 f.), Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Bhavabhūti, and especially the *Hanumannāṭaka*. The *Dūtāṅgada* is divided, at least in its shorter recension, into three scenes; and from a comparison of it with the corresponding portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi, 41, 107—108, 123) it would seem that its action implies a period of three or four days.

The meaning of the term *chāyānāṭaka* was long obscure. Wilson (*Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, ii,[2] 390) supposed it to denote 'the shade or outline of a drama,' and that the *Dūtāṅgada* 'was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the drama and procession, as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme conciseness could

have effected.' Lévi (*Le Théatre indien*, 241 f.) dubiously suggests: 'On serait tenté de l'expliquer par "ombre de drame" si les règles de la grammaire ne s'opposaient à cette analyse du composé chāyā-nāṭaka. Elles admettent du moins une explication voisine et presque identique: "drame à l'état d'ombre."' Pischel originally held that *chāyānāṭaka* might mean a 'half play' (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, 358 f., *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1902, 403); and in the earlier draft of this introduction I fancied that the word might mean a 'play that is but a shadow' (or, less probably a 'play in shadow' [i. e., in miniature]; cf. for examples of these two types of compound Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii, a, 244—245, 250—253), my argument being that the *chāyānāṭaka* was, so to say, 'a condensed yet complete drama, a "shadow" of the *nāṭaka* both in number of acts and in their length, although the general theme is the same in both. The *Dūtāṅgada* may thus not inappropriately be termed the "shadow" of, for instance, the *Mahāviracarita*.' All these views have been rendered nugatory by Pischel's monograph already noted, in which he has shown that *chāyānāṭaka* means simply and solely 'shadow-play.' This form of drama is expressly mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on *rūpopajīvanam* in *Mahābhārata* XII, ccxcv, 5: *rūpopajīvanam jalamaṇḍapāketi dākṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddham, yatra sūkṣmavastraṃ vyavadhāya carmamayair ākārai rājāmātyādināṃ caryā pradarśyate*, 'rūpopajīvana is called *jalamaṇḍapikā* among the Southerners, where, having set up a thin cloth, the action of kings, ministers, &c., is shown by leathern figures' (for further details see Pischel, 4 ff.). Of such a shadow play the *Dūtāṅgada* is at least the legitimate successor, and the oldest extant Indian specimen, whether it was presented after the fashion of *ombres chinoises* or by real actors (cf. Pischel, 19 f.).

The suggestion has been made by Rājendralāla Mitra (*Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*, 251) that the *Dūtāṅgada* 'was evidently intended to serve as an *entr'act* to a theatrical exhibition.' If this be true, the Sanskrit *chāyānāṭaka* would correspond almost precisely to the English 'interludes,' which 'seem to have not unfrequently been produced to diversify or fill up the pauses of the banquets ensuing in great houses upon the more substantial part of the repast' (Ward, *History of English*

Dramatic Literature, i, 108, 237—238; cf. also Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, introd. 55—56), while in France they were sometimes acted in the intervals of the mysteries, and hence were called *pauses*. If the suggestion of Rājendralāla Mitra be taken still more strictly, the *chāyānāṭaka* would find its European parallel in the Italian *intermezzi* of Cecchi and Borghini, as well as in the Spanish *entremeses* of Timoneda, Cervaṇtes, and Lope de Vega (Klein, *Geschichte des Drama's*, iv, 657, 674, 682—684; ix, 185—187, 375—412; x, 510—516). All this, however, is scarcely probable; for if the *chāyānāṭaka* is really a shadow play, as it almost certainly is, the universal mode of presenting such plays would forbid us to consider it as in any sense an interlude.

The *Dūtāṅgada* has already been analysed by Wilson (*loc. cit.*, on which is based the brief note of Klein, *op. cit.*, iii, 369) and by Aufrecht (*Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 139). It is, as its name implies, based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and deals with the sending of the monkey Aṅgada by Rāma to demand the restoration of the captive Sītā by Rāvaṇa. A *nāṭaka* was composed on Aṅgada by Bhūbhaṭṭa (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 4), but probably the closest analogue to the *Dūtāṅgada* is to be found in the sixth act of Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, which was far anterior to Subhaṭa's play, and which may have served to some extent as his model.

Rāma plays have enjoyed a wide popularity throughout certain portions of the East. Originating in India, and comprising such dramas as Bhavabhūti's *Mahāviracarita*, Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Murāri's *Anargharāghava*, Jayadeva's *Prasannarāghava*, and Rāmabhadradīkṣita's *Jānakipariṇaya* (Lévi, 267—295), they spread to Java, Bali, Malacca, Burmah, Siam, and Cambodia (Juynboll, *Indonesische en achterindische tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Rāmāyaṇa*, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6th series, x, 501—565; Serrurier, *De wajang poerwa*, 171—172; Bastian, *Reisen in Siam*, 328, 503—504; Moura, *Royaume de Cambodge*, ii, 444—458; F. W. K. Müller, *Nâng, siamesische Schattenspielfiguren*, supplement to *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vii; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 517—519). Aṅgada himself, the hero of Subhaṭa's play, appears in Java, Bali, Siam, and Cambodia, although he is by no means the principal figure in any of

these dramas of Farther India. The source of the Rāma plays in Cambodia, Siam, Burmah, and the Malay Peninsula was doubtless Java (cf. Skeat, 503—521; Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het javaansche tooneel*, 28—36), while Java obviously received the Rāma legend from India. Yet from Java, despite its affection for the story of Rāma and the extreme elaboration of its dramaturgy, we gain little light on the *Dutāṅgada*. In Java the Rāma cycle may be treated in the dramatic categories of the *wayang purwa*, a shadow play produced by puppets of buffalo leather; the *wayang topeng* and the *wayang wong*, produced by masked and unmasked men respectively, and the *wayang beber*, in which pictures are unrolled and explained by the *dalang* (Juynboll, *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiii, 4—5). In many respects the latter, as the manager of the puppets and the speaker of the dialogue, in which he modulates his voice according to the various characters of the drama (Serrurier, 95—96, 106—112; Hazeu, 7—9), corresponds very probably to the Sanskrit *sūtradhāra*, although his name seems to signify merely 'stroller, strolling player,' and it has been suggested that he was primarily a priest who rendered worship to the ghosts represented by the shadows cast by the puppets on the curtain in the *wayang* (Hazeu, 23—24, 39—57). At all events, we are justified in seeing in the Javanese *wayang purwa*, or shadow play, the analogue of the Sanskrit *chāyānāṭaka*, and both are without doubt the congeners of the Chinese shadow play, the Turkish *qaragöz*, and the marionettes which, originating in India, have spread throughout Asia and Europe to be enacted at the present day (see, for example, Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*; Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*; Jacob, *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Welt-Literatur* and *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*; together with the literature cited in these works).

In conclusion a word may be added regarding the remaining Sanskrit plays classed as *chāyānāṭakas*. The *Harid(y)ūta* is anonymous and of uncertain date, but is clearly an imitation of the *Dutāṅgada* (Bendall, *Catalogue*, 106). It is in three scenes, and is based on the *Mahābhārata* instead of on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. An analysis is given by Lévi (p. 242), but Pischel (p. 14) doubts whether it can rightly be considered a *chāyānāṭaka*. Rāmadeva, the author of the *Subhadrāparinaya*, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, and the *Rāmābhyudaya*, flourished in the

fifteenth century, the *Subhadrāpariṇaya* being written between 1402 and 1415, and the *Rāmābhyudaya* dating from the middle of the same century (Bendall, *JRAS*, 1898, 231, *Catalogue*, 106—108). These two plays have been analysed by Lévi (p. 242); the *Rāmābhyudaya* is in two acts, and the *Subhadrāpariṇaya* is still shorter. An analysis of the third *chāyānāṭaka* of Rāmadeva, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*, is given by Eggeling (*Catalogue*, no. 4187). Of the brief *chāyānāṭaka* by Viṭṭhila nothing is thus far known beyond the brief statement of Rājendralāla Mitra (*loc. cit.*) that it is based on the history of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, which ruled in Bijāpūr from 1489 to 1660. The *Sāvitrīcarita*, written by Maheśvarātmaja Śaṅkaralāla, is an entirely modern composition, and, unlike the others of its class, is a long and dreary drama of seven acts (Lévi, 241).

THE DŪTĀṄGADA.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

In the Induction.

The Stage-Manager.
Vilāsavatī, an Actress.

In the Play.

Rāma, a Prince of India.
Lakṣmaṇa, Brother to *Rāma*.
Sugrīva, a Monkey-king, ally to *Rāma*.
Aṅgada, a Monkey, messenger to *Rāma*.
Rāvaṇa, Demon-king of Laṅkā.
Vibhīṣaṇa, a Demon, brother to *Rāvaṇa*.
Mālyavān, a Demon, counsellor to *Rāvaṇa*.
Prahasta, a Demon, porter to *Rāvaṇa*.
Hemāṅgada, a Gandharva.
Citrāṅgada, a Gandharva.
[*Sītā*], Wife to *Rāma*.
Māyāmaithilī, a Demoness in the shape of *Sītā*.
Mandodarī, Wife to *Rāvaṇa*.

Celestial Bard.
A Rākṣasī.
Demons.

ACT I.

[1] (*Induction.—Invocation.*)

May Śiva's trump bring safety unto you,
All white with jasmine and with lotuses,
Whereon the moon hath his abiding-place,
And whose dread call doth loose the zones which deck
The brides of them that war against the gods.

And, further,

How wondrous would great Rāma's nature seem
Did all men know that he is Viṣṇu's self,[1]
And that he ever worketh for their weal;
He brake Śiv's bow,[2] and yet was not revealed,
Slew Śakra's son,[3] and still was unperceived.
He built the bridge,[4] nor then was recognized;
E'en from the conference of Aṅgada[5]
His ways remain untraced by mortals still,
For that he hath assumed the form of man.

(End of the invocation.)

(Enter the *Stage-Manager,* looking toward the wings.)

Stage-Manager. Dear Vilāsavatī, hither now!

[2] (Enter an *Actress.*)

Actress. Here I am, husband. May my lord tell what is to be done!

Stage-Manager. At the command of the council of the great king, the sovereign lord, the glorious Tribhuvanapāladeva,[6] a boar[7] for the support and the like of the burden of all the earth, a royal swan of majesty swimming in the flood of the many tears fallen from the blue lotus eyes of the wives of whole hosts of enemies cloven by his own hands,

---

[1] Rāma was one of the avatars, or incarnations, of Viṣṇu.

[2] The bow given by Śiva to Janaka, but bent and broken by Rāma, who thus won his bride Sītā (see *Rāmāyaṇa* i, 67).

[3] Vāli, the brother of Sugrīva and father of Aṅgada (*Rāmāyaṇa* iv, 16—22).

[4] The modern Adam's Bridge between India and Ceylon.

[5] The *bīja*, or allusion to the subject-matter of the entire drama (cf. Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, 54).

[6] A Chaulukya monarch of Aṇhilvāḍ, who ruled for a year in Gujarat (1242—1243; see *Introduction*).

[7] In other words, a quasi-Viṣṇu (alluding to this god's third or boar-incarnation), and consequently a quasi-Rāma.

I have undertaken a pre-eminent production. What ho! ye members of the audience! hear ye attentively that to-day, at the festival of spring,[1] at the procession of the divine and glorious Kumārapāladeva,[2] a shadow-play[3] is to be presented called *The Messenger Aṅgada*, composed by a great poet, the glorious Subhaṭa, thoroughly versed in knowledge of word and phrase.

Actress. The undertaking is excellent, husband!

Voice (within).

Upon Suvela's[4] heights doth Rāma sport,
Who crossed the sea and slew the simian king,[5]
Conferring all his realm on Tārā's spouse.[6]

Stage-Manager. My dear, the actors have begun, for here are heard the conversations of the heroes attendant upon Rāma. Come, then! Let us both be ready for what must straightway be done!

(Exeunt.)

(End of the Induction.)

(Enter *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa*, sitting on a rock in the hills of Suvela. *Sugrīva* and others in order of rank as a retinue.)[7]

Rāma (to *Lakṣmaṇa*). Good Lakṣmaṇa,

[3] The ocean's passed, and now the monkey-host
Hath swallowed up the demon-capitol;
While I that speak have played the man to-day,
Aided by Fate, or by yon mighty bow.

Lakṣmaṇa. Noble sir, what advantage is there in a fate subject to a coward's soul?

Unto the man of deeds fair Fortune comes;
'Tis only cowards moan that 'Fate is Fate':

---

[1] *Vasantotsava*, 'formerly held on the full-moon day of Chaitra [March-April], but now on the full-moon day of Phālguna [February-March], and identified with the *Holi* festival' (Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s. v.). See also *Introduction*.

[2] A Chaulukya monarch of Tribhuvanapāla's dynasty, who ruled from 1143 to 1172 (see *Introduction*).

[3] On the signification of this term, see *Introduction*.

[4] One of the peaks of the mountain Trikūṭa, on whose central height Rāvaṇa's capital was situated.

[5] Vāli.

[6] Sugrīva, who, after Vāli's death, married Tārā, his brother's widow.

[7] The first scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, 41, 58—73.

Slay thou thy fate, and strive as heroes strive;
If then thou fall, not thine the dark disgrace.[1]

And, furthermore,

While half thy brow alone be dark with frowns,
And while thy bow remaineth still unstrung,
Let him who ruleth o'er the fiends of night[2]
Bend low the roots of all the triple world.
And wax unceasing in his arrogance.

Therefore let Aṅgada be told his message.

Rāma (looking at *Aṅgada* respectfully). Good friend,

All words are dumb to tell thy father's deeds
Against that mighty fiend whose necks are ten,[3]
And yet this flesh our wonder doth reveal:[3]
But thou thyself, in reverence to thy sire,
Curtailest thine own prowess! Do not so!
Up! prove thee worthy of our trust in thee!

Aṅgada (bowing with both hands touching the circle of his head, speaks).

What message shall I bear to Laṅkā's[4] gates?
Or shall I there raise mighty hosts for thee?
[4] Or ring the ocean through eternity
With all the lofty mountains of the world?
Tell me, O, King! what thou wouldst have me do,
And what the tasks that wait my sturdy arm!

Rāma. Friend,

Swift haste thee now, and unto Rāvaṇ say:[5]

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[1] A verse borrowed from the *Pañcatantra* (ed. Kielhorn and Bühler, i, 361; ii, 130) or from the *Hitopadeśa* (ed. Peterson, i, 22), and repeated in Sanskrit anthologies (see Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 1255). Durgāprasāda and Parab note that it is omitted in some manuscripts of the *Dūtāṅgada*.

[2] Rāvaṇa.

[3] Of course an allusion to the familiar 'horripilation' constantly mentioned in Sanskrit literature. The reference to Vāli's deeds of prowess against Rāvaṇa seems to be a mere compliment of Rāma to Aṅgada, unless one may infer from the fact that both Rāvaṇa and Vāli ruled in Laṅkā that there was hostility between them, so that Aṅgada, in a measure, inherited his father's feud.

[4] Usually identified with Ceylon, although this is doubted by Jacobi (*Das Rāmāyaṇa*, 90—93), at least so far as the oldest portions of the Rāma-cycle are concerned.

[5] Comp. the message given Aṅgada for Rāvaṇa by Rāma in *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 41, 61—72. The Bombay editors note that Kṣemendra, who flourished in the eleventh century (Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i,

'Unwitting, or by kingly lust inflamed,
Thou stolest Sītā whilst I was afar;
Restore her unto me, or with thy sons
In Death's grim city thou shalt dwell ere long,
Thy royal parasol the crimson blood
Welling from wounds that Lakṣmaṇ's arrows deal.'

Aṅgada. Sire,

If I be messenger in peace or war,
Full soon the spouse of mighty Rāvaṇa
Shall fall, whether her fate be life or death.

Rāma. Good, O, son of Vāli, good! (So saying, laying his hand on his back, he dismisses him. Exit *Aṅgada*, bowing.)

Sugrīva (gazing at the summit of the rocks of Laṅkā). Look, sire, look!

Like to a tusker mad with must, the fiend
Doth gaze in deep disdain, as if he felt
The host of simian heroes captive made
And on his shoulder borne unto their doom.

Come then! Let us gaze upon the shores of the sea, adorned by the forests on Suvela's cliffs.

(Exeunt.)

(Enter *Rāvaṇa*, *Mandodarī*, and *Vibhīṣaṇa* and others as retinue.)[1]

Rāvaṇa (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Friend Vibhīṣaṇa,

Am I not Rāvaṇ, Laṅkā's lord, and these
The hands that cure great Indra's itching arms?[2]
[5] I hear that Rāma bridgeth ocean o'er
And see the monkey-hosts invade mine isle,
E'en though no sound is heard, and naught is seen.[3]

And, furthermore,

How comes it that this wanderer ne'er hath heard
Of my grim blade, that with resistless might
Could cleave the temples of Airāvata,[4]
And that men name 'The Laughter of the Moon'?[5]

---

135), ascribes this verse, with minor variations, in his *Suvṛttatilaka* (ii, 37 of the *Kāvyamālā* edition) to Bhavabhūti.

[1] The second scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa*, vi, 41, 74—90.

[2] An allusion to the defeat of Indra by Rāvaṇa and his son Indrajit or Meghanāda (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 27—29).

[3] Thus indicating his supernatural power.

[4] The elephant of the god Indra.

[5] *Candrahāsa*, the sword bestowed on Rāvaṇa by Śiva (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii, 16).

But lo, he findeth Laṅkā's shores all bare
Of Meghanāda and his comrades bold,
Wherefore his death-doomed soul now wavereth.

Mine arms eclipse the moon of Indra's pride,
And unto holy hermits work dire woe.
Oh, portent dread of evil yet to come!

Mandodarī (aside).

Even to-day envenomed arrogance
Pours from his throat as rain to wake the buds
Upon the tree of doom to all his kin!
(Aloud.) Look, husband, look! Wonderful, wonderful!
The surging cries of wrathful monkeys ring
Within thy house of dalliance, my lord!

Rāvaṇa (contemptuously). O, queen, sweet is thy speech by nature, but enough, enough of this terror at the sound of these wretched apes! What further wouldst thou say?

Mandodarī.

Still, still thou may'st escape! give Sītā back
To Rāma's arms! I pray thee, hear my plea!

[6] *Rāvaṇa* (with an angry laugh). My queen,
It may not be, since she by force was stolen
And was not given back to him straightway;
But lo, to-day the surging sea is bound,
And must I sue for peace by yielding her?
Therefore leave thou this pleasure-house. (Exit *Mandodarī*, weeping.)

Rāvaṇa (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Friend Vibhīṣaṇa, what speech is thine?

Vibhīṣaṇa. Sire, lord of Laṅkā, consider well!
They twain be more than men, and these great apes
Be more than members of the monkey-folk;
Behind their guise lurks awful mystery
Pregnant with woe for Laṅkā's mighty king.
Therefore set Sītā free, a night of doom for the race of Rākṣasas!

Rāvaṇa (angrily drawing his sword). Ah! knave, adherent of mine enemy, brand of thy family, and scoundrel! with Candahāsa shall I make thy head to fall! (Seizes him; *Vibhīṣaṇa* flees in terror.)

Mālyavān[1] (standing between them). Sire, lord of Laṅkā! consider well whether evil hath been spoken by prince Vibhīṣaṇa.

Rāvaṇa. Ha! Art thou, too, like to him? (*Mālyavān*, in terror, stands silent.)

Rāvaṇa (to *Vibhīṣaṇa*). Thou cursed kinsman! leave my capital, join that hermit,[2] and make thy skill in ethics known! I will not slay thee again![3]

Vibhīṣaṇa. What needs must hap doth not happen otherwise!

(Exit. Enter a porter named *Prahasta*.)

Prahasta. Sire, at the door stands a monkey, saying: 'I am Rāma's envoy.'[4]

[?] *Rāvaṇa* (contemptuously). Let him enter then!

[?] (Enter *Aṅgada* with *Prahasta*.)

Aṅgada (looking at *Rāvaṇa*, aside).

'Tis Rāvaṇa, that fain would wreck the world!
But in his groves shall Rāma launch his darts!

(Aloud.)

Ye Rākṣasas, where stands curst Rāvaṇa
Who stole the gem that decks the moon and sun?
He is a moth doomed unto Rāma's flame,
That fills the threefold world with radiance.

(Several *Rākṣasas* assume the form of *Rāvaṇa*.)

How many Rāvaṇs art thou, O thou fiend?
In sooth we heard that thou wert multiform;
The one subdued by Kārtavīrya's arm[5];
Another given as food to dancers vile
By wanton slave-girls of the Daitya lord;
And to a third 'tis direst shame to speak;
Who art thou, if thou art not one of these?

Rāvaṇa (assuming various forms, insultingly). Who art thou, ape? Whose messenger art thou?

---

[1] Though no 'enter' is given this character, he was doubtless included among the retinue surrounding Rāvaṇa at the beginning of the scene.

[2] Rāma, in allusion to his exile from his native land.

[3] Vibhīṣaṇa, if struck by Rāvaṇa once, would never live to receive a second blow.

[4] Comp. *Mahāvīracarita* vi (Pickford's translation, 131—133).

[5] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa* iv, 11. The allusion to the 'Daitya lord' (apparently either Bali or Pātālaketu) is obscure.

Aṅgada.

The son who shirks the deeds his father did
Could scarce instruct the elders of his house.[1]

So be it, then,

Yet one hath come to earth to bear the woe
By demons wrought through all this mortal world;
And I, his envoy, stand before thee now,
Great Rāma's messenger, and Vāli's son.

And, furthermore,

I am the messenger of mighty Rām
That slew my sire, whose valor thou dost know.

[8] *Rāvaṇa* (to *Aṅgada*).

What doeth Rāma?

Aṅgada. Naught.

Rāvaṇa. And yet but now
He cometh unto ocean's shore!

Aṅgada. 'Tis naught!

Rāvaṇa. Why hath he bound the sea?

Aṅgada. For kingly sport!

Rāvaṇa. Doth he not know that Rāvaṇ shieldeth it?

Aṅgada. Vibhiṣaṇa, thy brother, knows it well,
Who stands by Rāma's side on Laṅkā's soil.

Rāvaṇa (in alarm). What now is Rāma's course?

Aṅgada. Upon his lap he takes Sugrīva's head,
Yea, and the foot of him who Akṣa slew,[2]
Then on a golden deer-skin soft reclines;
And glanceth at the arrow keen and straight
By Lakṣmaṇ made to slay the demon-host,
The while he hearkens to thy brother's words.

(*Rāvaṇa.* gesticulating contempt, speaks thus and thus in the ear of *Prahasta.*)

Prahasta. As my lord commands.

(Exit *Prahasta*; enter a *False Maithili*[3] with *Prahasta.*)

False Maithili. Victory, victory, my spouse! (Thus speaking, she climbs to the lap of *Rāvaṇa.*)

Rāvaṇa (aside). Good, good, even though false! thou knowest how to please him of ten necks![4]

---

[1] Probably meaning that if he fails, none will heed his words.

[2] Akṣa, the eldest son of Rāvaṇa, was slain by Hanumān (*Rāmāyaṇa* v, 47).

[3] Maithili is only a synonym for Sītā. [4] Rāvaṇa.

[9] *Aṅgada* (aside, in sorrow). Would even Janaka's daughter go the way of her who takes gain from a stranger? So be it! Let me consider now!

Rāvaṇa. Lady daughter of Videha, answer thou this monkey, sent by Rāma!

False Maithilī (looking at *Aṅgada* respectfully). Good Aṅgada, answer thou the son of Raghu in my words:

'O, Rāma, wherefore doth this cause thee woe?
Swift get thee home, for of mine own accord
And publicly I wedded this my lord.

Yea, more than this,

Like to a swan in Rāvaṇ's lotus-lap
I sport the live-long day; so get thee hence
Unto thy realm where Bharata lies dead
Within a land by demons devastate.'[1]

Aṅgada (stopping his ears). Nay, lady daughter of Janaka!

Such words of shame fair Sītā never speaks,
For spotless purity adorns her soul,
And like the Ganges she doth cleanse the world.

(Enter, with a toss of the curtain,[2] a *Rākṣasī.*)

Rākṣasī. Tidings of ill hath Rāma's captive spouse
Heard of her lord, and fain would end her days
Upon a slender cord of tendrils wove.

Rāvaṇa (in distress). Ah! Ill words and at a time unseemly!
Rākṣasas, protect, protect the daughter of Janaka!

(Dismisses the *False Maithilī.*)

Aṅgada (joyfully). Through the glory of the true Maithilī the blackness of the false Maithilī is hid!

[10] *Rāvaṇa.* What wouldst thou say, thou wrinkle-face?

Aṅgada. Disgrace comes not to thee from evil deeds,
Wherein thy hellish race its glory finds;
'Tis natural thou should'st steal another's wife
And think our warriors' wrath unjust to thee.

Rāvaṇa (angrily). Thou knave of evil face! through the sight of thy calumny thou deservest nevermore the sight of Raghu's son![3]

---

[1] A false statement to make Rāma retire from Laṅkā.

[2] In token of hasty entrance.

[3] Rāma.

Aṅgada. Nay, consider thou another tale;
Rāma hath passed the sea impassible,
Fulfilling his great vow, and portions out
Suvela's forests as thy many arms.[1]

Rāvaṇa. Thou fool in understanding!
The ocean is not crossed by simian hosts,
Or they would swarm on every mountain-peak,
Unless, forsooth, they lurk in coverts hid;
But on the touchstone of the sword to-day
Will I put Rāma's valor to the proof.
Nay, more than this, thou knowest not Rāvaṇa!
With Candrahāsa oftimes I have gone
To fell the forest of the foemen's throats,
And lo, the bursting veins wept tears of blood,
And choking sobs were hushed by Death's chill hand;
Lord Śiva beareth witness to my words.[2]

Aṅgada. Nay, what hath Rām to do with thy keen glaive?
Thine arrows end the terror of the world,
And, thanks to them, thou fool, thy severed heads
Shall never rise to lofty majesty
Like to the changing moon on Śiva's brow.

[11] *Rāvaṇa* (angrily drawing *Candrahāsa*). Away! away from me! I shall not slay thee twice!

Aṅgada (anxious to be gone).
Set Sītā free, thou demon of the night!
In vain thou prancest through thy valorous steps;
Before thee standeth all the simian host,
Dread with the might of their immortal king,
And with their prowess hymned by kinnaras.[3]
And, more than this,
He will not give thee wives as Śiva did,[4]
Though many be thy heads, for lo, he makes
The sea a lake, thou soldier of Kailās;[5]
Thou wert my friend when he did slay my sire—

---

[1] Rāvaṇa had twenty arms.

[2] The deity who had given him his sword.

[3] Celestial musicians, dwelling in Kuvera's paradise and having the form of a man with the head of a horse.

[4] An obscure allusion.

[5] An allusion to Rāvaṇa's victory over the semi-divine Yakṣas at Mount Kailāsa, a peak of the Himālayas (*Rāmāyaṇa*, vii, 14—15).

O shaken pillar of fame! restore the spouse
Of Rām, the noble kin of lotuses!

Nay, too,

He that lopped off the arms of Taṭaka,[1]
Yea, marred thy sister's wondrous loveliness,[2]
Destroyed thy soldiers in the forest-glades,
And bindeth now the sea, doth work thy doom:
Yet still to fond delusion thou dost cling.

Yea, furthermore,

Thou foolish fiend! trust not to Śiva's boon,
Since he is wroth with thee for Sītā's sake;
Else he had given back thy sacrifice
When he was girt with skulls that he did break.

Yet, more than this, we know the true nature of thine attachment to the service of the Lord,[3] but thou art proud in vain!

Why dost thou vaunt thyself, Paulastya[4] cruel:
Lo, I that speak brought joy to Śiva's heart
By gifts of his own beauteous lotuses:
[12] But on thee he bestowed thy blade divine
Through merest pity of thy penances,
And in remorse for the fifth head of Brahm,
Which he destroyed in olden days of sin.[5]

Hearken, thou ten-faced fiend! we shrink not in terror of the words which come from the hole within thy face!

(Exit *Aṅgada.*)

Voice (within).

Thou art the sovereign of the threefold world,
And yet the apes of Rāma slay thy hosts!
Swift to the fray! or hath thy valor quailed?

Rāvaṇa (anxiously). Alas! mightily wail our subjects that are being slaughtered!

(Enter *Demon-Warriors* with wounded limbs.)

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[1] The demonic daughter of Suketu, slain by Rāma (*Rāmāyaṇa* i, 26).

[2] Śūrpaṇakhā, a hideous demoness, became enamoured of Rāma, who bade his brother Lakṣmaṇa cut off her nose and ears (*Rāmāyaṇa* iii, 18).

[3] Śiva.

[4] Rāvaṇa, as being the grandson of the *ṛṣi* Pulastya.

[5] Alluding to the Puranic legend that Śiva pinched off the fifth head of Brahma.

Demons.

'Tis shame for us to die at simian hands!
If thou be lord, make not thy wisdom vain
While thou dost live and breathe in Laṅkā's isle.

Rāvaṇa (angrily calling *Prahasta* in haste).

Arm swift my mighty demons for the fray!
What be these apes in cursed Rāma's host?
Lo, in my hand doth Candrahāsa wake,
Grim 'Laughter of the Moon' to mourning brides
Of the immortals falling 'neath its blade.

(Again striding about terribly.) To-day the world will be without Rāvaṇa or without Rāma! (Exit.)

(Enter *Hemāṅgada* and *Citrāṅgada*, two *Gandharvas*[1] wandering in the path of sky).[2]

Hemāṅgada. Good Citrāṅgada,
With arms divine that cried 'Earth, Ether, Sky!'[3]
Great Rāma severed Rāvaṇa's ten heads,
Whilst an eleventh sun shone through the clouds;
And by Kakutstha's wondrous scion slain,[4]
Yea, killed by his swift dart that Brahma sped,
The lord of demons of the night doth lie
A headless thing upon a hero's couch.

[13] *Citrāṅgada.* Good friend, long have we travelled fearlessly by this path of sky!

(Loud noise within.)

Crushed is the might of Rāvaṇ, Laṅkā's king,
He whose ten heads were made to rule the world,
Whose twenty arms gave him a strength tenfold;
Yet slain upon the field by Sītā's spouse
With crescent arrows radiant and keen.

Celestial Bard.

Hearken, Hemāṅgada! look, Citrāṅgada, as on a picture!
With arrows tawny as great Caṇḍa's[5] gold

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[1] Celestial bards.

[2] The third scene, which begins here, is based on *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 107—108. Comp. also the last scene of the sixth act of the *Mahāviracarita* (Pickford's translation, 133—148).

[3] *Bhur, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ*, a cry of mystic power as early as the Yajur Veda.

[4] Kakutstha, king of Ayodhyā, was the father of Raghu, and thus an ancestor of Rāma.

[5] A demon slain by Durgā.

All demons save Vibhīṣaṇa are slain
And set by Rāma in his precious store
Of boons to aid him through the lives to come;
Yet in their fear of Yama's conqueror[1]
The timid gods shower no garlands down,
Nor dare to sound the drums of victory.

Citrāṅgada (to *Hemāṅgada*, wonderingly). Good Hemāṅgada, this victor over the rangers of the night and this diadem of heroes is this marvellous vessel of the sentiment of wonder, glorious through his love for the spouse of Bhavānī,[2] before whom all gods and demons bow through the might of his exceeding majesty. But he who, in ages past, in his devotion to the foe of cities,

Paid ten-faced worship unto Śiva's bride,
Who thought the world, yea, and its Lord,[3] his own,
And fain would lay his hands on Brahm's five heads,
Doth roam no more on Durgā's mountain-heights.[4]

(Beholding the might of *karma*, anxiously.)

Look, Hemāṅgada, look!
What vengeance dread for ancient deeds of sin!
Great Śiva, see! the heads that once were thine[5]
Are now defiled by loathsome birds of prey!

Hemāṅgada. Is not this exceeding clear, my friend? 'Where justice is, is victory', is a true saying of the text-books.[6] Therefore in this very instance is revealed the future of those who work good or evil by their bodies and the like. There Rāvaṇa himself forms an example, for

[14] Lo, on this earth thy body is but wealth
To win thee everlasting righteousness.
And when 'tis gone it cometh nevermore;
So Rāvan gave his heads and worlds threefold
To Brahma for a wondrous lotus blue.[7]

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[1] In allusion to Rāvaṇa's victory over Yama, the god of death (*Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 20—22).

[2] The husband of Bhavānī (Pārvatī) is Śiva.

[3] Śiva.

[4] The Himālayas, which include the Mount Kailāsa already mentioned.

[5] An obscure allusion.

[6] The same proverb occurs in the *Dharmaviveka* and the *Prasaṅgabhāraṇa* (*Indische Sprüche* 2348, 5030).

[7] See *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 10.

Voice (within).

Its banner-pole all gashed with Rāma's darts,
Its charioteer a-faint in streams of blood,
The carrion vultures hovering o'er its path,
And with its axle broken 'neath the fall
Of Rāvaṇ's headless corpse, his car now comes
To Laṅkā, swiftly drawn by whinneying steeds
That would return to their remembered stalls.

(Again within.)

Come from your homes, ye brides of gods immortal,
And thou, mahout of our dread deities,
Fast tie thy mighty elephant divine;
Go forth, ye gods, as watchmen of the night,
And brighter, sweeter far be now the bloom
Of coral trees in Indra's holy grove;
For at the eastern gate lies Rāvaṇ's head,
Defiled and branded by the hands of slaves.

And, more than this,

Girt round with fragrance showered from the hands
Of brides divine rejoicing in the fray,
Himself descended from his car of war,
And with his hand resting on Lakṣmaṇa,
His ears filled with the cry of 'victory'
Torn from the prisoners' reluctant lips,
Doth Rāma, Sītā's mighty spouse, draw nigh!

Rāma (crowned with flowers, going to Ayodhya,[1] to *Sītā*, pointing out the battle-field of Laṅkā).

Here Phaṇipāś yielded to Lakṣmaṇ's might,
There, rent and torn, Droṇādri once became
The captive of divinest Hanumān;
Here by my brother Indrajit was slain,
And there did one[2] whose name I may not tell
Hew Rāvaṇ's heads from his accursed frame,
Like some unholy wood, sweet Eyes 'o Fawn![3]

Joying the heart of Sītā with such words,
Whose sentiment is new to mortal ears,

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[1] The modern Oudh.

[2] Rāma himself.

[3] Comp. with this speech *Rāmāyaṇa* vi, 123, 3—15, and the last act of the *Mahāviracarita*.

His limbs a-thrill with beauty and delight,
[15] Let Rāma haste unto his capital;
And there rule o'er his land forevermore—
Guarding his realm and loyal citizens,
Whom he shall bless with bounties manifold.

By Subhaṭa this drama hath been writ
Upon a theme dear to the bards of old,
And to it he hath added his own words,
Commingling prose and verse in flavor sweet.

The Hebrew Metheg[1].—By Frank R. Blake, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

The Traditional View.

The traditional views of the Jewish grammarians on the sign Metheg are ably set forth by Baer in his article on "Die Methegsetzung".[2] In this article, which forms the basis of the treatment of this subject in modern Hebrew Grammars, Baer states that when any sound that does not bear the primary tone is to be emphasized, a Metheg is affixed to the sign for that sound, the Metheg, conformably with its name (bridle), indicating that the sign to which it is attached is to be dwelt upon and not hastened over in pronunciation. He divides the various Methegs into three classes, light, heavy, and euphonic, with a number of subdivisions. His scheme is in outline as follows.

I. The light Metheg (מתג קל).

A. The ordinary Metheg (פשוט) indicating the secondary tone, in the first open syllable two or more places from the primary tone, as, e. g., in הָאָדָם (Gen. 1, 27).

B. The indispensable Metheg (תמוך).

a) with long vowel before Shewa, e. g., תֹהוּ (Gen. 1, 2).

b) with long vowel before Maqqeph, e. g., שָׁת־לִי (Gen. 4, 25).

c) with Sere in Nasog Ahor, e. g., אֹהֵב (Prov. 12, 1).

d) with a vowel before a Ḥateph, e. g., נַעֲשֶׂה (Gen. 1, 26).

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[1] In the following article the primary accent or tone of Hebrew words will be marked by the sign ֫, e. g., הָאָדָם, unless there is some special reason for employing the proper accent marks. In the application of Metheg, two or more words connected by Maqqeph are treated as if they formed one word.

[2] S. Baer, *Die Methegsetzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen dargestellt*, in Merx's *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des alten Testaments*, Bd. 1, Halle 1869, pp. 55—67 and 194—207.

e) with the vowel before the initial consonant of חיה, חיה, e. g., וְחָיָה (Gen. 1, 29).

f) in the forms of the plural of בית, e. g., בָּתִּים, and in אָנָּא.

II. The heavy Metheg (מתג כבד).

A. with vowels.

a) with the vowel of the article before a consonant with Shewa and without Dagesh, e. g., הַמִּנְחָה (Lev. 3, 3).

b) with the Pathaḥ of ה interrogative, e. g., הַאֲלָךְ[1] (Ex. 2, 7).

c) in certain forms with a short vowel (including Pathaḥ, Segol, short Ḥireq, and short Shureq) three places before the primary tone, provided this is marked with a disjunctive accent, e. g., נִשְׁמְעוּ (Gen. 3, 8).

d) in the second closed syllable before the tone with the vowels Segol, short Ḥireq or short Shureq[2], when the first syllable before the tone contains Pathaḥ or Segol, and the tone is marked by a disjunctive accent, e. g., הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת (Gen. 3, 24).

e) with the first syllable of imperfects with Qames Ḥatuph before Maqqeph, e. g., יִשְׁמָר־צֵאתְךָ (Ps. 121, 8).

f) with the Pathaḥ of the forms זֶרַע, זַרְעָם with disjunctive accent,

g) with the Pathaḥ of וַיְהִי and וַיְחִי before Maqqeph and when accented with Pashta.

h) with the vowel of the initial syllable of a number of miscellaneous forms, accented for the most part with Zarka.

B. with Shewa in the initial syllable.

1.—in the metrical books.

a) with a Shewa three places before the tone, when the word is marked by a disjunctive accent without preceding conjunctive, instead of on the following open syllable, e. g., נְסָה־עָלֵינוּ (Ps. 4, 7).

b) with the Shewa of the divine names אדני (יהוה) and

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[1] The Metheg with ה interrogative is regularly placed to the right of the vowel to distinguish the ה from the article, except in the poetical books: cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 196, ft. nt. 1.

[2] That Pathaḥ is not entirely excluded is shewn by תִּנָּחֵלוּ (Hos. 4, 17). For the second Metheg cf. III, A. a.

אלהים when they are accented with great Rebia without preceding conjunctive accent, e. g., אֱלֹהַי[1] (Ps. 25, 2).

c) with the Shewa of a word accented with Oloveyored, Great Rebia, or Dehi, without preceding conjunctive accent, provided at least one vowel intervenes, and this has not already Metheg, e. g., יְהוָֹה (Ps. 1, 3).

d) with אני when accented with Munah as conjunctive accent before Dehi.

2.—in the other books of the Bible

a) with the Shewa of words accented with Gershaim or Pazer without preceding conjunctive accent, when at least two vowels lie between Shewa and tone syllable, and the first has not already Metheg, e. g., וְאֶת־פְּתְרֻסִים (Gen. 10, 14).

b) with the Shewa of words accented with Darga as second conjunctive accent before Rebia, with Kadma as second conjunctive accent before Pashta or Tebir, or with Munah as third conjunctive before Telisha, provided that at least one vowel lies between Shewa and the tone syllable, and that this vowel has not already Metheg, e. g., שְׁלָמִים (Gen. 34, 21).

III. The Euphonic Metheg (נעיא להקל הקריאה).

A. at the end of a word.

a) with a final ע preceded by Pathah in a word accented on the penult, when this word is connected by a conjunctive accent with a word accented on the first syllable, e. g., וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ (Gen. 24, 9).

b) with a final guttural consonant of a word closely connected by Maqqeph or conjunctive accent with a word beginning with a guttural, e. g., גְּבִיעַ הַכֶּסֶף (Gen. 44, 2).

B. at the beginning of a word.

a) in the closed initial syllable of certain dissyllabic words, e. g., רְדֵפוּ (Ps. 71, 11).

This classification is of course entitled to respect as representing the views of the native Jewish grammarians, but it must be remembered that they were not the same men who

[1] When Metheg is affixed to a composite Shewa it is placed between Shewa and vowel as here, cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, ft. nt.

invented the pointing, but later commentators on this pointing. They represent what they thought was the meaning of the various points at their time, basing their conclusions in all probability not only on tradition, but also on their own individual opinions[1]. The body of rules for Metheg was a gradual growth, compiled from various sources. This is indicated by the variation of the manuscripts in its use, and by the fact that in the best and oldest manuscripts some of its most prominent uses are practically unknown, e. g., the use of Metheg before a Hateph (I. B. *d*)[2]. There is no reason, therefore, why the traditional view should be accepted simply because it is traditional, its acceptance or rejection will depend largely on its ability to explain the actual phenomena.

As a matter of fact the traditional classification of the uses of Metheg is not satisfactory. While there is a certain amount of justification for it in general, many of the details are not properly worked out and assimilated to the general scheme (cf. e. g., II. A. *h*, III. B. *a*). We find uses separated that belong together, and those which are quite different placed under the same heading. For example the Metheg in such forms as וַיִּתְגַּבְּאוּ and that in those like וַיִּתְעַצֵּב are placed in different sub-classes of the heavy Metheg (viz., A. *c*, and A. *d*), though they evidently belong together. On the other hand the Metheg in the forms of the verbs היה and חיה, e. g., יְהִיֶה, is placed under the same general heading as the Metheg in forms like יַעֲשֶׂה (viz. light Metheg B. *d* and B. *e*), though they are used to denote two entirely different things. Moreover the connection between the various kinds of Metheg is not made sufficiently clear, nor is the general principle underlying the use of the Metheg in all cases adequately emphasized. A more accurate and scientific classification of the various uses of Metheg is certainly to be desired.

The underlying Principle.

The general principle which underlies all the uses of Metheg, according to the traditional explanation, is that of emphasis, but the emphasis is certainly not always an actual emphasis,

[1] Cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *Introd. to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, London, 1897, pp. 402—405; B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 54, § 50.

[2] Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 402—778 *passim*.

as is indicated by Baer's statement[1], cf. I. B. *b*. The fundamental use of Metheg seems to have been, not necessarily to emphasize, but to call special attention to: it was thus a sort of *nota bene*. The fact that the majority of the syllables marked with Metheg bore the secondary tone led to the idea that emphasis or lingering on the sound in question was the underlying signification of the sign.

Considering this faculty of calling special attention to, to be fundamental, the chief uses of Metheg may be classed under three heads. It may be employed to call special attention to—

a) a consonant,
b) a vowel,
c) an accent, or accented syllable.

Metheg used to call attention to a Consonant.

This Metheg corresponds to Baer's III. A. *a* and *b*. In both these cases the Metheg is placed under a final guttural to call special attention to it in positions where it would be likely to be slurred over.

Metheg used to call attention to a Vowel.

This Metheg calls special attention to a vowel which is likely to be mispronounced in the form in question, or which is irregular or out of place in the form. The vowel which is thus marked may be long or short.

This Metheg is employed with a long vowel in the following cases, viz.:

(1) It is used with a long final vowel in a closed syllable before Maqqeph, e. g., עָתְלִי (Gen. 4, 25), עֵץ־הַגָּן (Gen. 2, 16): in the first case without Metheg the reading would naturally be *sŏth-li*, while before Maqqeph a Sere regularly becomes Segol: cases like שִׂימְנָא (Gen. 47, 29) and בְּתוֹךְ הַגָּן (Gen. 3, 3), where there is no danger of a mistake without Metheg, have followed the analogy of the first two cases, the point of contact being that both sets of cases end in long vowels.

(2) It is used with Sere which is to be retained in Nasog Ahor, e. g., אֹהֵב נֶעְרָה (Prov. 12, 1); without Metheg the reading would naturally be אֹהֵב.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 56, § 1.

(3) It is used with a long vowel before Shewa, the Shewa being silent as in גֵּרְשֹׁן (Gen. 46, 11), בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר (Dan. 5, 12), or vocal as in הָיְתָה (Gen. 1, 2), יָדְךָ (Gen. 22, 12), יֵדְעֵי (Gen. 3, 5). Here originally as in (1) the Metheg was used to prevent an improper pronunciation, e. g., גֵּרְשֹׁן or *jôdʒa*; cases like יֵדְעֵי are due to an extension of the principle to all long vowels. In cases in which the Shewa is vocal, as it probably is in הָיְתָה, יָדְךָ, &c.[1], the Metheg stands in the syllable which bears the secondary tone, and so came to be regarded as the sign of this tone. It is not impossible that the use of Metheg as an accentual sign originated with cases like these.

(4) It is used in the forms of בָּתִּים and in אָנָּא to insure the pronunciation *bāttîm*, *ānnā* instead of *bŏttîm*, *ŏnnā*.

This Metheg is employed with a short vowel in the following cases, viz.:

(1) It is used in the forms of חִיָּה and חִיָּה to call special attention to the *i* vowel before ה and ח where we should expect Segol or Pathah, e. g., יְחִיָּה, יְחִיָּה, &c.; the Metheg in forms like אֶחְיֶה (Gen. 26, 3), וַתְּחִי (Gen. 12, 2), וַתְּחִי (Gen. 20, 7), is probably due to the analogy of the more numerous forms with Ḥireq.

(2)[2] It is used to call special attention to an *ŏ* vowel in a situation where it might be mistaken for *ā*, e. g., אָרָהּ־לִי (Nu. 23, 7), קָבָהּ־לִי (Nu. 22, 11, 17), קָדָשִׁים and שָׂרָשִׁים in numerous instances. Here the Qames of the first syllable would naturally have been read *ā*, as it stands in an open syllable. The use of the Metheg with Qames Ḥatuph was also extended to cases in which this vowel stood before Shewa. In certain imperative forms with *ŏ* in the first syllable Metheg was employed to call attention to the unusual vocalization, *ŏ* instead of the regular *i*, e. g., שָׁמְרָה (Ps. 86, 2). In certain infinitive and imperfect forms with suffix הָ—, Metheg was used with Qames to call special attention to the fact that the regular *ō* (Ḥolem) of the infinitive had been changed to *ŏ* (Qames

[1] Cf. F. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrg. der Hebr. Spr.*, Leipzig, 1881, 1te H., pp. 111—118.

[2] For a discussion of the pronunciation of the Qames in these forms cf. König, *op. cit.*, pp. 104—111.

Hatuph), e. g., לְמַשְׁחָךְ[1] (1 Sam. 15, 1), לְהָרְגֵךְ (1 Sam. 24, 11), יְמָנְשֶׁה (Gen. 32, 18). The extension of this Metheg to the infinitive form בְּעָבְרוֹ (Jos. 4, 7) is apparently without special reason, as *o* is the regular vowel in such forms; possibly it is due to formal analogy with the imperatives like שָׁמְרָה. The fact that Metheg was ordinarily employed to mark a long Qames before Shewa, would naturally lead to a confusion between *o* and *â*, and this is doubtless the reason why the Metheg with *o* is preserved only in exceptional cases. The Metheg with *o* in forms like פָּעָלוֹ, פָּעָלֵךְ does not belong here, but under the accentual Metheg (cf. below p. 85).

(3) In the forms of the divine name אדני with prefixed particles, Metheg is used with the Pathah of the particle in all cases where the א is written without Hateph, to call attention to the fact that Pathah is the proper vowel here, and not Qames (*â*) even though the א has apparently quiesced, e. g., לַאדֹנָי, וַאדֹנָי, בַּאדֹנָי, &c.: so also with similar forms of יהוה, viz., וַיהוָה, לַיהוָה, בַּיהוָה, &c., because they were read וַאדֹנָי, &c.

(4) In the word אַשְׁרֵי, a Metheg is employed after the Shewa to indicate that it is vocal, viz., אַשְׁרֵי[2] (Ps. 1, 1), and elsewhere.

Accentual Metheg.

The third and most common use of the Metheg is to call attention, not to the vowel itself to which it is affixed, but to the fact that the vowel bears a special stress. This use may have originated from the fact that in certain forms the Metheg marked a vowel which bore the secondary accent (cf. above pp. 83, 80). This use may be subdivided as follows.

I.

It is employed with a full vowel in the first open syllable two or more places before the tone to denote a secondary accent. This is Baer's so called ordinary Metheg (I. A.). Examples are הָאָדָם (Gen. 1, 27), הָאֱרַנִּי (Gen. 10, 18), מַהֲמַתְחַנוֹת

[1] Baer-Delitzsch has לִמְשָׁחֵךְ with Hateph Qames; this is an additional indication of the *o* quality of the preceding Qames.

[2] For the Metheg with Pathah cf. below p. 94.

(Ezek. 42, 5), בְּאֹהֶל (Gen. 7, 1), קְבֻרַת־רָחֵל (Gen. 35, 20). The vowel of the open syllable is usually long as in the examples cited, but it may also be short as in מֶלֶךְ־צֹר (2 Sam. 5, 11), נַחֲלִי (Jos. 14, 1).

This ordinary Metheg, however, includes a great deal more than Baer states. He enumerates cases like וַיְהִרְגֵהוּ (Gen. 4, 8) and וְאֶעֱשֶׂךָ (Gen. 12, 2) under this head, but places cases like תֶּעֱבֹר (Gen. 4, 12) and נֶאֱסֹף (Gen. 22, 13) under the so-called indispensable Metheg. This latter class of cases, and all cases in fact in which Metheg is employed with a vowel before a Hateph such as e. g., הֶעֱשִׂירוֹ (Gen. 8, 5), צֶחֱקָה (Gen. 18, 13), וְאֶחֱזֶר (Job. 17, 9), &c., are simply examples of forms with the ordinary Metheg. These forms are to be read, *tâ-'a-bôd, nè-'e-hâz, hâ-'a-si-rî, çâ-ḥa-qâh, û-ṭa-hâr*, &c.

In the case of forms beginning with copulative וְ the usage varies. Many such forms are without Metheg under וְ, as e. g., וְלִמְחָה (Gen. 1, 10), וְכִמְּרוּ (Gen. 19, 15), וְשָׁתֵּי (Gen. 19, 30), וְשִׂמְחוֹת (Gen. 12, 16), &c. Other forms again, particularly those with sibilants after the וְ take the Metheg with וְ, the following consonant having Hateph Pathah, e. g., וְזָהָב (Gen. 2, 12), וְשָׂדָה (Lev. 25, 34), וְשָׁמַע (Num. 23, 18), וְקָרֵב (Ps. 55, 22), וְרָעַם (Ps. 28, 9), &c. In the first case the forms are probably meant to be read *ul-miq-yêh, ukh-mâ, uś-tê, us-fa-hôth*, the *u* being regarded as short, and forming one syllable with the following consonant: thus there is no open syllable two or more places before the tone to receive Metheg. In the second case the forms, as is shown still more clearly by the use of the Hateph, are intended to be read *ù-za-hav, ù-sa-dhêh, ù-qa-rôv, ù-ra-'êm*, the *u* being probably regarded as long, and forming by itself an open syllable, which being two places before the tone takes Metheg. The inconsistency in the use of Metheg with וְ may be due to the fact that it was pronounced *u* by some and *û* by others, one tradition being preserved in one case, and the other in another, or it may be due to the fact the וְ was pronounced *û* only before sibilants and certain other consonants.

Cases in which the vowel *a* of the article takes Metheg before a consonant with Shewa, and cases in which the *a* of the interrogative הַ takes Metheg are also to be classed here, the Metheg in all these cases marking the secondary tone in the first open syllable with full vowel two or more places back from the tone. Such forms as הַמְכַסֶּה (Lev. 3, 3), הַלְוִיִּם (Lev.

25, 32), בְּצַפְרְדְּעֵיִם (Ex. 7, 27), לַמַּסָּה (Jer. 31, 21), are to be read *hâ-me-kas-sêh, hâ-le-ṣip-ṣîm, bâ-ṣe-far-de-'im, lâ-me-sil-lâh*[1]; forms like הַמְכַסֶּה[2] (Gen. 18, 17), הַכְּוֹנָה (Gen. 34, 31), הָאַלָּךְ (Ex. 2, 7), הַחֹתָם (Job. 1, 9), are to be read *hà-me-kas-sêh, hâ-kc-zo-nâh, hâ-'e-lêkh, hâ-ḥin-nâm*.

The Metheg is not used in the above cases when *yod* is the consonant immediately following the article or interrogative particle, e. g., הַיְלָדִים (Gen. 33, 5), הַיְדַעְתֶּם (Gen. 29, 5), &c.: nor in cases like הַמְעַט[3] (Nu. 35, 8), לְמָלֵךְ (Ps. 144, 1), הַאַף (Gen. 18, 13), הֲבָעַר (Job. 22, 13), where the tone is on the syllable immediately following: nor in cases where the syllable adjoining the article or interrogative particle has already what Baer calls the usual Metheg as, e. g., בְּאֹהֶל (2 Ki. 9, 11), הָאֹהֲלִים (Num. 32, 6)[4]. In the first of these exceptions the *yod* forms a diphthong with the preceding *a*, viz., *haj-la-dhîm, hai-dha-têm*, so that we have what was regarded as a closed syllable two places or more before the tone, and hence no Metheg. In the second series of exceptions no Metheg is used because the *a* of ה stands immediately before the tone; forms in which ה precedes a consonant with Shewa are to be read as dissyllabic, viz., *ham-'ât, laq-râv, hav-'âdh*, &c. In the third series of exceptions, the Metheg stands on the syllable which was preferred as the place of the secondary tone: in the first example *ham* probably forms a closed syllable, viz., *bà-ham-su-gâ'*; in the second, *ha* is only one place before the secondary tone[5]. In the case of ה interrogative, moreover, no Metheg is employed in those forms in which Daghesh is placed in the consonant following

[1] It is not impossible to regard the first syllable of forms with the article like הַמְכַסֶּה as having an initial closed syllable, viz. *ham-kas-seh*; and forms like הַמְּעַט (Nu. 35, 8) in which the first syllable is certainly closed, viz. *ham-'at*, and hence without Metheg, might seem to point that way. The Metheg would then belong under the second subdivision of accentual Metheg (cf. below). The difficulty with this view, however, is that it offers no explanation of the absence of Metheg in forms like הַיְלָדִים.

[2] Cf. above p. 79, ft. nt. 1.

[3] Written with Metheg, viz., הַמְּעַט by Van der Hooght, 1705. This writing indicates the pronunciation *ha-me-'at*, the Metheg being the ordinary accentual Metheg.

[4] Van der Hooght has הָאֹהֲלִים with the second variety of accentual Metheg described below.

[5] Cf. Baer *op. cit.* p. 58, § 7.

the ה. The *a* in these forms was of course regarded as standing in a closed syllable, hence no Metheg.

II.

Metheg is employed in a number of cases in a closed syllable[1] with the vowels of the article, ו consecutive, the preposition מן, the reflexive prefix הת, with a vowel before a doubled consonant, and with the vowel of certain particles and constructs before Maqqeph; e. g., הַכְּנַעֲנִי (Gen. 10, 18), וַיִּשְׁמַע (Gen. 3, 8), מְנֻרָּעָךְ (Gen. 17, 12), הַתְּיַצְּבוּ (Ex. 14, 13), אֲשֶׁלַּחְךָ (Gen. 32, 27), אֶל־כָּל־עֵדֹת (Ex. 16, 9), מִמִּצְרַיִם (Deut. 11, 14), &c. According to Baer this Metheg is used only in the third syllable before the tone with the short vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *u*[2] when the first syllable before the tone has Shewa, and the word in question has a disjunctive accent. It is true that this variety of Metheg is used chiefly under the above conditions, but it does not seem to be confined to them, e. g., מִן־הַשָּׁנָה (Gen. 30, 16), מִכָּל־הַמְּקוֹמוֹת (Ezr. 1, 4), עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (Ex. 29, 21), וַיִּתְעַצֵּב (Gen. 6, 6), תִּתְגַּלְגְּלוּ (Job. 30, 14), &c.

This use of Metheg is probably due to the fact that a special stress fell on the vowel in each of these cases. That the article and ו conversive bore originally a strong stress is indicated by the doubling of the following consonant[3]. It is also quite natural for a special stress to fall on the heavy prefix הת and on the vowel before a doubling, and on the final syllable (i. e. the original tone syllable) of a construct. Why a special stress should fall on proclitic prepositions and particles, except in the case of מן which for the most part comes under the head of a vowel before a doubled consonant, the *nun* being regularly assimilated, is not entirely clear.

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[1] Olshausen apparently regards this Metheg as accentual, cf. *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1861, p. 88, *c*, 1.

[2] According to Baer the vowel *ô*, Qames Ḥatuph, is not included here, because Qames with Metheg is ordinarily long Qames and confusion would therefore have resulted, e. g., כָּל־מַעֲנִית (Gen. 7, 11) &c. All the examples given by Baer (*op. cit.*, p. 199, § 27) are cases in which the *ô* vowel is the vowel of כל. As it would be quite natural for the word meaning "all" to have a special stress, Baer's explanation of the regular absence of Metheg with this word is quite plausible.

[3] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1908, Bd. 1, p. 107, v.

The fact that Metheg is not employed with the vowels in question in all cases would seem to indicate that they did not always bear a special stress. This stress was ordinarily preserved by tradition only in cases where the syllable in question was the only other syllable of special prominence in the word besides the tone syllable. No Metheg was employed when the accent of a word was a conjunctive accent, as in that case the secondary tone was not so prominent.

Whenever there is an open syllable two places from the tone in a word of the form prescribed above, it regularly takes the Metheg according to rule, but in this case the Metheg is also affixed to the preceding syllable, e. g., נַעֲקֹד (Gen. 22, 9), וַתְּחַפְּצֵנִי (Hab. 3, 6), בְּעֶבְרִים (Gen. 43, 16), אֶשְׁלַחְךָ (Gen. 32, 27), &c. The Metheg in the open syllable in these examples may be due to the fact that it has become a fixture with the vowel before a Ḥateph, and so was retained in spite of the fact that the secondary tone falls on another syllable, or it may be that we have here a combination of two conflicting traditions, one school of Massorites preferring to place the secondary accent on the emphatic closed syllable[1], the other preferring the regular method of accenting the first open syllable two or more places back from the tone. When the Ḥateph stands under a consonant which is not identical with the one that follows, and the vowel that precedes the Ḥateph is Ḥolem, no Metheg is employed in the syllable before Ḥolem, e. g., הַשְׁאֵבֹת (Gen. 24, 11), וַיִּנָּאֲלוּ (Neh. 7, 64), עַד־בָּאָּה (Gen. 19, 22). In this case there appears to have been no doubt as to the place for the secondary tone, the long vowel seeming to all the most emphatic element outside of the syllable with primary tone.

The forms with copulative וְ which Baer includes here, e. g., וְלִזַרְעֲךָ (Gen. 13, 15), וְיִסְבְּלֻךָ (Gen. 27, 29), וְבִשַּׁרְתָּם (Deut. 6, 7), &c., are perhaps properly classed under this head, וְ taking the secondary accent for the same reason as the preposition עַל: in this case the *a* is short, and the forms are to be read *ûl-zar-'a-khâ*, *ûm-ba-ra-khê-kha*, *ûv-śokh-be-khâ*, &c. It is also

[1] That the Metheg in the closed syllable is the more original of the two is indicated by the fact that Metheg before a Ḥateph is rarely used in the best manuscripts, while the other occurs in a number of cases. Cf. Ginsburg, *op. cit.* pp. 474, 675, 731.

possible, however, that the *u* is long, and that the Metheg marks the secondary tone in an open syllable, viz., *û-le-zar-'a-khâ, û-me-bâ-ra-khê-kha* (cf. below p. 92), *û-ve-sokh-be-khâ*, &c.; if this is so these forms belong under (I).

III.

Metheg is employed in the first of two closed syllables connected by Maqqeph with a word accented on the first syllable, provided this accent is disjunctive, e. g., קָרְמָה־עָנֶן (Gen. 4, 16), יָלַד־בֵּן (Gen. 4, 26), וַיִּפְצַר־בּוֹ (Gen. 33, 11), &c. The Metheg seems to indicate that the secondary tone, which would naturally fall on the syllable which is accented when the word is authotone, i. e., on the last syllable, has been retracted to the preceding syllable in order to prevent the secondary and primary accents from standing in adjoining syllables. Cases like הַבְרֵלָהּ (Gen. 31, 32), תִּקְחִ־לָהּ (Gen. 7, 2), וַיִּתְּנֵלָהּ (Gen. 28, 4), &c. belong here; the secondary tone is retracted in spite of the syllable *le* before the primary tone, as is shown by the Segol for Sere. When the accent of the word after Maqqeph was a conjunctive accent, the secondary accent on the preceding word was not so prominent and so was not specially marked, e. g., הִתְהַלַּךְ־נֹחַ (Gen. 6, 9), נִשְׁמַת־רוּחַ (Gen. 7, 22), &c.

Those forms of the Hithpael which Baer includes here, e. g., תִּמְּתַהֲפֶכֶת (Gen. 3, 24), וַיִּתְעַצֵּב (Gen. 6, 6), &c., really belong under the preceding heading: forms with ו copulative such as וְתִכְבַּשְׁנוּ (Jer. 3, 25), יִסְחַר־בּוּשׁ (Is. 45, 14), &c. are perhaps best considered as belonging under (I), *u* being long and constituting an open syllable, viz., *û-the-kas-sê-nu, û-se-har-kush*.

Under this head are also to be classed the forms וַיְהִי and וַיְחִי before Maqqeph, e. g., וַיְהִי־אוֹר (Gen. 1, 3), וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר (Gen. 1, 5), וַיְחִי־יֶרֶד (Gen. 5, 18).

Of a similar character, moreover, is the Metheg in the first syllable of an *o* imperfect followed by Maqqeph in which the ō has been shortened to *o*, e. g., יָקְטֹל־עָנִי (Job. 24, 14), יִשְׁמֹר־צֵאתְךָ (Ps. 121, 8). In all such cases the ō has lost the tone and the Metheg is employed to emphasize the fact that the secondary tone is on the first and not on the second syllable. In these forms, however, the Metheg is always employed without regard to the accentuation of the following word as it has come to be regarded as the regular sign of an imperfect with *o* in the second syllable, on account of the contrast

with the Metheg in such forms as יִגְבַּל־אֹתוֹ (Jos. 18, 20), which calls special attention to the fact that the imperfect has an ō in spite of the Maqqeph.

IV.

Metheg is employed with a syllable containing Shewa in a variety of cases (cf. II. B. above page 79 f.) to indicate that some special stress falls on this syllable. The reason for the special accentuation of such syllables seems to be entirely a musical one, and as the musical value of the accents is lost, it is, of course, useless to speculate as to the exact value of the Metheg. All that can be said is that it denoted a special stressing of a usually unstressed syllable[1] in certain melodies.

Exceptional uses of Metheg.

The various uses of the Metheg enumerated above do not exhaust all the instances in which it is employed. There are a number of cases in which it is difficult to say what is the reason for the addition of the Metheg.

In the first place are to be noted the Methegs used in an initial closed syllable immediately before the tone syllable, e. g., עֶלְוָן (Gen. 36, 23), חִשְׁחִיתוּ (Ps. 14, 1), רְדָפוּ (Ps. 71, 11), תִּבְחַר (Ps. 65, 5), עֶרְבַת (Nu. 31, 12), דַּרְכִי (Jer. 12, 16), לִשְׁבַת (Ezek. 42, 13), &c. These Baer groups under the euphonic Metheg, but his explanation of their significance as a class is not satisfactory.

It is not impossible that in some cases the sign was used to call attention to a short vowel. This was perhaps the case in the Edomite proper names עָלְוָה, עֶלְוָן (Gen. 36, 23; 40). Here some probably pronounced a long vowel in the first syllable as is indicated by the LXX equivalents of עָלְוָה, viz., Γωλαδ, Γωλαμ, Γωλαν: the Massorites on this supposition would have used the Metheg to call especial attention to the fact that they preferred the pronunciation with short vowel.

In some cases, whatever was the original meaning of the sign, some Massorites undoubtedly regarded the Metheg as indicating a secondary tone in a closed syllable, as is shown by

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[1] Cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, § 35; p. 206, § 37; p. 205, § 40, all near end of paragraph.

the fact that the following consonant is in some MSS. pointed with a Chateph, e. g., תִּבְחַר (Ps. 65, 5, Baer-Del.), תִּלְעַג (Prov. 30, 17, Baer-Del.).

The Metheg in forms like דַּרְכִּי is regarded by Baer as an additional sign of the absence of the Daghesh in the initial consonant of the second syllable, which view is not impossible. The spirantic value of the third consonant, due to the vowel that originally stood before it, but which has been syncopated, would naturally lead to the idea that the preceding Shewa was vocal, and hence that the syllable before the Shewa was open. To indicate this view Metheg was employed.

The forms וַיְהִי and וַיְחִי accented with Pashta are perhaps to be classed with these forms, if they indeed form one class, inasmuch as they have Metheg in what is apparently a closed syllable preceding the tone. It may be, however, that these forms, in the melody indicated by Pashta, were to be read *wâ-ye-hî*, *wâ-ye-ḥî*.

In the second place the words זַרְעֲךָ, זַרְעֲכֶם take Metheg with the Pathah under ר when the words have a disjunctive accent, viz., זַרְעֲךָ, זַרְעֲכֶם. It is not impossible that this Metheg was employed to call attention to the short vowel of the first syllable, and to prevent the pronunciation *zâ-ra-kha*; *-khem*, to which the combinations *zar-'a-kha*, *-khem* would tend to be reduced in order to obviate the difficulty occasioned by the occurrence of both ע and spirated כ in close proximity.

Examples of individual forms with peculiar Methegs are, e. g., קָלֹתִי (Job. 40, 4), יְפַנְּשֶׁךָ (Gen. 32, 18), וַיְמַגְּדִּלֵם (2 Chr. 14, 6), וְיָתֵא רֵיב׃ (Prob. 30, 33). In קלתי the Metheg may have been placed under ל to indicate that the accent is not on the syllable marked with the prepositive accent, but on the second syllable. In יפגשך the Metheg with ג marks the short *a*; the Metheg in the first syllable is perhaps due to the irregular pronunciation of ג. Several of the imperfect forms of פגש have a spirated ג, viz., יִפְגָּשֶׁךָ and וַיִּפְגַּשׁ (1 Sam. 25, 20), doubtless following the analogy of the perfect where ג regularly has this pronunciation, viz., פָּגַשׁ &c. This pronunciation may have given rise to the Metheg in the first syllable just as the spirantic value of the third consonant may have done so in the forms like דַּרְכִּי explained above. In ומגדלים it is not impossible that the Metheg, by an extension of the use of the accentual Metheg to a closed syllable, may be intended to mark the second-

ary accent in the second syllable before the tone[1]. In יוֹצִיא רִיב the Metheg is perhaps intended for the so-called euphonic Metheg (Baer III. A. *b*).

Repetition of Metheg.

In a number of cases two or more Methegs occur in the same word or series of words connected by Maqqeph.

When two or more syllables precede a Metheg denoting the secondary tone, the first open syllable two or more places before the syllable with Metheg takes an additional Metheg to denote what might be called a tertiary accent; e. g., חֲאַשְׁרִיאֵלִי (Num. 26, 31), וּמְהֻתְיכוֹנוֹת (Ezek. 42, 5), וַאֲבָרְכָה (Gen. 12, 3), וְהַקְמֹתִי (Gen. 9, 11), וַאֲשַׁחֲוָה (Gen. 24, 48), שְׁנֵי־בְנֵי־יִצְחָק (Gen. 34, 25), &c.

When one of the elements discussed under the second subdivision of the accentual Metheg (cf. above p. 87 f.) occurs two places or more before a Metheg denoting the secondary tone, it may take a second Metheg just as if the first Metheg denoted the primary accent, e. g., כִּפְחֻשְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם (Is. 55, 9), מִמִּתְקוֹמְמֹתַי (Ps. 18, 46), &c. This Metheg denotes a tertiary accent as in the first case.

A Metheg which for any of the reasons already stated falls on a short vowel in a closed syllable may be retained immediately before a Metheg which precedes a Ḥateph, e. g., וַיִּצְחָק (Gen. 22, 9), בַּמַּחֲזֶה (Gen. 15, 1), unless the Metheg stands with Ḥolem, e. g., הִשְׁאִבֹת (Gen. 24, 11) (cf. above p. 11).

Occasionally an open syllable preceding a syllable with Metheg before a Ḥateph also takes a Metheg for one of the reasons just stated, e. g., שְׁנָאֲךָ (Ex. 23, 5, Mantua). In the form מְלֵאָתְךָ (Ex. 22, 28, Mantua) both second and third open syllable before the tone are marked by Metheg, indicating doubtless a combination of two traditions with regard to the place of the secondary tone.

The Metheg that marks a long or short vowel as such without regard to tone may stand before a Metheg which marks the secondary tone, e. g., הָקִים־אֹתְךָ (Deut. 29, 12), וְלָהֵיתָה (Deut. 26, 19), כָּל־יַרְקַאבֶל (Ezek. 47, 12), &c. When, however, a syllable containing such a Metheg is preceded by a syllable which should take the Metheg denoting the secondary tone,

[1] *Cf.* Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, p. 103, 9, aa.

the accentual Metheg is omitted, e. g., עֶשְׂרִים (Nu. 9, 3), וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה (Gen. 9, 15), &c. The non-accentual Metheg is here apparently treated as if it had accentual value, these cases following the analogy of instances like בִּי־מָלְאָה (Gen. 6, 13), where the Metheg, whatever it may have stood for originally, certainly marks the secondary tone.

Words ending in a final guttural and consisting of two closed syllables, which are joined by Maqqeph to a word with a disjunctive accent on the first syllable, may take an accentual Metheg with the vowel of the first syllable (cf. above p. 89), and a Metheg under the guttural (cf. above p. 82), e. g., נַקְחִי־לָנוּ (Gen. 34, 16), נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי־לִי (Gen. 24, 7), הַנְחִילוֹ (Hos. 4, 17).

In בִּירֻאשֵׁן[1] (2 Sam. 23, 5) the Metheg may in both cases mark the long vowel before Maqqeph; the one with בִּי, however, may be accentual. For the two Methegs in יְסַנְּשֶׁךָ (Gen. 32, 18) cf. above p. 91.

Occasionally three Methegs are found in the same word, e. g., וּמְמַעֲמָדֵךְ (Is. 22, 19, Mantua), בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי (2 Ki. 5, 8)[2]. Here the Metheg nearest the end of the word indicates the secondary tone according to rule, and the preceding complex of syllables takes two Methegs just as if the secondary tone were primary (cf. above p. 92).

Confusion in the Use and Interpretation of Metheg.

The variety of uses to which the Metheg was put would naturally lead to a certain amount of inconsistency in its application to the text of the Old Testament, and also to a certain amount of confusion as to the meaning of the sign after its application, especially as this was not the work of one man working at one time, but of a large number working at different times and under various influences. Inconsistencies and misunderstandings, therefore, are to be expected, and in spite of the fact that the rules for its application were in all

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[1] This pointing is given by Olshausen, *Lehrbuch*, p. 89. No Metheg is employed in either case in the Mantua edition, Van der Hooght, or Baer-Delitzsch.

[2] If this form is to be read הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי (cf. Burney, *Notes on Hebr. text of the Book of Kings*, Oxford, 1903, pp. 208, 280; also Stade and Schwally *The Books of Kings* in SBOT ed. by Prof. Paul Haupt, Leipzig, 1904, p. 281), then the Metheg of the first syllable is like the first Metheg in forms like וַיַּעֲקֹד above.

probability thoroughly worked over and systematized at a later period, some of these still remain.

From the fact that the Metheg was employed to call attention to both long and short vowels, it happens that it was used not only with a long Qames, but sometimes also with a Qames Ḥatuph (cf. above p. 83 f.). The Jewish grammarians, however, considered that every Qames marked with Metheg indicated an *ā*, hence they read פָּעָלוֹ, פָּעָלָה, אָרְחֵי, קָרְשִׁים, &c., *pā-'o-lô, pā-'ol-khā, 'ā-rā-ḥî, qā-dā-šîm,* &c., respectively[1].

From the fact that it may stand in both open and closed syllables, it was sometimes doubtful as to which was the character of the syllable in which it stood when the vowel marked with Metheg was followed by a simple Shewa. Therefore it happens that a long vowel with Metheg before Shewa e. g., הָיְתָה, יֹאמְרוּ, יָדְךָ, יָרְעִי, &c., is regularly considered by the Jewish grammarians as standing in a closed syllable[2], viz., *hāy-thah,* &c., though it is more likely that the syllable is open and the Shewa vocal, viz., *hâ-ĭ̈-thah,* &c.[3] On the other hand certain cases in which we have a closed syllable with short vowel and Metheg followed by silent Shewa are considered by the Massorites as open syllables, the Shewa being therefore vocal, e. g., יְהִיָה (Gen. 18. 18)[4] and תְּהִיָה (Lev. 7, 33)[4], and certain of the forms mentioned on page 13 f., e. g., תִּבְחַר (Ps. 65, 5), תִּלְעַג (Prob. 30, 17), which are evidently to be read according to certain Massorites *ji-he-jeh, ti-he-jeh, ti-va-ḥar, ti-la-'ag.* The fact that, in a combination of forms like יהיה, יחיה with a preceding word by Maqqeph, no Metheg is used in the final open syllable of the first word, e. g., לאֹ־יִהְיֶה (Gen. 9, 15), seems to indicate that the Metheg in the second word was considered an accentual Metheg. That the Massorites were not always certain as to whether the Metheg stood in an open or closed syllable when the vowel was short is shown by the form אֲשֶׁרִי, which was marked with Metheg in the first syllable; viz., אֲשֶׁרִי. Whatever may have been the original meaning of the Metheg here, it was considered as marking an open syllable by the Massorites, and a special Metheg was often placed after the

[1] Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik,* 28ten Aufl., Leipzig, 1909, p. 52, e.

[2] Gesenius-Kautzsch, *op. cit.* p. 68, i.

[3] Cf. König, *Lehrgebäude* 1, pp. 111—118.

[4] Cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, p. 65, ft. nt. 2.

Shewa to show without a doubt that the intended reading was *'a-še-rē* and not *'aš-rē*, as would be possible if the pointing were simply אַשְׁרֵי.

Cases in which we have two accentual Methegs in adjacent syllables, the second usually standing before a Ḥateph vowel, are perhaps, as we have seen, due to a combination of two traditions as to the proper place for the Metheg (cf. pp. 92, 88).

Use of Ḥatephs after Metheg.

There seems to have been a tendency that was not completely carried out, to mark vocal Shewa after Metheg by a Ḥateph. This tendency seems to have originated from the close association of Metheg with a following Ḥateph in words where the Ḥateph stands under a guttural, where of course it is quite regular, as, e. g., in נַעֲשֶׂה (Gen. 1, 26), בָּאֳרֹת (Gen. 14, 10), אָהֳלָה (Gen. 9, 21), צָחֳקָה (Gen. 18, 13), צָעֲקִים (Gen. 4, 10), חָאֳמָת (Gen. 42, 16), &c. From such cases it was extended to forms in which the consonant following the Metheg was not a guttural, Ḥateph Pathaḥ being employed except in the vicinity of an *u* or *o* vowel or of a labial consonant, when Ḥateph Qames is used: e. g., גָּלְמָה (Ex. 3, 18), וַיְהִבְדִּיל (Gen. 1, 18), זְהַב (Gen. 2, 12), לְאִשָּׁה (Gen. 2, 24), יְמַהֵר (Job. 17, 9), שִׁמְעָה (Ps. 39, 13), וְגָלְלוּ (Gen. 29, 3), קְלָלָתְךָ (Gen. 27, 13). This use of Ḥateph we find extended by some authorities to cases in which the Shewa is certainly not vocal, e. g., יִצְחָק (Gen. 21, 6), הַתְּמַלֵּךְ (Jer. 22, 15), אֲבַתֵּר (Job. 29, 25), &c.

In the case of Shewa following non-guttural consonants, the Ḥateph is the rule according to some grammarians with a consonant which has lost the doubling preceded by Pathaḥ, e. g., וַתְּאַלְּצֵהוּ (Jud. 16, 16), הַלְלוּ (Ps. 113, 1), &c., and also with a consonant after any vowel, when the same consonant is repeated immediately, e. g., מְרֳדִים (Ps. 68, 7), קְלָלָתְךָ (Gen. 27, 13), &c. Here the use of the Ḥateph has been carried to greater lengths than elsewhere, though even in this case there are exceptions[1].

[1] These rules, though said to be rules of Ben Asher, are not supported by the evidence of the best manuscripts. Still they represent the ideas of certain of the grammarians, and as such are worthy of note: cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch *op. cit.* p. 55 foll., Ginsburg, *Introd.* p. 466; T. C. Foote, *Some Unwarranted Innovations in the text of the Hebrew Bible*, JHU. Circ. No. 163, June, 1903, p. 71f.

Baer's rule that Metheg always stands with a vowel which precedes a Ḥateph unless the consonant between them is doubled, results from the fact that in all cases except those in which the Ḥateph follows a guttural, the Ḥateph is due to the Metheg and not vice versa.

Relation between Metheg and Daghesh.

In a number of cases the Metheg seems to stand in some relation with Daghesh, particularly with the Daghesh which represents an accentual doubling, such as the Daghesh following the article. As both signs have a similar signification, both denoting an emphasis of some sort, a Daghesh does not usually follow Metheg, as in that case they would both emphasize the same vowel. The two signs are often mutually exclusive. This fact appears most clearly in the case of ה interrogative. Here when the ת is pointed with Pathah it regularly takes Metheg, e. g., הַמִכְסֶה (Gen. 18, 17), &c. [cf. above p. 85 f.], but in a certain number of cases, chiefly with Shewa after the initial consonant of the word to which ה is prefixed, Daghesh stands in this consonant instead, e. g., הִבְּצִעְקָתָה (Gen. 18, 21), הַיִּשַׁב (Lev. 10, 19), הַשְּׁמָנָה (Nu. 13, 20), הַרְאִיתָם (1 Sam. 10, 24), &c. A similar relation between the Metheg and the Daghesh was perhaps felt also in the case of the article and ו conversive. Compare for example הַמִכְסֶה (Lev. 3, 3), וַיִּשְׁלָחֶהָ (Gen. 21, 14), with הַמַּקֵּנֶה (Ecc. 10, 18), וַנְּשַׁלְּחֶךָ (Gen. 26, 29), &c.

We find Metheg instead of Daghesh also in some instances in which the Daghesh represents a real doubling. Compare, for examples, מִשָּׁם (Jon. 4, 11), הַלְלוּ (Ps. 113, 1).

In a number of cases, however, in spite of this antithesis we find both Metheg and Daghesh together, e. g., cases like הַכְּנַעֲנִי (Gen. 10, 18), וַיִּשְׁמַע (Gen. 3, 8), in which both Metheg and Daghesh emphasize the same thing, viz., that the vowel of the article or ו conversive has a secondary stress, and cases like אֲשַׁלְּחֶךָ (Gen. 32, 27), מְמַחֲרַת (Gen. 19, 34), יְקֻמְקַן (Gen. 4, 24), וַיְתַרְלֵ (Gen. 23, 9), &c., in which the Daghesh indicated simply a doubled consonant and had no accentual meaning, and hence Metheg was affixed to the preceding vowel to indicate that it bore the secondary tone.

While it seems probably that this antithesis between Metheg and Daghesh was recognized, and made use of to a

certain extent, it was certainly never generally applied to the text of the Old Testament, doubtless because it served no special purpose. It is not impossible, however, that on this antithesis is based the use of the sign Raphe (cf. below p. 23).

Relation between Metheg and the Musical Accents.

One of the most important points of difference, according to Baer, between the so-called light and heavy Metheg is that the light Metheg may be changed into certain conjunctive accents, e. g., הָאָדָם (Gen. 2, 19) instead of הָאָדָם, while the heavy Metheg is never supplanted in this way.

It is to be noted, however, that even when according to what appear to be the Massoretic rules, such change is possible, it is not by any means always made[1]. Moreover the Metheg in a closed syllable immediately before the tone which may become a conjunctive accent as in בַּל־יִהְיוּ (Is. 26, 14), וְאֶת־בָּלְתָּי (1 Chr. 28, 11), is certainly different from the ordinary accentual Metheg in an open syllable two or more places from the tone. So the fact that two Methegs may be replaced by a conjunctive accent does not necessarily show that they are of the same character.

The fact that the so-called heavy Metheg is not ordinarily changed to a conjunctive accent may be due to the difference in the character of the forms in which it is found. In most cases it occurs in a closed syllable, while the so-called light Metheg ordinarily occurs in an open syllable.

That the so-called heavy Metheg may occasionally become a conjunctive accent is shown by such forms as, לְזַרְעֲךָ (Gen. 24, 7) for לְזַרְעֲךָ, וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (Ezra 4, 1) for וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ, אֶת־גָּדְלְךָ (Deut. 3, 24) for אֶת־גָּדְלְךָ, &c., where the Metheg is replaced by the so-called Methiga[2].

The difference between forms with Metheg and those with a conjunctive accent is probably one of a more or less musical recitation of the word; Metheg indicating simply a stress or emphasis of some kind, the conjunctive accent, a stress plus some musical modulation. It is not impossible that the reason

[1] Cf. W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the ... Prose Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1887, pp. 67, 73, 80, 81, 91, 97, 109, 110, 111; *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the ... Poetical Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 57, 70, 86, 88.

[2] Cf. Wickes, *Accent. of Prose Books*, pp. 81, 82.

the Metheg is replaced by the conjunctive accent, instead of standing together with it, is in the first instance a mechanical one, to avoid the heaping up of diacritical points, as almost all these conjunctive accents are placed below the consonant in the same position as Metheg. Compare for example הָאָדָם with Metheg, with הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, הָאָדָם, with Munaḥ, Merḥa, Mehuppakh, Mayela, and Azla respectively.

Other Signs derived from Metheg.

Numerous as are the uses of the Metheg which have been enumerated, the category of its activities has not yet been exhausted. There are several other diacritical marks which are identical with Metheg in form and which seem to be simply extensions of the uses of Metheg proper. These diacritical marks are Silluq, Paseq[1], and Raphe (?).

The fundamental use of Metheg, as we have seen, was to call special attention to something, and the things to which it ordinarily called the attention were three in number, viz., a consonant, a vowel (long or short), and an accent.

The Silluq, which calls attention to the strong emphasis that rests on the accented syllable of the final word in a verse, is probably simply an extension of the accentual Metheg.

The Paseq[2], in one of its uses, is practically identical with the Metheg that emphasizes a final guttural to prevent its being slurred with the initial guttural of the following word, as, e. g., פִּתַּח הָאֹהֶל (Nu. 12, 5), יִזְנֶה אִישׁ (Hos. 4, 4), שָׁלַח חֹשֶׁךְ (Ps. 105, 28), אַרְבַּע־עֶשְׂרֵה (Gen. 31, 41), זָנַךְ רוּחַ (Hos. 4, 19) &c. The Paseq in question is called *paseq euphonicum*, and is used occasionally without any regularity between two words, one of which ends and the other begins with the same consonant, e. g., הָאֵל | לָנוּ (Ps. 68, 21), לְדָבָר | רָע (Ps. 141, 4), גַּן | נָעוּל (Cant. 4, 12), &c. The chief differences between Metheg and Paseq in this case seem to be first that Metheg is used in the case of a guttural including ר, while Paseq is used with other consonants including ר; secondly that in the case of Metheg the two consonants are not necessarily identical, while in the case

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[1] For the identity of Silluq and Paseq with Metheg in form cf. Wickes *Accent. of Poet. Books*, p. 95.

[2] For the best discussion of the uses of Paseq cf. Wickes *Accent. of Poet. Books*, pp. 95–98; *Accent. of Prose Books*, pp. 129–139.

of Paseq they are regularly so, though there is one instance in which this is not the case, the consonants however being both sibilants, viz., שָׁרָץ | נָחַשׁ (Deut. 8, 15). These differences, it is plain, are merely formal, perhaps accidental, and not differences in principle. It is not improbable that the Paseq originated from the Metheg used with consonants, which for some reason, perhaps by accident, was placed after the word instead of under the final consonant.

The chief use of the so-called ordinary Paseq, however, seems to be to call special attention to the word after which it was placed, e. g., יְהוָה | יִמְלֹךְ (Ex. 15, 18), חָיוֹתָן | יָמוּת (1 Sam. 14, 45), עָלֶיהָם | תֹּאבֵלוּ (Ezek. 33, 25), לֹא יִשְׁמַע | אֲדֹנָי (Ps. 66, 18). This is evidently an extension of the same general principle which lies at the basis of the use of Metheg.

From its position between two words or perhaps more especially because it was employed to prevent two identical consonants from being slurred together, Paseq came naturally to be used as a sign of separation. This is the principle at the basis of the *paseq distinctivum*, e. g., וַיֹּאמֶר | לֹא (Gen. 18, 15), which is marked with Paseq to denote that the two words are to be separated and not closely connected as in the identically sounding combination וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ; חֲצוֹר | חַדַּתָּה (Jos. 15, 25), where the two words are to be treated as distinct names, &c. It also lies at the basis of *paseq homonymicum*, which is employed occasionally between two identical or similar words, e. g., אַבְרָם | אַבְרָהָם (Gen. 22, 11), אָמֵן | אָמֵן (Nu. 5, 22), הָמוּל | יָמוּל (Gen. 17, 13), הַשְׁמַע | יִשְׁמָע (Ezek. 3, 27). Here also belongs what is called *paseq euphemisticum*, which separates the divine name from a word with which it seemed improper to associate it, e. g., אֱלֹהִים | אָדָם (Deut. 4, 32), אֱלֹהִים | רָעָה (1 Sam. 18, 10), יהוה | שָׁמָּן (1 Ki. 11, 14), אֱלֹהִים | רָשָׁע (Ps. 10, 13).

Finally the Paseq implying separation was made a part of the system of musical accents. It was employed in some cases as a disjunctive accent to mark the dichotomy in clauses governed by certain of the minor disjunctive accents, though the principles that govern its application are the same as in the case of the ordinary Paseq; we have namely *paseq distinctivum*, *emphaticum*, *homonymicum*, *euphonicum*, *euphemisticum*.

Besides being employed as an independent disjunctive accent, Paseq is employed to transform a conjunctive into a disjunctive accent. In the prose books, when joined to Munaḥ, it forms

Legarmeh or Munaḥ Legarmeh. In the poetical books, from Shalsheleth, Azla, and Mehuppaḥ it forms Great Shalsheleth, Azla Legarmeh, and Mehuppaḥ Legarmeh. In the case of the prose accent Shalsheleth, the Paseq is added to an already disjunctive accent for the sake of conformity with the pausal Shalsheleth of the poetical books[1].

The upright line to the left of the two perpendicular dots in Zaqeph Gadol (׀) is possibly nothing but Paseq, which true to its emphatic nature indicates a fuller, stronger melody than Zaqeph Qaton with the two perpendicular dots alone[2].

The Raphe, which is a straight mark similar to Metheg, only horizontal instead of perpendicular, is possibly also simply Metheg in its origin. It has been shown that the antithesis of Metheg and Daghesh was probably recognized by the Massorites, but that only an exceptional use was made of this principle (cf. above p. 19). It is not impossible that the inventors of the system of pointing, in casting about for a sign to mark the absence of Daghesh, selected the Metheg for this use on account of its recognized antithesis to Daghesh. To place the Metheg either before or after the consonant in which the absence of Daghesh was to be noted would have led to great ambiguity, as Metheg in this position already had a well defined positive signification, so it was placed above the consonant in question, and here, probably for reasons of convenience, it was written in a horizontal position.

Conclusion.

The results of the preceding discussion may be briefly summed up as follows. In general the traditional classification of the uses of Metheg as set forth by Baer, has been rejected and new principles of division set up. An attempt has been made to reduce all of the uses of Metheg to the same fundamental principle; to show what the relation between Metheg and certain diacritical marks is; and finally to prove that certain of these marks are simply extensions of Metheg.

Three chief uses of the Metheg are to be distinguished, viz.,

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[1] So Wickes, *Accent. of Prose Books*, p. 121.

[2] Wickes thinks this is a doubled accent mark like Gershaim (״), Merkha Kephula (֒), or Pazer Gadol (״), the sign " standing for "; cf. *Accent. of Prose Books*, p. 18.

that which calls special attention to a consonant, that which calls special attention to a vowel long or short, and that which marks a secondary or tertiary accent, the accentual Metheg.

The historical development of these uses is perhaps to be conceived of as follows. At first the sign was a *nota bene* attached to a consonant or a vowel. From the fact that the Metheg was often affixed to a vowel which bore the secondary accent, the sign acquired an accentual meaning, and was employed to mark the secondary tone, regularly in an open syllable, as it was in such syllables that the accentual use originated, and also to some extent in closed syllables. The most important and most common use of the Metheg, viz., the accentual use, would therefore not be the most original use of the sign. An extension of its accentual use was to mark an accent falling on a Shewa as the result of the musical recitation of the text. A further extension of the accentual Metheg is the use of the sign as Silluq to mark the tone syllable of the final word in a verse. The Paseq seems to be derived from the Metheg, being most commonly employed to call special attention not to a single sound or accent, but to a whole word. It originated perhaps from the Metheg affixed to consonants. Its uses as a sign of separation, and as an element of the system of musical accents are secondary. Finally from an accidental opposition between Metheg and Daghesh, the Metheg comes to be used in a changed position as Raphe to mark the absence of Daghesh.

As the result of the varying uses of Metheg a certain amount of confusion arises in the application of the sign, and its uses have for the most part never been carried out to their logical conclusion. This is particularly true of its minor uses, such as for example its use to specially mark out a vowel, but it is also the case even in its most important and most common use, as the sign of the secondary accent. Here it is practically confined to open syllables for the reason stated above, though in a number of cases it is for special reasons extended to closed syllables.

The same thing is true of the Paseq, the cases in which it is omitted, when it might be applied according to rule, are much more numerous than the cases in which it occurs.

From the fact that Metheg was very frequently used before a Hateph in words containing a guttural has arisen a tendency

to use a Ḥateph in place of a simple Shewa after all Methegs, but here again the tendency after some development became abortive.

Metheg has come, probably through accident, to be regarded to some extent as the antithesis of Daghesh, hence the development of Raphe from Metheg.

The fact that a conjunctive accent is at times substituted for Metheg, does not necessarily show anything with regard to the value of the Metheg, it is simply the substitution of a sign denoting melody for a *nota bene* or accentual sign. The fact that Metheg is not retained in addition to the musical accent is perhaps due to the fact that in the great majority of cases the proper position of both was to the left of the vowel of the syllable to which they appertained, and so the less important sign was omitted.

Metheg has never been regarded as a sign which has everywhere the same meaning, but there has always been a tendency among grammarians to exaggerate the importance of the accentual Metheg which marks the secondary tone and hence an open syllable, at the expense of the less prominent varieties, and to ascribe to this Metheg cases which really belong elsewhere. Enough has been said, however, to show that in no case can the meaning of Metheg be considered as fixed *a priori*, it does not necessarily mark a long vowel, or an open syllable, nor is the Shewa that follows it necessarily vocal, its significance will depend on the character of the form in which it occurs.

Nevertheless in spite of this fact, Metheg taken in connection with the other pointing, and our knowledge of the forms derived from other sources, furnishes very useful evidence with regard to the traditional pronunciation of Hebrew, and is therefore quite worthy of the attention of those who make a study of Hebrew grammar.

Metheg is not the only sign, the conception of which is in need of revision; the last word has by no means been said as to the significance of a number of the marks used by the Massorites. A thoroughgoing investigation of the principles, fundamental and derived, of these marks would, I think, reduce to much smaller proportions the residuum of unexplained forms in the text of the Hebrew Bible.

A Conjectural Interpretation of Cuneiform Texts vol. V, 81—7—27, 49 and 50.—By Ellen Seton Ogden, Albany, New York.

The following text appeared in 1898, but no interpretation has yet been given beyond the more or less generally accepted opinions that the fragment is part of one of the so-called "practice-tablets", and that the older characters thereon are somewhat imperfectly executed Babylonian pictographs.[1] Against this hypothesis it may be urged, first, that the archaic signs do not have at all the peculiar *genre* of Babylonian writing nor do they resemble the Babylonian signs of any known period or locality with sufficient closeness to warrant calling them Babylonian; and secondly, that the marked diversity of characters in each case and under each heading still remains unexplained.

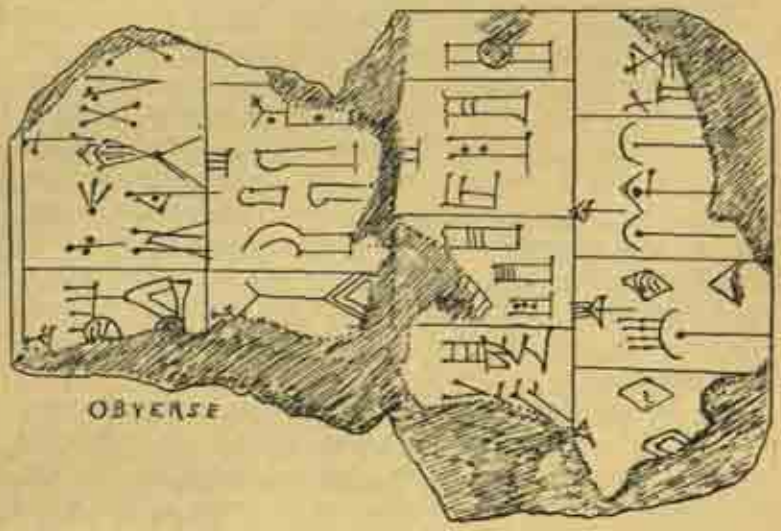
The present paper wishes to suggest that the fragment may be part of an Elamitic-Babylonian syllabary in which the Elamitic equivalents are given under a Babylonian or Neo-Babylonian denominative usually to be found at the left of each case. It will be noted that while the Babylonian signs are fairly homogeneous, the others seem to represent two distinct types of writing. One is partly linear and partly cuneiform but still pictographic; the other is partly cuneiform and apparently the style of a later period. It is with the archaic signs only that this paper is to deal, but the suggestion may be made that the later ones are likewise Elamitic, since the Elamites developed a cuneiform system of their own probably parallel to that of the Mesopotamian Valley.

According to de Morgan, the proto-Elamitic script appears for the first time in Susa during the period of archaic culture which ended about 4000 B. C. (dating Sargon at 3800 B. C.).

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[1] Weber, "*Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*", p. 290.

Of course this must be considerably reduced if the conclusions of more recent writers be accepted in regard to Sargon. Père Scheil places the inscriptions of Karibu of Šušinak in the middle or end of the fourth millenium B. C.[1] It would be too hazardous to assign a date to the archaic forms of the present tablet without more data, but their general appearance would indicate that they are later than the proto-Elamitic of Karibu, and it is of course possible that the mixture of linear and cuneiform characters may be accounted for by a revival of archaic writing such as took place in Babylonia.



In working over the interpretation on these unfamiliar signs many suggestions were gleaned from a study of Cretan writing in Mr. Arthur J. Evan's *Scripta Minoa*. Mr. Evans himself has called attention more than once to the close resemblance between certain Cretan and Babylonian pictographs and this was found to be even more strikingly true of the Cretan and Elamitic. Of course it is impossible to claim identity when the resemblance can be accounted for by coincidence or the nature of the object represented, yet there are here definite characteristics in common which at least raise the question of

[1] De Morgan, *Delegation en Perse*, vol. vi, p. 60, 61. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan*, vol. 1, pp. 50 ff.

connection between the Minoan civilization of the Mediterranean basin, and the culture not only of the Mesopotamian Valley but also of the great "Hinterland" of Elam. The direction of the transmission of the culture and the possible part played in it by the Hittite civilization must be left to future investigation. All that the present paper wishes to call attention to in passing are certain resemblances of writing. To facilitate this the Cretan forms are included in the text.

Case. A. The case sign is ⊰, NU, the original meaning of which seems to have been "to be hostile, to destroy" and as will be shown later its earliest form was the picture of a weapon or implement for cutting. For full assignment of meanings here and under succeeding signs see Meissner's *Ideogramme* and Brunnow's *Classified List*. With regard to the Elamitic characters it must also be remembered that the signs are reversible, pointing towards either right or left.

1. For identifications of forms see as follows. Elamitic, *Liste*[1], Nos. 408, 416, 417, 501. Babylonian, *Rec.*[2] Nos. 257, 517 bis. The Babylonian ŠU = abatu, to destroy, (Br. 8650) aḫâzu, to seize, (Br. 8651) saḫâpu, (Br. 8737) to overthrow, destroy. The origin of the pictograph is not clear.

2. See for Elamitic *Liste* No. 412; for Babylonian *Rec.* No. 154. An analysis of the Semitic meanings of this sign leads to the conclusion that it is a pictograph representing two crossed arrows, hence the double meanings nakâru, nakru, to be hostile, enemy (Br. 1143—4), and naṣâru, to protect (Br. 1146). Compare also šanu (M. 654), šunnu (Br. 1148), to change, alter. In support of this origin may be quoted the crossed arrows of the Egyptian  NEIT, to indicate hostility(?)[3], and possibly the Cretan sign  although Evans[4] at present ascribes to it a different origin and meaning.

3. This sign is obviously late and has no exact counterpart. The nearest to it is perhaps the Neo-Babylonian form

[1] For Elamitic characters when cited under this heading see De Morgan's *Delegation en Perse*, Paris, 1901—1905, Vol. VI.

[2] For Babylonian characters when cited under this heading see Thureau-Dangin's *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Ecriture cuneiforme*, Paris, 1898.

[3] Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, p. 114.

[4] Evans, *op. cit.* List, 112a.

quoted, which is the usual sign for ṣalmu, statue, image. The customary reading for this in Sumerian is ALAM, but it is worth noting that ṣalmu is given as one of the Semitic meanings for NU, (Br. 1963) and that this association with NU may account for its presence under this case sign. Possible the form here found is a late Elamitic equivalent of the Neo-Babylonian.

4. This sign is clearly a compound, of which the first part apparently serves as a determinative.

a) This determinative suggests grain or a growing plant and finds a parallel in the Elamitic sign *Liste* 75 or in one of the groups 557—61 and 116—7, all of which are plant signs. For the Babylonian compare *Rec.* 140, where ŠE = plant or grain or wood; the Cretan  ,  (List 92,1, d)[1], unmistakably a plant sign, and the Egyptian  a clump of papyrus[2]. The sign may be therefore tentatively read here as an Elamitic determinative for plant or wood comparable to iṣu in Babylonian.

b) The second part of the compound (see for Elamitic forms *Liste* 71—2, and for Babylonian, *Rec.* 19) has been already identified with  NU = balu, to destroy (Br. 1961).

It is clear from the archaic form that this character and not  = KUR, PAP (see above) was the original of the present case sign though both have the meanings "hostility, destruction" in common and seem to have been to a certain degree interchangeable. For its use with a plant determinative compare NU-U (iṣu) some kind of instrument for cutting (Br. 1993) and NU- (iṣu) SAR (amelu) gardner (Br. 1992).

5. Again a compound, but as yet unidentified.

Case B. The case sign is  NA = abnu, a stone, (Br. 1582).

1. Père Scheil has already identified the Elamitic sign (*Liste* 373—7) with the Babylonian GAL-ZU (*Rec.* 98 + 188). ZU = ḫuraṣu, gold (Br. 134) or ṣarpu, silver, (Br. 138), hence GAL-ZU would mean "a large nugget of gold or silver".

2. Two Elamitic signs (*Liste* 19, 20, 22) may compared and also the group *Liste* 722—734 which suggests weights

[1] Evans, *op. cit.*

[2] Erman, *Egyptische Grammatik*, M. Nos. 41, 42, and Evans, *op. cit.* page 114.

with the amount or value marked thereon. The Cretan  (*List* 53, 54) also suggests a weight though not so regarded by Evans.[1] The Babylonian form is clearly that for NA = abnu, stone. (*Rec.* 13).

Case C. This is very difficult. The case sign may be read either  MA or a variant  of BA. If the former its archaic form was  which Prince describes as "a representation of land, earth",[2] and which is not unlike the character here found. If the latter, the primitive meaning would seem to have been "to cut, divide, apportion" and the pictograph some kind of an implement.

1. For possible Elamitic, see *Liste* 543—6 and for the Babylonian, *Rec.* 10, in which case it is the same as the case sign MA mentioned above.

2—4. Compare *Liste* 712 for the Elamitic; no similar forms in Babylonian.

Case D. The broken case sign permits only a conjectural reading, but  , DU, meaning dalḫâdu, be plentiful (Br. 4474) is the best restoration.

1. With the Elamitic form (*Liste* 484) compare the Cretan  (*List* 98)[3] representing two palm branches. Evans has noted the resemblance to the archaic form of DU, be plentiful (see *Rec.* 64 and above)[4] and the palm as a symbol of prosperity and plenty was probably not confined to Babylonian.

Case E. The Elamitic form is *Liste* 339, not identified.

Case F. The case sign is broken, but is probably  . The sign is here used with its double significaton of kalbu, on the one hand and of amelu (Br. 11256), baltu (Br. 11258) and baltu (Br. 11257) on the other, the two latter being used instead of the more ordinary UŠ.  , URU  although the underlying idea of the case is clearly that of the organs of generation.

1. For the Elamitic and Babylonian see *Liste*, 201—3, and

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[1] Evans, *op. cit.* p. 202.
[2] Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon p. 228.
[3] Evans, *op. cit.*
[4] Evans, *op. cit.* p. 98.

Rec. 26. The latter equals UŠ = ridû, (Br. 5401), GIŠ = riḫû, (Br. 5042) and NITAḪ = zikaru (Br. 5048).

2. The Elamitic form (*Liste* 195) corresponds to the Babylonian sign (*Rec.* 403) GA = alâdu, to bear (Br. 5415).

3. The Babylonian is listed in *Rec.* as No. 438. LIK = Kalbu, dog.

Case G. The case sign is obliterated, but the contents of the case are clearly related to those of the preceding one in much the same way that Babylonian MAḪ and NITA are related to UŠ.

1. Compare for Elamitic *Liste* 197 and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 27. The latter equals NITA, zikaru, male (Br. 957) and URU, ardu, slave (Br. 956).

2. Compare for Elamitic *Liste* 196 and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 20, , GAN, an irrigated field. Père Scheil has already identified this Elamitic sign with the Babylonian GAN[1], but its presence here in this group is difficult to understand except by an association of ideas peculiarly Semitic. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of its three sign names is GA-GUNU, viz. the gunu of the GA which here appears as No. 2 of Case F and which means alâdu, to bear. Considering the late date of the tablet as indicated by the character of the case signs such a gunu-hypothesis is wholly tenable.

3. Seemingly a variant of No. 2.

Case H. Case sign lost and the signs late.

Case I. No case sign, though strangely enough in the usual place for it the tablet is unbroken. No identifications.

Case J. Case sign is , inu, eye.

1, 2, 3. All variants of the same sign for which see for the Elamitic *Liste* 612, and for the Babylonian *Rec.* 238. It represents the side view of the eye ball with the "eye-string".

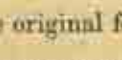
Case K. Case sign is = SIG. Its primitive meaning seems to have been "fresh, bright, pale, yellow or green". Later it has also a numerical value.

1. No. Elamitic equivalent. The Babylonian form is *Rec.* 101, SIG, arḳu, pale, yellow. Barton also gives to it the numerical value 216,000.[2]

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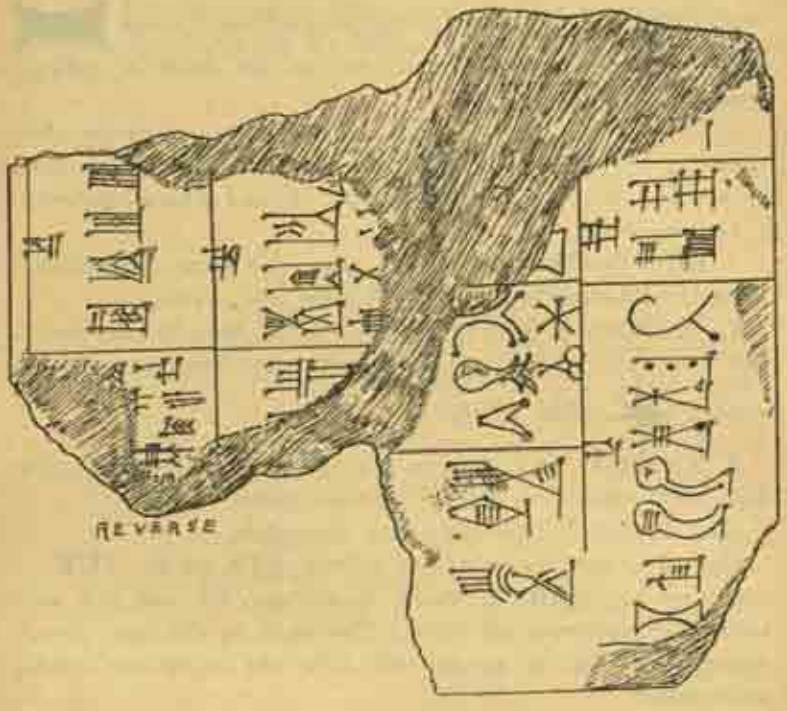
[1] *Délegation en Perse, Liste*, Nos. 372, 384.

[2] *Origin of Babylonian Writing*, No. 308.

2. This is the Elamitic sign *Liste* 653 with numerals inserted. Barton has suggested that the original form was  , viz. 3600 x 60 = 216,000[1] and this corresponds to *Rec.* 491 which also equals 216,000 or 3600 x 60.

3. Likewise a numeral.[2]

Case L. Case sign is  = ŠAR, totality, completeness, also the numerical value 3600 (Br. 8234).



1. The Elamitic form is given in *Liste* 653, with which compare also *Liste* 26, 27, 28, from which it will be seen that Père Scheil has already identified this sign with *Rec.* 206 (cf. also 476, 489) ŠAR = gitmalu, kiššatu, etc., and the numeral 3600 (Br. 8234).

2. For the Elamitic see *Liste* 700, (cf. also 637), and *Delegation en Perse*, vol X, Pl. 4, D.

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[1] See *The Haverford Library Collection*, Pt. II, pp. 16, 17.

[2] See *The Haverford Library Collection*, *loc. cit.* and Hilprecht, B. E. XX, p. 26.

The Babylonian form is *Rec.* 490, to which Thureau-Dangin gives the numerical value 36,000.

On the reverso cases M-Q show late characters.

Case R. The case sign is broken away, but the general meaning of the signs contained in the case is "brightness, light".

1. The Elamitic form is given in *Liste* 832. A similar Babylonian sign (*Rec.* 549) remains unidentified, but a possible meaning for all three signs is suggested by than Cretan  (*List* 56)[1] which Evans interprets as an ingot of gold or bronze.

2. Compare for the Elamitic *Liste* 361—3, tentatively identified by Père Scheil with  , išatu, fire, the archaic form of which is given in *Rec.* 82, suppl. 79, and which represents a burning torch.

3. Here the Elamitic is very close (see *Liste* 29) and has been identified with  , AZAG (*Rec.* 252) silver.

4. The Elamitic form (*Liste* 97—8) has been already identified with  , AN (*Rec.* 5). Compare the Cretan star or sun symbol  (*List* 107d).

5. No similar sign and no clue as to interpretation. The sign itself suggests a pair of polished metal mirrors.

Case S. and T. have only late characters.

Case X. Case sign is  as follows, GIN, to go: TUM, to cause to go; GUB, to stand, to set up; Du and RA with somewhat undetermined force. The signs in this case clearly convey the idea of motion but with two exceptions remain unidentified.

1, 2, 5, 6, all unidentified.

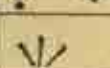
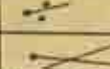
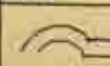
3. Compare the Elamitic forms *Liste* 533—5. Also the Babylonian TUM (*Rec.* 310) meaning to approach violently.

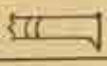
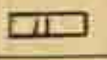
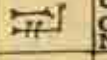
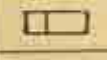
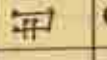
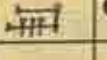
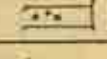
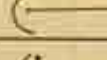
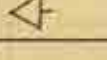
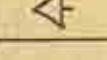
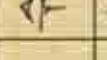
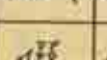
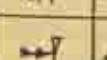
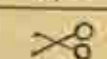
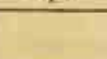
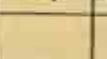
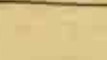
4. No similar form known in Elamitic but Babylonian TUM (*Rec.* 311) means kablu, loins(?) (Br. 4958) and bears the same relation to the previous Babylonian that the Elamitic does to the previous Elamitic sign.

Conclusions may be drawn as follows. First, that the cases are arranged after a definite plan according to which the general underlying meaning is given by the case sign. The

[1] Evans' *Scripta Minoa.*

remaining signs in each case are therefore more or less closely related to each other and either interpret or are interpreted by the case sign, after the manner of syllabaries. Secondly, there remains the subtle and yet irrefutable fact that the genre of the characters is *not* Babylonian. The broad general resemblance is very close, yet careful study will show that in the smaller though equally important details these signs correspond more consistently to the Elamitic as far as it goes than to the Babylonian. From these facts it is reasonable to conclude that the tablet is a fragment of an Elamitic-Babylonian syllabary.

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case A 1					SU
2					KUR, PAP.
3					NU = salmu (ALAM)
					
4					
5					NU
					
6					
7					
Case B 1					GAL-ZU
2					NA
Case C 1					MA (see J.A.O.S. XXIV, p. 389)
2					
					
3					
4					
5					
Case D					DU
Case E					

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case F 1					UŠ GIŠ NITAH
2					GA
3					LIK
Case G 1					NITA URU
2					GAN
3		"	"	"	
Case J 1					IGI
2		"	"	"	
3		"	"	"	
Case K 1					SIG
2					* plus six tens inserted
3					
Case L 1					ŠAR
2					
Reverse Case R 1					
2					NÈ, NI
3					AZAG
4					AN
5					

	Tablet	Elamitic	Babylonian		Babylonian Ideographic value
Case X 1					
2					
3					TUM
4					TUM
5					
6					
7					
8					

The Name of the Red Sea.—By Sarah F. Hoyt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The name *Red Sea* is a translation of Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, which is used in the Greek Bible for the Hebrew *yam sûph*, that is, *Bulrushy Sea*. The Greeks used the name *Erythrean Sea*, not only of the Gulf between Arabia and Egypt, but also of the Arabian Sea between Arabia and India, including the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Exodus (*c.* 1200 B. C.) the Red Sea extended farther north, the Bitter Lakes and the Crocodile Lake north of them were then connected with the Gulf of Suez. When the Suez Canal was dug in 1867, beds of rock-salt and strata with recent shells and corals were laid open. The bed of the Red Sea is becoming shallower by the gradual rise of the land. We know that at the time of King Jehoshaphat of Judah (*c.* 850 B. C.) the Gulf of 'Akabah stretched up to Ezion-geber, some twenty miles north of 'Akabah. Similarly the Persian Gulf at the time of Sennacherib (*c.* 700 B. C.) extended so far north that the four rivers Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkha, and Karûn, emptied separately into the Gulf.[1]

Professor Haupt thinks that the ancestors of the Jews (OLZ 12, 163)[2] crossed the Red Sea at the small peninsula,

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(1) See Professor Haupt's paper *The Rivers of Paradise* in JAOS **16**, ciii, and his note in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 154, ll. 33—51; also the conclusion of his article *Wo lag das Paradies?* in *Über Land und Meer*, 1894/5, No. 15; and his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52[a], below; *cf.* Driver, *Genesis* (London, 1904) p. 60; Skinner, *Genesis* (Edinburgh, 1910) p. 65; also Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 114, 162, 164.

(2) Note the following **Abbreviations**: AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*. — BA = Delitzsch and Haupt, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*. — JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. — JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore). — KAT[2] = Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition,

seventy-five miles south of the northern end of the modern Suez Canal, between the larger and the smaller basins of the Bitter Lakes.[1] The water northeast of this peninsula, it may be supposed, was driven by a strong east-wind into the larger basin of the Bitter Lakes, while the water in the shallow lower basin receded at low tide. Although the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea are now connected only by the modern Suez Canal, the tide extends to the southern end of the Bitter Lakes. In the St. Lawrence the tide is noticeable as far as Three Rivers, about midway between Quebec and Montreal. The present northern end of the Gulf of Suez is practically dry at low tide. Major-General Tulloch observed that under a strong east-wind the waters of Lake Menzâlah, at the northern end of the Suez Canal, receded for a distance of several miles. According to Exod. **14**, 21, JHVH caused the Red Sea to go back by a strong east-wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. But when the Egyptians tried to follow the Hebrews, the wind shifted, and the water, which had been driven away by the strong east-wind, came back, so that Pharaoh's chariots were cast into the sea, and they sank as lead in the mighty waters (Exod. **15**, 10).

Professor Haupt (OLZ **12**, 246) has pointed out an interesting parallel to this catastrophe in Herod. **8**, 129. Herodotus relates that after the battle of Salamis (480 B. C.) Xerxes' general, Artabazus, besieged the Corinthian colony Potidea, on the narrow isthmus of the Macedonian peninsula Pallene. After the siege had lasted for three months, the water was very low for a long time, so that a part of the Toronaic Gulf, on the eastern shore of the peninsula, was dried up. The Persian besiegers, therefore, attempted to advance to the peninsula Pallene through the Toronaic Gulf, in order to attack Potidea from the south. After they had completed two fifths of the march, the tide overwhelmed them, so that those who

edited by Zimmern and Winckler (Berlin, 1903). — OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.* — PAPS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia). — ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

(1) See Professor Haupt's papers on *Archæology and Mineralogy* in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52; *Moses' Song of Triumph* in AJSL **20**, 149; *The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism* in PAPS **48**, 368; *Midian and Sinai* in ZDMG **63**, 529.

could not swim were drowned, while the others were slain by the Potideans. This flood was regarded by the Greeks as a judgment of the gods, just as the Hebrews attributed the annihilation of their Egyptian pursuers to a miracle of JHVH. The unexpected high-tide which saved the Potideans and the Hebrews seemed miraculous, just as Captain George E. Goddard, of the Lone Hill station, called the sudden floating of the North German Lloyd S. S. "Princess Irene" a *miracle of good luck*. The great ship had been held in the grip of the sand of the inner bar of Fire Island for more than three days, and for many hours 2,000 lives, and property worth nearly $ 2,000,000 had been in jeopardy; but on Palm-Sunday afternoon the ship was suddenly floated by an unusually high tide, stirred by a southeasterly storm at sea.

According to Strabo (779) the name *Red Sea* was derived from the color of the water, which was supposed to be due to the light of the sun, or to the reflex of the mountains surrounding the sea. Some said that there was a red spring whence red water emptied into the sea. Others derived the name from a Persian, Erythras, who was said to have been a son of Perseus.[1] The famous German geographer Karl Ritter (1779—1859) thought that the name *Red Sea* was connected with the name of the Himyarites in southwestern Arabia. This view has recently been endorsed by Professor Martin Hartmann, of Berlin, in the second volume (p. 375) of his work on the Islamic Orient. But Ḥimyar (حمير) does not mean *red*. Arabic *aḥmar* (احمر) does not denote a *red-skin*, but, rather, a *paleface*.[2] Arab. *ḥamrâ'u* denotes *white non-Arabs* in Syria and Mesopotamia; *aḥmar* is opposed to *aswad*, black; *aḥmar wa-aswad* means *Arabs and negroes*.

In his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* (JHUC. No. 163, p. 52[b]) Professor Haupt derived the Hebrew name *yam sûph*, Bulrushy Sea, from the bulrushes in the Crocodile Lake (*Timsâḥ*) which formed the northern end of the Red Sea at the time of the Exodus. Before the construction of the modern

(1) Strabo says: Ἐρυθρὰν γάρ λέγουν τινὲς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπὸ τῆς χρωᾶς τῆς ἐμφαινομένης κατ' ἀνάκλασιν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄντος, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐρυθραινομένων ἐκ τῆς ἀνακλάσεως· ἀμφοτέρων γάρ εἰσεῖδον· Κτησίας δὲ τὸν Κτήσιον πηγὴν ἱστορεῖ ἐκβάλλειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐρυθρὸν καὶ μιλτῶδες ὕδωρ.

(2) See Professor Haupt's paper on the passage of the Hebrews the Red Sea in OLZ 12, 246.

Suez Canal, Lake *Timsâḥ* was a shallow sheet of brackish water, full of bulrushes. Rameses II (c. 1300 B. C.) dug a canal from Bubastis on the Nile to Lake *Timsâḥ*. This made the water brackish, while the Bitter Lakes south of it remained bitter owing to the large amount of bitter salt (magnesium sulphate) contained therein. Bulrushes, of course, do not grow in salt water, but marshes are full of them. Strabo (804) states that the canal from the Nile, which established a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, made the Bitter Lakes sweet. Strabo confounds here the Bitter Lakes with the Crocodile Lake north of them.[1]

In his paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy*, Professor Haupt connected the name *Red Sea* with the red color of the salt lagoons between the modern Suez Canal and the Bedouin Hill, northwest of Suez. These salt lagoons were originally a part of the Red Sea. The red color of their stagnant water is imparted by swarms of minute cladocerous, entomostracous crustaceans, apparently a variety of the common waterflea (*Daphnia pulex*) which is attracting some attention in Baltimore at present, inasmuch as the water pipes in certain sections of the city are full of them.

But Professor Haupt has since come to the conclusion that the first explanation given by Strabo is correct. The name *Red Sea* is indeed derived from the color of the water. The water of the Red Sea is, as a rule, of a deep bluish-green color; but an article on *red water*, printed in the Berlin weekly *Das Echo*, March 24, 1910, p. 1093, states that the water of the Red Sea near the coast, especially in sheltered coves, has a red color, due to microscopic algæ. The same phenomenon may be observed in the open sea, if the weather be perfectly calm. The sea appears then to be covered with a coat of reddish (or yellowish) color, so that the ship seems to ride through a mass of blood. This red color may be observed also near the western coast of British India, and some years ago the same phenomenon was noticed near Rhode Island in Narragansett Bay. If the water is covered with these algæ, a great many fishes die. The algæ are often decomposed, and the water becomes offensive. It has been suggested that the first Egyptian plague, as described in Exod. 7. 17—21, may have

(1) See Professor Haupt's paper on Midian and Sinai in ZDMG 63, p. 529, ll. 14. 28; *cf.* OLZ 12. 251.

been due to these algæ. A similar opinion was expressed by Prof. A. H. Mc Neile, of Cambridge, England, in his commentary on Exodus (London, 1908) p. 44. In the third part of his German translation of the Old Testament (Göttingen, 1787) J. D. Michaelis remarked on Exod. 7, 17, It is not impossible that God effected all this by a natural cause.

According to E. Wolf,[1] the red color of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean is due to *Trichodesmium erythræum* (Cyanophyceæ).

Postscript.—Since the above article was in type, Professor Haupt has called my attention to Alois Musil, *Im nördlichen Hedjâz* (Vienna, 1911) reprinted from the *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, May 17, 1911. The distinguished explorer states there (p. 11 of the reprint) that the marshy plain, known as *al-'Arabah*, between Elath and Ezion-geber has two wide borders of luxuriant bulrushes, extending several miles north of Ezion-geber. These bulrushes are due to the presence of innumerable fresh-water springs. The marshy plain between Elath and Ezion-geber was formerly the northern end of the Gulf of 'Akabah, and the Hebrew name *Bulrushy Sea* may be due, not only to the bulrushes in the Crocodile Lake, north of Suez, but also to the bulrushes at the northeastern end of the Red Sea, north of Elath. Innumerable fresh-water springs, which are covered by the sea at high tide, are found also along the northeastern coast of the Red Sea, south of Elath.

(1) *Die Wasserblüte als wichtiger Faktor im Kreislaufe des organischen Lebens* in the *Berichte der Senckenbergischen Gesellschaft* in Frankfurt a/M. 1908, pp. 57—75; *cf.* the review in the *Botanische Centralblatt*, 1910, p. 179. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. R. E. Livingston, Professor of Plant Physiology in the Johns Hopkins University.

The Holy One in Psalm 16, 10.—By Sarah F. Hoyt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

According to the traditional view, the coming of Christ is predicted by the Old Testament prophets. But the alleged Messianic prophecies, as well as the so-called eschatological passages, have, as a rule, a definite historical background. Professor Haupt says in the notes to his new metrical translation of the Book of Micah,[1] *There are no Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, nor are there any Messianic psalms referring to Christ.* We find Messianic prophecies both in Egypt and Babylonia,[2] and Eduard Meyer thinks that the ancient Egyptian prophecies are the prototypes of the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament. He has discussed this question on pp. 451—455 of his work *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, also in § 297 of the new edition of the first volume of his *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart, 1909).

One of the most important of the so-called Messianic Psalms is Psalm 16, which is referred to Christ in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. We read there that Peter said on the day of Pentecost: My brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David; you know he died and was buried. Therefore, when he said, Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption, he cannot have spoken of himself, but only of the resurrection of Christ (Acts 2, 29—31). Like the modern higher critics, the Apostle deviates here from the traditional interpretation, but the quotation, *Thou wilt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption*, is not based on the Hebrew text, but on the Septuagintal mistranslation of this passage, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

(1) See Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 50, l. 11 (= AJSL 27, 50).

(2) See KAT², p. 380.

The Hebrew word *šûḥaṭ* does not mean *corruption*, but *pit*, *i. e.* the abyss of Sheol. It is not connected with the verb *šiḥḥîṭ*, to corrupt, destroy; but with the stem *šûḥ*, to sink. Even if the final *ṭ* were a stem-consonant, *šûḥaṭ* would have to be connected with the Assyrian *šaxâtu*, to be depressed, humiliated, humbled. Nor is the rendering *Thy Holy One* justified. In the first place, the Hebrew text has the plural *ḥasîdêḳa*, Thy Holy Ones; moreover, *ḥasîd* does not mean *holy*, but *pious*. In the first Book of the Maccabees, the antagonists of the apostate Hellenizers, the pious Jews who faithfully adhered to the religion of their fathers, are called Ἀσιδαῖοι, Heb. חסדים. The plural חסידיך does not mean *Thy Holy One*, referring to Christ, but *Thy pious ones*, *Thy faithful ones*, and denotes the orthodox Jews in the times of the Maccabees.

The *holy ones*, on the other hand, which we find in the third verse of the present psalm, are the Greek gods of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hebrew קדושים is repeatedly used of foreign deities. In Moses' Song of Triumph (Exod. 15, 11) we must read with Professor Haupt:

Who is like unto Thee, JHVH, 'mong the gods?
Who is like unto Thee in might, of the deities?

following the Septuagintal δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις (AJSL. 20, 161).[1] Wellhausen says in his notes on Psalms 29 and 58 in the Polychrome Bible, Judaism has turned the heathen gods into angels, commissioned by JHVH to govern the foreign nations. The divinities worshiped by the heathen were placed by JHVH at the head of the nations.

At the end of his paper on Moses' Song of Triumph, Professor Haupt has restored the first two couplets of Psalm 16 as follows:

Preserve me, O God! To Thee I flee;
Of JHVH I say: My boon thou art!

Inferior to Thee are the gods in the land,
And all superb ones in whom they delight.

We must read בל עלך לקדשים, literally, *Naught beside Thee, forsooth, are the holy ones*; the prefixed ל is the emphatic particle.

(1) For the abbreviations see note 2 to the paper on the name of the Red Sea, above, p. 115.

Professor Haupt states there that Psalm **16** was written about B. C. 167, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution. The first half of verse 3 is a gloss, and should be read as follows:

רבו עצבותם אחר אחרים ימהרו
Numerous are their idols, they run after other gods.

Verses 5 and 6 have been restored in Professor Haupt's address on *Purim* (p. 18).[1] In verse 5 we must not substitute תמיד for the Masoretic תומיך, but we must, with Professor Haupt, prefix תמיד to תומיך, or rather תומך, thus reading: אתה תמיד תומך גורלי. Similarly, we must not read in the so-called Song of Derision upon Sennacherib, 2 Kings **19**, 26, which is, according to Professor Haupt, a Maccabean Song of Derision upon Antiochus Epiphanes, לפני קומך instead of the Masoretic לפני קמה; but we must insert לפני קומך after לפני קמה, or rather, לפני קומת. The Masoretic pointing תומיך is a conflate reading, combining the vocalizations of both תומך and תמיד.

The line אתה תמיד תומך גורלי means *Thou art for ever supporting my lot.*

In an article published in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements for 1894*, we are told that it is still customary at the allotment of land in Palestine to exclaim يقوم بحرقى الله, *May Allah stand by my lot*, i. e. *May He stand up for it*, uphold it, maintain it, defend it.

Time will not permit me to discuss all the textual details; but, before I present, in conclusion, a metrical reconstruction of the text according to the interpretation given in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the present session, I should like to say a few words on the obscure term *Michtam*. Of course, *Michtam* cannot mean a *golden psalm*, or *inscription*, or *humble and perfect*.[2] Nor can we assume, with Cheyne, that מכתם is a corruption of תחנה or תחנון, *supplication*; it is difficult to believe that this corruption should have occurred in the titles of half a dozen psalms (Ps. **16** and Psalms **56** to **60**). It would be just as convincing to explain *michtam* as a slight modification of *Jerahmeel*!

In Assyrian, the stem *katâmu* means *to cover* and *to close* (synonym, *edêlu*, to bar, bolt). *Katâmu*, to cover, corresponds

(1) Paul Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = BA **6**, part 2.
(2) See Baethgen, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1904) p. xxxvii.

to Arabic *kâtama*, to hide, conceal, while *katâmu*, to close, may correspond to Arabic *kâtaba*, to bind up a skin-bottle, the edges of a rent being tied around with strings or small leather straps. In the story of the stratagem of the Gibeonites (Josh. 9, 4) skin-bottles, mended in this way, are called נאדות מצררים. A number of allied stems would seem to show that the primary meaning of the stem כתם was *to bind*; the *t* may be an infix, so that כתם is connected with the Assyrian *kamû*, to bind, to enclose. This may mean *to put on bonds* or *fetters*, or *to restrain*. According to Professor Haupt, *Michtam* may, perhaps, have the special meaning *restricted by the meter, conformed to poetical measure*, just as metrical compositions are called in German *gebundene Rede*, that is *oratio numeris adstricta* or *vincta* in distinction from *oratio soluta* — prose.

The meter of this psalm is the same which we have in Moses' Song of Triumph in Exodus 15, *viz.* 2 + 2 beats in each line; and like this famous *Song of the Sea*, the present poem, as Professor Haupt pointed out in note 135 to his lecture on *Purim*, consists of three sections, each of which comprises three couplets with 2 + 2 beats in each line.

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

מכתם לדוד

A 1	שמרני אל	כי־חסיתי בך:
2	אמרתי ליהוה	אתה טובתי:
3	בל־עלי לקדושים	אשר בארץ {}
	ואדירים כל	חפצי־בם {המה}:
4	כל אסיך	נסכיהם ומדם
	ובל אשא	את־שמותם על־שפתי:
B 5	יהוה מנתי	חלקי וכוסי
	אתה תמיך	גורלי
6	חבלים נפלו־לי	בנעמים {ו}בימינך
	אף נחלתי	שפרה עלי:
7	אברך את־יהוה	אשר יעצני
	אף בליות	יסרוני כליותי:

C 9 יִשְׂמַח לִבִּי וְיָגֵל כְּבֹדִי
אַף בְּשָׂרִי יִשְׁכֹּן לָבֶטַח׃

10 כִּי־לֹא תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לִשְׁאוֹל
לֹא־תִתֵּן חְסִידְךָ לִרְאוֹת הַשָּׁחַת׃

11 תּוֹדִיעֵנִי יְהוָה אֹרַח חַיִּים
שִׂבַע שְׂמָחוֹת אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ {!} נְצָחִ׃

(α) 2 אדני
(β) 4 רבו עצבותם אחר אחרים ימהרו
(δ) 8 שויתי יהוה לנגדי תמיד כי מימיני הוא כל אמוט׃
(ε) 9 לכן
(ϛ) 11 נעמות בימינך

This may be translated as follows:

Michtam of David.

A 1 Preserve me, O God, to Thee I fly.
2 To JHVH[α] I say: My boon Thou art!

3 Inferior to Thee are the gods in the land, [ ]
And all that is grand wherein [*they*] delight.[β]

4 I will never pour out their libations and offerings,
Nor will I pronounce their names with my lips.

B 5 JHVH is my share, my portion, my cup.
Thou art forever upholding my lot.

6 Rich possession is mine {at Thy right,} the most pleasant,[γ]
And this, my inheritance, greatly delights me.

7 JHVH I praise, who has given me counsel;
Even at night my thoughts exhort me.[δ]

C 9[ε] My heart was glad, my spirit rejoiced;
Even my flesh will remain in security.[ϛ]

(I) Their heart was always glad, and their spirit rejoiced, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution. When the situation was most desperate, when the martyrs were subjected to unspeakable tortures, they cheerfully submitted to them. Their spirit could not be broken. But now they hope that their flesh, too, will remain in security, so that they will be able to defend themselves against their relentless persecutors.

10 Thou wilt not surrender my life to Hades,
Nor suffer Thy faithful to see the Pit.

11 Thou showest me, JHVH, the pathway of life,
Great fulness of joy before Thee for ay.

(a) 2 the Lord
(β) 4 They have many idols, they run after other gods
(δ) 8 I have set JHVH before me forever,
With Him at my right I shall not be moved.
(ε) 9 therefore
(γ) 11 { } the most pleasant

The Etymology of Religion.—By Sarah F. Hoyt, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

The Oxford Dictionary says, The connection of the word *religion* with *religare*, to bind, has usually been favored by modern writers.

This etymology, given by the Roman grammarian (end of 4th cent. A. D.) Servius (*Religio, id est metus ab eo quod mentem religet, dicta religio*)[1] was supported by the Christian philosopher Lactantius (about 313 A. D.) who quotes the expression of the celebrated Roman philosophical poet Lucretius (*c.* 96 to 55 B. C.):[2] *religionum animum nodis exsolvere*, in proof that he considered *ligare*, to bind, to be the root of *religio*.[3] Several commentators upon Lucretius, *e. g.* Merrill, Munro,[4] Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities (edited by Harry Thurston Peck, 1898) and also Joseph Mayor in his commentary (2, 186) on Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, agree that this notion of *binding* was in the mind of Lucretius. St. Augustine, the most celebrated father of the Latin church, A. D. 354—430, makes this derivation.[5] The Century Dictionary, though referring to the uncertain origin of *religio*, cites the English *ligament* as perhaps allied. So Harper's *Latin Lexicon* refers to Corssen's *Aussprache* (1, 444 *sq.*) as taking *religio* in the same sense as *obligatio*. Other Latin nouns like *lictor* and *lex* have the root *lig*.

Especially the rare English words *religate*, *religation* suggest *religion* as having the root *religare*, to bind; for Christopher

(1) See *ad Vergil. Aen.* 8, 349.

(2) See *De Rerum Natura*, 1, 931; 4, 7.

(3) In *Institutiones Divinae*, 4, 28, Lactantius writes, *Credo nomen religionis a vinculo pietatis esse deductum, quod hominem sibi Deus religaverit et pietate constrinxerit . . . melius ergo (quam Cicero) id nomen Lucretius interpretatus est, qui ait religionum se nodos exsolvere.*

(4) See Merrill on T. Lucreti Cari *De Rerum Natura*, 1, 109. 932 (pp. 289. 383), and H. A. J. Munro on Lucretius (Cambridge, 1873).

(5) See *Retractiones*, 1, 13.

Cartwright (1602—1658) wrote:[1] *They are not religated* (or *united*) *within the same communion*; and S. T. Coleridge (1772—1834):[2] *It is not even religion; it does not religate, does not bind anew*; so W. E. Gladstone (1809—1898) said,[3] *Religion ... with a debased worship appended to it, but with no religating, no binding, power.*

But in *De Natura Deorum*, **2**, 28, 72, Cicero derives *religio* from *relegere*, as meaning *to go through* or *over again in reading, speech or thought.* Cicero says, *Qui omnia quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent diligenter pertractarent, et tamquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo.*

In the *Noctes Atticae* (**4**, 9, 1) of the Roman grammarian Aulus Gellius (2d cent. A. D.) is preserved an old verse which supports this derivation, *Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas.*

Identical with *relegere* is the Greek ἀλέγω, *to heed, to have a care for*; and in support of this derivation of the word *religion*, Geo. Curtius quotes the Iliad (**16**, 388): θεῶν ὅτιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Professor Skeat, of the University of Cambridge, says in his *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 500, *Religion* seems to be connected with the English *reck*, to heed, *to have a care for.* From Teutonic base *rak*, Aryan *rag*, the derivation may be traced through Middle High-German, Middle English of Chaucer's time, and Anglo-Saxon. In Mark **12**, 14 we find *Bu ne recst*, Thou carest not.

Our term *religion* is used also in the sense *scrupulosity, conscientious scruple.*

Ben Jonson (*c.* 1573—1637) says,[4] *Out of a religion to my charge ... I have made a self-decree ne'er to express my person.*

In the Authorized Version, *religion* is used of outward forms rather than of the inner spirit. In the Century Dictionary the two passages, James **1**, 26 and Acts **13**, 43, are quoted. *Religion* was so used by Jerômy Taylor (*c.* 1613—1637) as meaning the *rites* and *ceremonies* of religion: *What she was pleased to believe apt to minister to her devotions, and the religions*

(1) See *Certamen Religiosum* by Christopher Cartwright, published in 1849 by Thomas Baylie.
(2) Cottle, *Early Recollections*, **2**, 84.
(3) *Gleanings of Past Years*, **3**, 130.
(4) See *New Inn*, **1**, 1.

of her pious and discerning soul.[1] Latimer (*c.* 1485—1555) in his *Sermons,*[2] writes, *For religion standeth in righteousness, justice, and well-doing.* In Shakespeare's *As you Like it* (Act 4, Scene 1) Orlando says that he will *religiously* keep a promise.

Religious means originally *observant, conscientious, strict.* A *religious* Jew is a Jew who observes the rules of the Sabbath, the dietary laws, who does not *neglect* them. *Relegere* is opposed to *neglegere*, which stands for *neclegere*, not observe, not heed, not attend to, be remiss in attention or duty toward a thing. An *irreligious* Jew *neglects* the Law. *Religion* is akin to *diligence*, and opposed to *negligence*. The Greek ἀλέγειν is generally used with a negative, οὐκ ἀλέγειν, equivalent to Latin *neglegere*.

Strict observance of law and conscience, heed of duty, involves taking pains, painstaking scrupulosity. This explains the connection of *religion* with ἄλγος, pain, and διαλογής, painful. But, as Walde says in his well-known Latin dictionary,[3] an idea of *choice* and *interest* may be connected with *religion*. Lat. *diligo* (that is, *dis* + *lego*) may be associated with *reckoning, electing*. There may be a *picking out*, as in the German phrase, *Soldaten ausheben*, recruiting soldiers (so Walde).

If all points are carefully considered, Cicero's view would seem to be preferable, so that *religion* is not derived from *religare*, but from *relegere*. It is true that a clause from Cicero's *Oratio de Domo*, 105 is cited, *Nisi etiam muliebribus religionibus te implicuisses*, in proof that Cicero himself could not help connecting the word *religio* with the idea of *obligation*. So, in the *Second Philippic*,[4] occurs *religione obstringere*, and in *De Domo*, 106. 124 we find *domum religione obligare*.

But inconsistency occurs in the writings of all great men,—the present, of course, always excepted. The commentator most sure of himself is usually the most mistaken—an ex-

(1) See the Works of Jeremy Taylor, I. 756 (London, 1835).

(2) See Sermon 21 of Hugh Latimer; edition of Rev. George E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844) 1, 392.

(3) See Alois Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1906) pp. 176. 330.

(4) See *Oratio Philippica*, 2, 38. 83: *Obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum.*

perience which has been brought home to me very forcibly in the Old Testament Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

I present this modest contribution to a most intricate problem before this galaxy of distinguished comparative philologians, in the hope of getting some illuminative suggestions on a subject in which I have always taken a profound interest.

Notes on a Collation of some Unpublished Inscriptions of Ashurnazirpal.—By W. E. M. Aitken, Ph. D.

While engaged in studying two copies of the "Standard Inscription" of Ashurbanipal, recently acquired by the Semitic Museum at Harvard University, and in collating them with the copy published by Layard on p. 1 of his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, London 1851, the writer's attention was drawn to the large number of errors they contained. Subsequently a copy of the same inscription in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was studied and similar errors therein recorded. To these errors the following pages are devoted.

The first of these (A) was inscribed on a well-dressed slab of dark grey alabaster, now broken into a dozen pieces. The inscription consists of thirty-two lines of rather irregularly written characters covering a space 45 cmm. high and about 82 long. The second (B) is on a slab of light grey alabaster, and consists of twenty-six lines of beautifully inscribed signs, covering a space of 40 cmm. in height and 100 in length. The signs and lines are somewhat crowded at the centre, three lines at top or bottom occupying the same space as four at the centre. The slab has been broken into some twenty pieces, but fortunately with but slight damage to the writing. The third (C) is an inscription of twenty-one lines, covering a space 40 cmm. high and 140 long. It is written across the face of a beautiful bas-relief 210 cmm. high and 130 wide, which one time adorned the wall on the left-hand side of some doorway, a point made clear by the fact that the writing goes on around the edge of the slab.

In A there are to be found about 20 errors, consisting for the most part in the addition or omission of a wedge. (It is not always easy to decide whether a case in point is a mere variant or an error; it is possible that I have omitted some

things as variants that might properly have been called errors. At the same time I have added under the general head of error some illustrations that are rather examples of other things.) *Uš*, l. 2, is written as a)[1]; *tukulti*, l. 3, as b); *ma*, l. 5, as c); *niš*, l. 5, as *eš*, d); (a variant noted by Budge and King, *ni-eš* following *šak*, probably explains this); *ḫa*, l. 10, as e); *lu*, l. 10, as f); *tik*, l. 11, as g); *ni*, l. 14, as h); *ik*, l. 19, as i); *la*, l. 20, as j); *iš*, l. 27, as k). *Ekal iš dap-ra-ni* is written again after *iš urkarinni pl* with *ra*, l. 27, written as l). *Im*, l. 30, is written as m). Two erasures are found: *si*, l. 30, is written as n), with one horizontal erased; *a-na*, l. 28, as o). The scribe's intention was to write *a-na*; he omitted *a*, wrote *na*, and then erased all but the perpendicular. This stone cutter at least understood what he was writing, for, if the correction were due to a reviser, he would doubtless have corrected some of the other errors. There are a number of omissions: *it*, l. 28 (19a); *iš*, l. 24 (15c) and l. 27 (18a, 1[2]); *išten* (*en*) *u-*, l. 23 (14c); *al-ta-kan ur-du-ti u-pu-šu*, l. 19 (11d, 12a); *amēlu šak-nu-te-ja* closes l. 18, the next line begins with the next sentence. The inference here too is that the stone-cutter could read.

Of the three inscriptions B is the most beautifully written, and is engraved on the finest stone. There are only half the errors, but these are of the same character. *Adar*, l. 1, is written as p); *uš*, l. 2, as q); *kul*, l. 4, as r); *šar*, l. 6, as s); *ad*, l. 7, as t); *mar*, l. 13, as u); *si*, l. 18, as v); *ra*, l. 22, as w); *lib*, l. 23, as x); *šar*, l. 24, as s)[2]; *si*, l. 24, as y), with the last vertical erased, cf. n). The suffix of *gimri*, l. 19, referring to *mātu* is *šu*. While this is not unheard of in Assyrian, it is significant here as proof that the stone-cutter understood what he wrote. *Ina*, l. 24 (20a), is written on the margin at the beginning of the line. Otherwise the lines begin perfectly regularly.

C, though so conspicuously situated, and though written over so beautiful a bas-relief, contains the largest number of errors.

[1] In the plate at the end of the article I have given the form as it actually occurs, and also the ordinary form at this period. Within brackets I have included a reference to Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (Brit. Mus., 1902), p. 212ff. The number is the line number of Layard, *op. cit.*, which they have retained; the letter is their subdivision of the line.

[2] This is probably not an error.

Ku, l. 2, is written as z), with the centre horizontal, which has been very deeply cut, almost erased; *ru*, l. 9, is written the same way, but with no erasure. *Ḫu*, l. 4, is written as a'); *šar*, l. 5, as s)[1]; *ḫa*, l. 6, as e); *su*, l. 8, as b'); *alu*, l. 10, as c'); *ja*, l. 12, as d'); *ur*, l. 12, as e'); *ilāni*, l. 13, as f'); *šum*, l. 13, as g'); *šid*, l. 13, as h'); *tukunti*, l. 14, as i'; *du*, l. 14, as j'); *šar*, l. 14, as k'); *ki*, l. 14, as l'); *aš*, l. 15, as m'); *lu-bar*, l. 17, as n'); *-pi ina*, l. 18, as o'); *li*, l. 18, as p'); *ri*, l. 18, as q'); *mul*, l. 19, as r'); *a*, l. 19, as s'); *da*, l. 19, as t'); *ra*, l. 19, as u'); *te*, l. 19, as v'); *ma*, l. 19, as w'); *iš*, l. 20, as x'); *kaspi*, l. 20, as y'). In l. 19 *tamâti* is crowded into z'), cf. i'). In l. 11 *ḫas* is omitted.

Those ancient men whose business it was to write the cuneiform (they were not mere stone-cutters), to write the king's inscriptions, joined the wedges together carelessly, made signs inaccurately, added and omitted[2] signs, even to the extent of half a line. After I had finished my work I noticed that Budge and King has made a similar statement: "From the numerous mistakes and inaccuracies which are manifest in many of the copies, it is clear that the work was often done in haste and was entrusted to unskilled workmen and artisans, who were not infrequently unable to read the signs they were engraving"[3]. The evidence of hasty and unskillful work is abundant; the errors in C constitute over three per cent of the inscription. But I would point out that they are due, in this inscription at least, to men who show some signs of being able to read what they wrote.

Lyon in *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, Königs von Assyrien*, so long ago as 1883 pointed out a considerable number of errors, especially in the Stierinschrift. Scheil, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, Tome IV, has pointed out a number in the Code

[1] This is probably not an error.

[2] Layard, *op. cit.*, gives a fine example of this, which Budge and King of course correct. In l. 5 one reads *bi-lat-su takšud (ud) ḫur-ša-aš kīli-šu-nu i-pi-lu-nu bi-lat-su-nu im-ḫu-ru*, etc. The scribe had not finished writing *bi-lat-su* (-nu) when his eye caught the *su* of *kat-su*, l. 4, and he started over again, writing five words twice. *Takšud* (ud) he wrote incorrectly first as a'); the second time it is correct. In l. 13 the scribe's eye fell from *kibrâte* to the quite similar *uš* of *uš-ḫam-ma-ṭu*, and so he omitted *kibrâte šá šarru šá ki-bit pi-šu*, and produced an untranslatable sentence. This is all correctly written in A, B and C.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. LXXII f.

of Hammurabi; Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, has added many more, and I suspect that all in the code have not yet been found. Others too have noticed errors here and there, yet the large number of errors in these inscriptions—and it is rarely that one may speak so surely concerning textual errors—comes to one almost as a revelation. Errors have occasionally been pointed out in writing on clay, as for example by Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*; but it is, as one would expect, in writing on stone that they are found in greatest abundance.

(Since writing the above (Jan, 1910) I have been interested to note errors in the clay tablet published in V R 47. In l. 40 ob. we read *ri-ša-a-tum* for *ri-da-a-tum*, and *ip-pi-e-ši* for *ip-pi-e-ri*. Cf. IV R., 60* B. ob., l. 11 (cf. Jastrow in J. B. L. XXV², p. 160, n. 90). In l. 24 we read *šar ra ki ma*. Jastrow (*op. cit.*, p. 148, n. 43), reads it *šar-ra ki-ma*, and translates "from a king, I became—". This is certainly ungrammatical. Is not *ki* an error for *ku*?—whether of the scribe or the modern copist I know not. For *šar-ra-ku-ma* cf. IR 17, 32, and Lyon, *Assyrian Manual*², § 22, bottom.)

a) (1b)  for 

b) (2b)  „ 

c) (3b)  „ 

d) (3b)  „ 

e) (7a)  „ 

f) (7a)  „ 

g) (7c)  „ 

h) (8e)  „ 

i) (12b)  „ 

j) (13b)  „ 

k) (18a)  „ 

l) (19b)  „ 

m) (20b)  „ 

n) (20b, 2°)  „ 

o) (19a)  „ 

p) (1a) NIN  „ NIN 

q) (1b)  „ 

r) (4a)  „ 

s) (6a)  „ 

t) (6b)  „ 

u) (11b) „

v) (16b) „

w) (19b) „

x) (19b) „

y) (20b, 2°) „

z) (3a) „

a') (5a) „

b') (9b) for

c') (10c, 2°) „

d') (11d) „

e') (12a) „

f') (12b) „

g') (12b) „

h') (12b) „

i') (13a) „

j') (13b) „

k') (13b) „

l') (13d) „

m') (14c) „

n') (17a) „

o') (17d) „

p') (17d) „

q') (18a) „

r') (19a) „

s') (19b, 1°) „

t') (19b) „

u') (19b) „

v') (19b) „

w') (19c) „

x') (20c, 1°) „

y') (21b) „

z') (14a)   for

a'') (4d) for .

Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic. — By Frank R. Blake, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

Introduction.

The syntax of the several Semitic languages has been more or less exhaustively treated in the various Semitic grammars, but little attention has hitherto been paid to the study of Comparative Semitic Syntax. Numerous points, it is true, have been treated incidentally in the different Semitic grammars and other works of a grammatical character, but there is nothing whatever in the nature of a systematic Comparative Semitic Syntax on a par with Delbrück's treatment of Comparative Indo-European Syntax in Brugmann's great work,[1] and very few monographs which discuss problems of this character.

Syntax, as seems to have been first expressly stated by the distinguished linguist the late Georg von der Gabelentz, may be treated from two different points of view, a formal and a logical.[2] We may start from the grammatical forms and explain their uses, as for example in a discussion of the Latin or Greek cases, or we may start from the grammatical categories expressed in language generally, and describe the differ-

[1] *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (5 parts in 5 volumes + Indices: 3rd part = Delbrück's *Vergleichende Syntax der indog. Spr.*), Strassburg, 1886—1900: 2nd edition of first two parts, Strassb. 1897—1911. Brockelmann has promised a Comparative Semitic Syntax as Part II of his Comparative Semitic Grammar (Part I published in 1908, cf. p. 138) but it had not yet appeared when this article went to press. Since then the first fascicle, pp. 1—112, Berlin, 1911, comprising a portion of the discussion of the simple sentence, has been published.

[2] Cf. *Die Sprachwissenschaft* ... von Georg von der Gabelentz, 2te, vermu. u. verb. Aufl. herausg. von Dr. Albrecht Graf von der Schulenburg; Leipzig 1901, pp. 85, 86; H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, N.Y., 1900, pp. 125, 126.

ent ways in which they are expressed, as when we discuss the various methods of expressing the genitive in Semitic. The two English constructions 'man's disobedience' and 'the disobedience of man' would be treated under the same head in logical syntax, while in formal syntax one would go under the inflections of nouns and the other under prepositions.

In the present article the syntax of the nominal modifiers is treated in general from the logical point of view. Each of the ideas which can possibly be made to modify the meaning of a noun is taken in turn, and its expression in the various Semitic languages is discussed from a comparative point of view. The object of the article is to point out how the noun and the words that express these ideas are combined, what their relative position in the combination is, and how they are affected by being joined together.[1]

The principal ideas which can modify the meaning of a noun in any language, with their most familiar means of expression in parentheses, are the following, viz.,

a) simple determination (definite article).
b) case determination (case ending or preposition).
c) simple indetermination (indefinite article).
d) simple qualification (descriptive adjective).
e) demonstrative qualification (demonstrative adjective).
f) interrogative qualification (interrogative pronoun or adjective).
g) indefinite qualification (indefinite pronominal adjectives).
h) numeral qualification (cardinal and ordinal numerals).
i) nominal qualification (noun in case form or after preposition).
j) personal pronominal qualification (possessive adjective).
k) nominal apposition (noun in apposition).
l) adverbial qualification (circumstantial expressions and adverbs such as 'also', 'only', 'indeed').
m) sentence qualification (clause, relative or other, modifying the noun).

To these may be added

n) nominal coordination (two or more nouns connected by 'and').

[1] For the comparative syntax of the noun and its combinations in the Indo-European languages, cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* 3 ter Th., Strassburg, 1900, pp. 88—103; 181—221.

though it does not, strictly speaking, belong here, as the words do not modify one another but are simply joined together.

Two or more of these modifying ideas may be combined, e. g., simple determination with simple qualification, or demonstrative qualification with simple qualification, etc.[1]

In the Semitic languages, these modifying ideas are not always expressed by an independent word, e. g., the idea of the possessive adjective is regularly indicated by a suffix, e. g., Hebrew כַּלְבִּי 'my dog'; nor is the element that expresses the modifying idea always grammatically dependent on the noun, e. g., 'all men' is expressed in general by the indefinite pronoun 'all' followed by the genitive of the noun, e. g., Hebrew כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים 'all men'. Nevertheless in all cases the material will be arranged with reference to the modifying idea.

The following languages and dialects have been included in the present investigation (the abbreviation used for the language is given in parentheses), viz.,

a) Assyrian (Ass.)
b) Arabic, Classical (Arab. or Cl. Arab.)
„ , Modern (Mod. Arab.; Eg., Pal., Tu., Tl., etc.),
Lihyanic (Lih.)
Safaitic (Saf.)
c) Mineo-Sabean (Min.)
Mehri (Meh.)
d) Ethiopic (Eth.)
Amharic (Amh.)
Tigriña (Ta.)
Tigre (Te.)
e) Hebrew, Biblical (Heb. or Bib. Heb.)
„ , Post-Biblical (Mish.)
Moabite (Mo.)
Phenician (Ph.)
f) Aramaic of Zinjirli (Ar. Zinj.)
Biblical Aramaic (Bib. Aram.)
Christian Palestinian (Chr. Pal.)
Jewish Palestinian (Jew. Pal.)
Samaritan (Sam.)

[1] Some of the most important of these combinations of two or more modifiers have been discussed in connection with the combinations of the noun with single modifier. Material for their complete discussion is not at present available.

Malulan (Mal.)
Syriac, Classical (Syr.)
Aramaic of Babylonian Talmud (Bab. Tal.)
Mandaic (Man.)
Modern Syriac (Mod. Syr.)

All words except those written in Hebrew characters will be furnished with a transliteration, the transliteration being in *Italics* except in the case of Classical Syriac, where Hebrew is employed. Lihyanic, Safaitic, Phenician, Zinjirli, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian, and Mandaic words are written in Hebrew characters, Mineo-Sabean words in Arabic characters. Assyrian, Mehri, and Malulan appear only in transliteration.

Analogies in Egyptian and Coptic, Indo-European, and other languages, will be given in the foot-notes.

The chief works which have been employed in preparing this article, with the abbreviation by which each will be cited, are the following, viz.,

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Simple Determination.

The determinate or definite state of a noun is expressed in most of the Semitic languages by a demonstrative particle used as a definite article.

In Arabic, Hebrew, Moabite, Phenician, and Tigre (also in the Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin, cf. below), the definite article is indicated by preformative particles;[1] in Classical Ara-

[1] The article stands before the noun in Coptic and late Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*, p. 110f; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*, p. 73f.), and in most Indo-European languages; a postpositive article, however, occurs in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian with the attributive adjective (cf. A. Leskien, *Grammatik der Altbulgarischen Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1909, p. 142; F. Kurschat, *Grammatik der Litauischen Sprache*, Halle, 1876, pp. 406–408; Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. p. 89).

bic and its modern dialects, by ال *al*;[1] in Tigre by ላ *lā* or ለ *la*;[2] in the Arabic dialect of the Safaitic and Lihyanic inscriptions, and in the other languages, by a particle whose original form was probably *hâ*:[3] e. g.,

Arab.	الملك *al-maliku*	'the king.'
Te.	ለሰብ: *la-sab*	'the people.'
Lih.	הבת	'the house.'
Heb.	הַמֶּלֶךְ	'the king.'
Ph.	השער	'the gate.'
Mo.	הבמת	'the high-place.'

In Phenician and poetical Hebrew, however, the use of the article is much restricted, and it is not necessary to indicate a definite noun.[4]

In Aramaic in general, in Mineo-Sabean, and Amharic the definite state of a noun is indicated by afformative particles. In Aramaic this particle is *â*,[5] e. g.,

Bib. Aram.	מַלְכָּא	'the king.'
	מַלְכַיָּא	'the kings.'

In some cases in Western Aramaic, and in practically all cases in Eastern Aramaic, instead of the form in *aiia* formed by combining the plural ending *ai* with *â*, a plural ending in *ê*[6] is employed, e. g.,

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[1] Connected ultimately with the root of the plural of the demonstratives, هؤلاء *hâ-'ulâ'i*, אלה, etc., cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316, 317 (§ 107 e, f). In some Southern dialects of Arabic ام *im*, *am* is used as article instead of ال, but without assimilation of final *m*; e. g., امبر *am-birru* 'piety', امصيام *am-ṣijâmu* 'fasting', this article ام contains the same demonstrative element as Assyrian *annû* 'that'; cf. Brock. *op. cit.* p. 317 (§ 107e), p. 469 (§ 246 Ba); Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 270.

[2] Regarded by Littmann (*Tr. Prov.* p. 200) as ultimately identical with the demonstrative root *al* (cf. preceding n.). It may, however, have been developed from the preposition ለ *la* used with a definite dependent noun as in Ethiopic ወልዱ: ለንጉሥ: *wald-ū la-nĕgūś* (cf. p. 145). Here the determination of *nĕgūś* is due to the combination of suffix and preposition, but in Tigre *la* itself was regarded as the cause of the determination, and so used as article in other cases. Closely connected with this phenomenon is the almost complete loss of ለ as preposition. Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 470 (§ 246 Bca).

[3] Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316 (§ 107 a).

[4] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 424 (§ 126 k); Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 161.

[5] This *-â* is probably identical with the preformative article *hâ*; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316.

[6] Probably the same plural ending that we have in Assyrian *bêlê* 'lords,' cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 454, 455.

Syr. ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܐܢܫ 'kings.'

In the Eastern Aramaic dialects, and apparently also in Malulan, the definite state has lost its definite force, and has become the most common form of the noun, the meaning being either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܢܫ 'king, a king, the king.'

" ܡܠܟܐ 'kings, the kings.'

In Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, and Mandaic the absolute or indefinite form of a noun is comparatively frequent in certain constructions,[1] but in Modern Syriac, with isolated exceptions, it has been completely lost.

In the Modern Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin a new preformative definite article has been developed from the demonstratives *hay, hāj, hānōn*, viz. m. *ū*, f. *ī*, pl. *ân*, e. g.,

ū ḥmōro 'the ass.'

ī ẓaneke 'the woman.'

In Mineo-Sabean the definite state is indicated by a final *n*[2] element, the so-called nunnation, e. g.,

بيتـــن *bjt-n* 'the house.'

In Amharic the definite state of a noun may be indicated by *-ū* for the masculine, *-ītū* for the feminine, but very often the sign of determination is omitted as in poetical Hebrew and in Phenician, e. g.,

ልጅ: *lĕǰū* 'the son.'

ሴቲቱ: *sĕtīt'ū* 'the lady.'

The ending *ū* is apparently derived from the pronominal suffix of the third person singular (cf. below p. 144); *ītū* contains in addition the two feminine elements *ī* and *-t*.

In Assyrian the final *-m* which is frequently added to nouns had originally in all probability a definite meaning, but this meaning had been lost as early at least as the time of Hammurabi (circa 1950 B.C.),[3] just as the definite meaning of Aramaic

[1] cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* pp. 144—154; Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 300—303; Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* pp. 62, 65.

[2] Perhaps to be read *ân*, a combination of *-ā* (= Aram. *-ē*) + a demonstrative element *n*: cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 36; Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316, 317 (§ 107 a, d).

[3] Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 189. This *-m* or mimmation is ultimately identical with the emphatic particle *-ma*; cf. *op. cit.* pp. 189, 219—221, and also below under Adverbial Qualification. It is probably distinct from the *-m* or *-n* which denotes indetermination (cf. p. 156); Brockelmann, however, seems to regard them as identical, cf. *Comp. Gr.* p. 474 (bot.).

-*â* was lost later in Eastern Aramaic (cf. above). Assyrian is therefore without article and a word either with the -*m* or without it may be either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

ilu
ilu-m } 'god, a god, the god.'

Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Mehri are entirely without article, and a noun in its absolute form may be either definite or indefinite, e. g.,

Eth. ንጉሥ: *nĕgûś* 'king, a king, the king.'

Ta. ሰብ: *sab* 'man, a man, the man.'

Meh. *ǧajj* 'man, a man, the man.'

The Eastern Aramaic dialects, then, and Assyrian, Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Mehri have no direct means of making a noun definite under all conditions, but they are able nevertheless by employing various constructions, to express the determination in certain cases. Sometimes a language which has a regular definite article possesses these definite constructions as well.

In Assyrian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Tigriña, and in Tigre in spite of the fact that it has developed an article, the pronominal suffix of the third person is employed in certain cases in the sense of a definite article. In Syriac this use seems to be confined to nouns after ;; in Ethiopic it is most common in repetitions; in Tigriña, in time expressions. e. g.,

Ass. *nêšu ša çîri-šu* 'the lion of *the* desert.'[1]

Syr. ܡܪܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܐܣܛܘܢܐ 'St. Simon of *the* pillar.'[1]

Eth. ሕለምኩ : ሕልመ : ወከመዝ : ሕልሙ : *ḥalamku ḥĕlma ya-kamazĕ hĕlm-û* 'thou hast dreamed a dream, and thus (was) *the* dream.'

Ta. ይበጽሕ : ጊዜኡ : እንተ : *ibaçĕḥ gîzê-'û ĕnta*... '*the* time will come when...'

Te. ሰበጥ : መሰሉ : ሰእለዎ : *sabal masal-û sa'alay-ô* 'about *the* parable they asked him.'

From this use doubtless originates the articular -*û*, -*îtû*, of Amharic.

The suffix in Assyrian expressions like *ina umi-šu-ma* 'on that day,' is to be classed here, tho the suffix has here a force more strongly demonstrative than that of an article.

[1] Brockelmann thinks the suffix here is simply possessive, cf. *Comp. Gr.* p. 472 (top).

In the case of a definite noun which is dependent on another word (noun, preposition, or verb) the definite state of this noun is often emphasized by a suffix attached to the governing word; the dependent noun, either alone or preceded by a preposition, standing as a sort of apposition to the suffix. The dependent noun usually stands after the suffix, but when it is governed by a verb it may stand before the verbal form. When the determination of the dependent noun is not indicated by a demonstrative adjective, or in some other way, the suffix may be regarded as taking the place of the article.

In Assyrian a noun depending on another noun is preceded by *ša*; a governing preposition is repeated; a noun depending on a verb stands without preposition: e. g.,

X aplu-šu ša Y 'X son of Y.'
ana šâšuma ana Izdubar 'to Izdubar.'
I šuši šarrâni ... adi tâmdi elînite lû ardi-šunûti, 'sixty kings ... unto the upper sea verily I pursued (them).'

In Ethiopic the dependent noun is preceded by the preposition ለ, e. g.,

ቀዳሚሃ : ለጥበብ : *qadâmî-hâ la-ṭêbab* 'the beginning of wisdom (its beginning to wisdom).'
ላዕሌሁ : ለባዕለ : ቤት : *lâʿlê-hû la-bâʿla bêt* 'against the lord of *the* house.'
ሰመየ : ሌብርሃን : ዕለት : *samaj-ô la-bërhân ʿëlat* 'he called *the* light day.'

In Tigriña the dependent noun is regularly preceded by the preposition ን, tho after another noun the genitive sign ናይ : may be employed, e. g.,

ልደሉ : ንየሱስ : *lëdê-ʾû në-jasûs* 'the birth of Jesus.'
መጀመርያኣ : ናይ : ፍጥረት : *majamarjâ-ʾâ nâj fëṭrat* 'the beginning of *the* creation.'
ከማኡ : ነት : ሰብ : *kamâ-ʾû n-at sab* 'like this man.'
ወለደ : ንይስሐቅ : *jalad-ô në-jesḥaq* 'he begot Isaac.'

In Amharic a noun depending on another noun is preceded by the sign of the genitive ኧ, and usually stands before the governing noun, tho it may stand after; a noun depending on a verb takes nothing besides the regular accusative suffix ን; the dependent noun is most commonly a proper noun: e. g.,

የጠቢባን : ዘውዳቸው : *ja-ṭabîbân zawd-âčaw* 'the crown of *the* wise.'

ሀልሙዮ፡ ንጉሥ፡ *hēlm-ayō-m ʔa-nēgūś-ā* 'and the dream of *the* king.'

ኢያሱን፡ ጸራ፡ *ʔiyāsū-n ṣarâ-y* 'he called to Joshua.'

In Syriac the preposition ܠ is used after a verb; after a noun and a preposition ; being employed: e. g.,

ܒܪܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the son of the king.'

ܥܠܝܗ ܕܟܐܦܐ 'over the stone.'

ܒܢܝܬ ܠܒܝܬܐ 'he built the house.'

After a preposition, instead of ; the same preposition may be repeated, and after a verb, instead of both suffix and ܠ either may be used alone with the same meaning, e. g.,

ܥܠܝܗ ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ 'over the stone.'

ܒܢܝܬ ܒܝܬܐ
ܒܢܐ ܠܒܝܬܐ } 'he built the house.'

Mandaic and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud have the same constructions as Syriac, tho apparently the construction of suffix + noun without ל does not occur in the latter. In Modern Syriac the construct of a noun preceding a definite *nomen rectum* often has a special ending, viz., ـܐ ـ or ـܝ ـ; this is perhaps a contraction for ـܗ ـ, suffix of third person singular + sign of genitive (cf. prepositional forms below): e. g.,

ܦܝܪܩܢܝܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ *pirqānīt dinḥê* 'Savior of *the* world.'

Occasionally, however, the construction occurs as in Classical Syriac,[1] e. g.,

ܡܢ ܐܝܕܗ ܕܣܛܢܐ *min ʔid-ê de-sāṭānâ* 'from the hand of Satan.'

ܒܪܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ *bərôn-ê de-ʔalāhā* 'the son of God.'

The construction after a preposition (ܠ seems to be the only preposition that is thus used, tho the spoken forms *ullil*, *minnit*, *bārit* for ـܠ, ـܡ, ـܒ are to be explained as contracted from preposition + suffix + ;, viz., ـܠܗ ; ـܡܢܗ ; ـܒܗ) or verb, is suffix (or in the case of the verb the equivalent ܠ + suffix) followed immediately by the dependent noun without anything before it, e. g.,

ـܠ ܢܢܐ *lāh nūnā* 'to *the* fish.'

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[1] Nöldeke mentions only the first example, and here he thinks it is possible that ܐܝܕ *ʔid* was miswritten for ܐܝ *ʔiḏ*, the plural; but Maclean states that this construction is not uncommon. Cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 148 f.; Macl. *Vern. Syr.* p. 56 (top).

ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲗⲉⲓ ⲁⲁⲫⲱⲥⲉ *pulī-uh 'ait sûsê* 'have you brought out *the* horse.'

ⲏⲁⲁ ⲁⲁ ⲉⲗ ⲁⲁⲁⲩ *hemī lēh hō bahrā* 'hold fast that light.'

In those languages which have developed a special definite article, similar emphatic constructions occur. When the governing word is a noun, this construction is found only in those languages which have developed a special genitive sign. It is found in the Western Aramaic dialects and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (here probably borrowed from Aramaic), but does not seem to occur in the Modern Arabic dialects. In Hebrew the article is omitted with a dependent common noun, being in this respect at least independent of Aramaic. e. g.,

Bib. Aram. אֱלָהָה דִּי דָנִיֵּאל 'the god of Daniel.'
שְׁמָהּ דִּי אֱלָהָא 'the name of God.'

Jew. Pal. אֲבוהון דִּי בְנֵי עַמּון 'the father of the Ammonites.'

Sam. בנין דבעבריך 'the sons of thy servants.'

Mish. אוֹרָן שֶׁל חֲכָמִים 'the fire of the wise.'
דַּעְתּוֹ לַשָּׁמַיִם 'the knowledge of God.'

In Biblical Hebrew this construction occurs in one late passage, viz.,

מִטָּתוֹ שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה 'the couch of Solomon.' (Ct. 3, 7).

When the governing word is a preposition or a verb, examples may occur in any language, but they are comparatively infrequent; when depending on a verb, the noun stands with the sign of the accusative; after a preposition, it stands either alone or with the preposition repeated; in Arabic the noun is in the case form corresponding to the case of the suffix; in Christian Palestinian after a verb the suffix stands after ⲓⲧ and the noun after ⲗ: e. g.,

Arab. رَأَيْتُهُ زَيْدًا *ra'aitu-hu zaidā* 'I saw Zaid.'
مررت به زيد *marartu bi-hi zaidi* 'I passed by Zaid.'

Heb. וַתִּרְאֵהוּ אֶת־הַיֶּלֶד 'and she saw the boy' (Ex. 2, 6).
אִי לוֹ הָאֶחָד 'woe to him the one alone' (Ecc. 4, 10).
לָהֶם לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'to the children of Israel' (Jos. 1, 2).

Sam. ויתּ יפרתה קעימתה יסב יתה 'and the sparrow alive he took' (him).
אנש באחוז לא תפלע בה 'a man shall not rule over his brother.'

Ch. Pal. דיפרוק יתה לאסראיל 'that he might free Israel.'
סנא יתה לנהורא 'he hates the light.'

In Biblical Aramaic and Jewish Palestinian, and in Post-

Biblical Hebrew (here probably a borrowing from Aramaic) this construction after prepositions has come to be used to express the idea of 'same,' e. g.,

Bib. Aram. בָּהּ זִמְנָא 'at that same time' (Dan. 3, 7).
בָּהּ בְּלֵילְיָא 'on that very night' (Dan. 5, 30).
Jew. Pal. בה בשעתה 'in the same hour.'
Mish. בּוֹ בַּיּוֹם 'on the same day.'

Under the same head as these emphatic constructions with pleonastic suffix, are to be classed the constructions in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan, and Christian and Jewish Palestinian, in which את or ית + suffix is placed before noun with article in the sense of 'that,' 'same,'[1] e. g.,

Mish. אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם 'the same day.'
אוֹתָהּ הָאָרֶץ 'the same land.'
Sam. ביתה ארעא 'in the same land.'
ביתה יומא 'on the same day.'
Ch. Pal. ביתה קדושא 'at that same time.'
Jew. Pal. דיתה שבתא 'of that Sabbath.'

In some languages the demonstratives are at times used with a weakened force akin to that of a definite article. This is to be noted in Ethiopic and Tigriña, and also in Jewish Palestinian, in spite of its possessing a living definite form of the noun, e. g.,

Eth. ውእቱ፡ብእሲ፡ *wə'ətu bə'əsi* 'the (that) man.'
Ta. ኦነት፡እተነቢዮ፡እዩሡ፡ *'ûnat 'ĕt-nabiyi 'iyû 'ĕzĭy* 'truly this is the (that) prophet.'
Jew. Pal. חדין ספר אוריתא 'the book of the Law' (Sabb. 14. d).

The historical development of these various expressions for the determinate state of a noun is probably somewhat as follows. The parent Semitic speech was originally without article.[2] This status is best represented by some of the younger

[1] The element ית seems to occur also in the common Mandaic more remote demonstrative האנאת which Nöldeke thinks is a combination of demonstrative elements הא, הין, ית; cf. *Man. Gr.* p. 91 f; also Geig. *Spr. Misch.* p. 36; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* pp. 31, 162, 163; Nöld. *Chr. Pal.* p. 471; Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 113.

[2] For relics of this original article-less condition in all the Semitic languages, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 466—469 (§ 246 A). There is no article in Old Egyptian, but one has been developed in later Egyptian and in Coptic from the demonstrative 'that,' cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 110; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 73 f. Originally also there was no article in Indo-European, as is shown by the fact that many of the older

members of the Semitic family, viz., Ethiopic, and its modern descendant Tigriña.[1] Assyrian, in many respects the most primitive of the family, had developed and lost a definite article centuries before the oldest monument of Ethiopic was written. In order to represent the determinate state of a noun, two means were employed a) pronominal elements, chiefly demonstrative, and b) the personal pronominal suffixes.

From pronominal elements in most of the languages, by a process of weakening, a real definite article was developed, viz., in Assyrian, and in the Arabic (North and South), Canaanitic, and Aramaic families of speech. In Phenician and archaic Hebrew, represented by the language of Hebrew poetry, the article is not yet absolutely necessary to denote determination. In Arabic (North and South), Aramaic, in Hebrew prose, and Moabite, the article is fully developed. In the Eastern Aramaic dialects its definite force has so faded out that these languages have practically returned to the article-less condition of the primitive language. In one of these, again, the dialect of Tur-Abdin, a new article has been developed from the demonstrative 'that.'

Parallel with this development of the demonstratives ran the determinative use of the pronominal suffixes. In some languages the suffix of the third person was used to determine the noun to which it was attached, at first with a force more demonstrative than articular, as in Assyrian, later with a real articular force. This later use is found chiefly in the Abyssinian group, tho it also occurs occasionally in Assyrian and Syriac. In Tigre the development of a regular article has checked the growth of the construction; in Amharic a regular article is developed from it, which has, however, a somewhat restricted use. A suffix was also used to emphasize the determination of a dependent noun by being placed with the governing word. This construction is found to a certain extent in all the languages, but is most fully developed in the Abyssinian and Aramaic groups. It occurs in Amharic in

languages, viz., Sanskrit, Avestan, and Latin, have never developed an article; in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian the article is used only with the adjective modifying a definite noun; cf. p. 165, n. 1.

[1] Whether the article-less condition of Mehri is a direct inheritance from primitive Semitic, or whether the language is to be regarded as having lost the article which appears in Minæo-Sabean, is not certain.

spite of the fact that the language has an article; it is found in both East and West Aramaic, but reaches a higher development in the Eastern dialects, since here the emphatic state has lost its definite meaning. In Western Aramaic and Post-Biblical Hebrew, where the growth of these constructions has been checked by the development of a regular article, some of them have been adapted to indicate the emphatic idea 'same,' or 'the very same.'

In some languages the weakening of the force of the demonstrative pronouns, which process resulted in the development of the regular article, is still going on. So especially in article-less languages like Ethiopic and Tigriña, but also in those with a special definite form such as Jewish Palestinian.

Case Determination.

Leaving aside the primitive case endings, which are an integral part of the noun, under this head are to be classed the various prepositions and postpositions which have been developed to denote case.

The nominative has developed no special case sign.

The genitive in primitive Semitic is expressed by the construct chain (cf. below), but in the later development of many of the languages special prepositions have been adapted to denote this case.[1] They are as follows, viz.,

Ass. *ša*

Eth. ዘ-, እምነ፡, እመ-; *za-, 'ĕmna, 'ĕm-*

Amh. የ-, *ja-*

Ta. ናይ፡, ን- *nāj, nĕ-*

Te. ናይ፡ *nāj*

Arab. ل-, من; *li-, min*

„ (Mod.) متاع, بتاع, شيت, مال, حق, دا, ديال; *metā', betā' šēt, māl, ḥaq, de, diāl*[2]

Min. ɔ ɛ

Meh. *da, de, di*

Heb. -ל, -ל אשר

[1] The same is true of Egyptian and Coptic; cf. Erman, *Aegypt. Gr.* pp. 115—119; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 79—81.

[2] متاع in Syria and Algeria, بتاع in Egypt and Palestine, شيت in Jerusalem, مال in the region around Baghdad, حق in Yemen, دا in North Africa, ديال in Algeria: cf. Wahrm. *Prok. Hssâb.* pp. 44, 46, 68; Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316 (§ 106 g).

Ph.	ש, אש
Mish.	שֶׁל, -לְ
Syr.	ד-, -אד; -דְ, -לְ
Man.	
Bab. Tal.	דְ
Mod. Syr.	
Bib. Aram.	דְ, -לְ
Jew. Pal.	דִ
Ch. Pal.	-דִ
Sam.	לְ, דְ, דל
Mal.	*ti, il, ti-l*

These genitive determinants all stand before the noun in the genitive. They may be divided into the following classes according to their origin, viz.,

a) those derived from relative or demonstrative pronouns, Ass. *ša*, Min. ∂, Meh. *da, de, di*, Eth. *za*, Amh. *ja*, Phen. אש, ש, Aram. *de, di, ti*, Mod. Arab. *de*;[1]

b) those derived from nouns meaning 'possession,' Ta. and Te. *nâṉ*, Mod. Arab. *metâ', betâ', šêt, mâl, ḥaq*;

c[2]) prepositions meaning 'to, pertaining to, belonging to,' Ta. *nĕ*, Arab. *li*, Heb. *le*, Aram. *le*, Mal. *il*;

d[3]) prepositions meaning 'from, part of, of,' Eth. *'emna, 'em-*, Arab. *min*;

e) combinations of class (*a*) with following preposition in Mod. Arab. *diâl* (a combination of a demonstrative element with *li*)[4] Heb. *ašer le, šel*, Sam. דל, Mal. *ti-l*.

Determinants belonging to classes (*a*) and (*b*) are in some of the languages varied for gender and number to agree with

[1] Closely connected with this class of determinants is the Arabic demonstrative ذُو *ḏū* (with its full series of case, gender and number forms) which stands before a genitive in the sense of 'owner, possessor,' cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. p. 265 f.; II. p. 293. With these genitive determinants are to be compared the Egyptian and Coptic genitive sign *n* (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.*, §§ 217—219, 547; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.*, §§ 164—166), the Modern Persian Izafet (cf. Salemann and Shukovski, *Persische Gr.*, Berlin, 1899, p. 30 ff, § 16), and the ligatures in the Philippine languages (cf. my *Contribs. to Comp. Phil. Gram.*, JAOS, vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 325 f., 338—340; also my article *The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other languages*, JAOS, vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 227—231).

[2] In Coptic the preposition *ente* originally 'together with' is also used as genitive determinant, cf. Steind. *op. cit.* p. 80.

[3] The element *diâ* is identical with Ethiopic *zid*, which is used with suffixes to form possessives, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 315, § 106 *f.*

the preceding noun. Assyrian *ša* has a plural *šût*; Ethiopic ዘ has the feminine ዝንተ: *'ĕnta* and plural ዛለ: *'ĕlla*; Min. ﻯ, fem. ﺕ *št* and pl. ﻟﻰ *'lj*; Meh. *da, de, di*, a plural *la, le*. In Assyrian and Ethiopic, however, *ša* and ዘ are ordinarily employed without regard to the gender or number of the preceding noun. In Syria متاع, in Egypt بتاع, and in Jerusalem شيت may have the forms, fem. متاعة *metâ'et*, بتاعة *betâ'et*; pl. متوع *metû'*, بتوع *betû'*, شيوت, شووت *šijût, šuyût* (cf. under Nominal Qualification below).[1]

The following determinants are proclitic, being written as one word with their noun, viz., Eth. *za, 'ĕm*; Amh. *ja*; Ta. *nə̀*; Arab. *li*; Heb. *le*; Aram. *le, de*. The others stand as a separate word before their noun, tho some of these, e. g., Mod. Arab. *de*, are certainly proclitic. In Assyrian and Classical Arabic the noun has the genitive ending, in the other languages the form is the same as the nominative, e. g.,

Eth.	ዘብእሲ: *za-bə̀'ĕsi* 'of the man.'
Heb.	לְמֶלֶךְ 'of the king.'
Ass.	*ša amēli* 'of the man.'
Arab.	للملك *li-l-maliki* 'of the king.'
Mod. Arab.	دا البنت *del-bint* 'of the girl.'

For the various uses of these genitive determinants see the discussion of the noun modified by prepositional phrases below under Nominal Qualification.

The accusative is in many languages without special determining sign. The signs that have been developed are as follows, viz.,

Amh.	-ን, *-n*[2]
Meh.	*ta, te*[3]
Heb.	אֵת
Ph.	את
Syr.	
Man.	} -ל
Bab. Tal.	

[1] Similarly Egyptian *n* is varied for gender and case, viz., f. *nt*, pl. m. *nw*, pl. f. *nt*; cf. Erman, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Praetorius considers this a development of a particle indicating direction, identical with the Ethiopic -ለ, -ል: cf. *Amh. Spr.* p. 197; Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 333 f.

[3] Cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 70; under just what circumstances it is employed does not appear.

Mod. Syr. Bib. Aram. Mal.		-ל
Ch. Jew.	Pal.	-ל, ית
Sam.		ית, -ל

These are regularly employed only with a definite object, an indefinite regularly stands without them. They are of three sorts, viz.,

a) Amh. *-n*, which is enclitic and is written as one word with the noun; after a noun ending in a consonant it develops an *ĕ* before the *n*, or perhaps becomes an *u* vowel; e. g., ልጅን: *lĕjĕn* 'filium.' It stands after the definite article and possessive suffixes, but precedes all other enclitics, e. g.,

ልጁን: *lĕj-ŭ-n* 'the son.'
ሴቲቱን: *sĕt-ītū-n* 'the lady.'
ልጄን: *lĕj-ē-n* 'my son.'
ሴቲቱንም: *sĕt-ītū-n-ĕm* 'and the lady.'

b) Aram. *le*; this is proclitic and is written as one word with its noun. It is of course simply the dative preposition; the dative has encroached here upon the domain of the accusative just as it has in Modern Spanish.[1]

c) Heb. את, Phen. איתּ, Aram. ית, Meh. *ta*, *te*; these particles are all derived from a noun meaning 'essence, substance,'[2] and stand, in most cases probably as proclitics, before the noun; the Hebrew form אֵת is connected with the noun by Maqqeph. e. g.,

Heb.	אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֵת־הַשָּׁמַיִם	'coelum.'
Sam.	ית שומיא	

In Biblical Hebrew there are a few late passages in which את is used before a nominative, e. g.,

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[1] Here objects denoting persons or animals are placed after the preposition *á* 'to,' while those denoting things without life are governed directly, e. g., *edificó la casa* 'he built the house;' *conozco á este hombre* 'I know this man.' Cf. W. I. Knapp, *A Grammar of the Modern Spanish Language*. Boston, 1896, p. 374.

[2] For the various forms of this particle and its distribution in the various languages, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 313—315 (§ 106a-e).

וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה אַנְשֵׁי חָיִל 'and all of them were brave men (Jud. 20, 44, 46)'

and in Post-Biblical Hebrew, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, and Samaritan את, ית + suffix has become a regular demonstrative pronoun which may stand before a noun in any case (cf. pp. 148, 175).

The vocative has a special case determinant in a number of languages.

In Assyrian the noun without case ending is ordinarily employed as vocative, but an afformative particle *ā* appears sometimes to be employed as a case determinant[1], e. g.,

igar 'oh wall'.

Bēl-ā-ma 'oh Bel'.

In Ethiopic a few words take the ending *ô*, e. g., እግዚኦ: *egzi-'ô* 'oh God,' ብእሲት: *bə̈'ə̈sit-ô* 'oh woman,' እሞ: *'ə̈mm-ô* 'oh mother.' The words for 'mother' and 'father' have the special vocative forms እሙ: *'ə̈mmū*, አቡ: *'abā*. The most usual vocative determinant is a prefixed interjection አ *'ô*, e. g., አብእሲ: *'ô-bə̈'ə̈si* 'oh man.' The prefixed *'ô-* and suffixed *-ô* are perhaps identical. Sometimes they occur together with the same word e. g., አብእሲት: *'ô-bə̈'ə̈sit-ô* 'oh woman.'

In Amharic an interjection ሆይ: is placed after the word, e. g., ልጅ: ሆይ: *lǰ hōj* 'oh son.'

In Tigriña a suffix ኬ, ኺ, *kē*, *kuē* is added to the noun, e. g., ሰበይትኺ: *sabait-kuē* 'oh woman,' ጋንኬ: *gānēn-kē* 'oh demon.' This element may be ultimately connected with the ከ *ka* of the second person.[2]

In Tigre the interjection ናሃ: *jahā* may be placed after the noun, or the interjection ዎ *yō* may stand before it,[3] e. g.,

መምህር: ናሃ: *mamə̈hhər jahā* 'oh master.'

ዎ: መምባ: *yō-mambā* 'oh Lord.'

In Arabic the words اب 'father' and ام 'mother' have special vocative forms, e. g., ابت, امت *'abati* or *'abata*; *'ummati* or *ummata*; and several classes of words may make a special vocative form by a shortening at the end,[4] e. g., توب *Tauba* from توبة *Taubatu* (man's name). Usually the vocative is preceded by an interjectional particle. The most common

[1] Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* § 101.

[2] Cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 225

[3] Cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297, 226.

[4] Cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* II. pp. 87–89.

of these particles are ا, يا, ايا; ايها, يا ايها: *'a, ia, 'aiâ; 'aiiuhâ, ia 'aiiuhâ*. After all the vocative particles except يا ايها, ايها the noun stands without article. In Classical Arabic, aside from special vocative forms, the noun is in the nominative without nunnation unless it is indefinite and not addressed directly by the speaker, or unless it is modified by a following genitive, accusative, or prepositional phrase; in these cases it stands in the accusative, with nunnation, except when modified by a definite genitive. When no interjection is used these same rules apply. After يا ايها, ايها the noun stands in the nominative with article, e. g.,

يا ابت	*ia 'abati* 'oh father.'
يا رجل	*ia rajulu* 'oh man.'
يا رجلا	*ia rajula*ⁿ 'oh some man or other.'
يا سيد الوحوش	*ia saiida 'l-wuḥûši* 'oh lord of the wild beasts.'
يا طالعا جبلا	*ia ṭâli'a*ⁿ *jabala*ⁿ 'oh thou that art ascending a hill.'
يا خيرا من زيد	*ia hajra*ⁿ *min zaidi*ⁿ 'oh thou that art better than Zaid.'
ايها الملك يا ايها الملك	*'aiiuhâ 'l-maliku* *ia 'aiiuhâ 'l-maliku* } 'oh king.'

In Modern Egyptian Arabic, and probably also in all the modern dialects *ia* is the ordinary vocative particle, e. g.,

يا راجل	*ia rāgil* 'oh man.'
يا سيدى	*ia sîdi* '(oh) sir.'
يا ابوى	*ia 'abûja* 'oh my father.'

The particle *ia* is used also before a vocative in Syriac, Mandaic, Modern Syriac, and Malulan. To what extent its use is due to Arabic influence is uncertain.

In Syriac the particles ܐ, ܐܘ; ܐܗ, ܐܘܗ; ܐܢ, ܐܝܢ, are also used before the noun as vocative determinants, e. g.,

ܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܐ ܚܕܐ ‘oh evil world’.

ܐܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ‘oh men’.

In Hebrew and in Western Aramaic the definite state of the noun is used as a vocative, e. g.,

Heb.	הַמֶּלֶךְ ‘oh king.’
Bib. Aram.	מַלְכָּא ‘oh king.’
Jew. Pal.	ארעא ‘oh land.’
Sam.	שומיא ‘oh heavens.’

In Samaritan in later texts a special interjectional determinant אה is employed with the definite state, e. g.,

אה מלכה 'oh king.'

With the exception of the article in Hebrew (tho this is not strictly speaking a vocative determinant) and Tigriña *kē*, *kuē*, all the vocative determinants are of an interjectional character.

The other case relations are all represented by prepositions properly so-called,[1] and their combination with the noun depending on them offers little worthy of special remark.

In the case of certain compound prepositions in Amharic, the noun stands between the two parts of the preposition,[2] e. g.,

ከከተማው : ፊት : *ka-katamâ-u fit* 'before the city.'

ባደንጊያ : ላይ : *ba-dangiyä läy* 'on a stone.'

ወደ : ባሕሩ : ውሥጥ : *wädä bähr-u wəst* 'into the sea.'

Cases in which the preposition has become a postposition occur in Ethiopic and Amharic.[3]

Indetermination.

The indefinite state of a noun is indicated, a) by the absolute state of a noun, b) by the mimmation or nunnation, c) by a special word or indefinite article. The first method is the rule in all the languages except Arabic and Mineo-Sabean. Mimmation, the addition of a final *m*, and nunnation, the addition of a final *n*,[4] are used in Mineo-Sabean and Arabic respectively to indicate that a noun is indefinite, e. g.,

Arab. ملك *maliku*ⁿ, *-i*ⁿ, *-a*ⁿ, 'king, a king.'

Min. بيتم *bit-m* 'house, a house.'

The nunnation is used in triptote proper names in Arabic, but without indefinite force, e. g., زيد *zaidu*ⁿ 'Zaid.'

[1] For the most important of these prepositions cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 494—499.

[2] In this construction the noun is regarded as a genitive depending on the second part of the preposition, which functions as a noun, the genitive sign ʾ being omitted according to rule, after the element of the preposition which stands first: cf. under Nominal Qualification below, and Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 404—413.

[3] Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 469; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 413—415.

[4] The *-m* and *-n* are originally identical and are derived from the indefinite-interrogative particle *mā* (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 472. 473). This *mā* is perhaps ultimately identical with emphatic *mā* (cf. *op. cit.* p. 326).

In Modern Arabic the nunnation has been lost, the bare stem indicating the indefinite state, e. g.,

رجل *rajul* 'man, a man.'

In some of the languages the numeral 'one' may be used in the sense of an indefinite article.[1] This is common in certain dialects of the Aramaic and Abyssinian groups, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. אִגְּרָה חֲדָה 'a letter' (Ez. 4, 8).

Syr. ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ 'a man, a certain man.'

Mod. Syr. ܚܕ ܐܢܫܐ *ḥā 'nāšā* 'a man, a certain man.'

Eth. አሐዱ : ብእሲ : *'aḥadû bə'ĕsī* 'a man, a certain man.'

Ta. ሓደ : ሰብ : *ḥādê sab* 'a man, a certain man.'

Amh. አንድ : ባርያ : *andit bāriyā* 'a certain maid.'

It is found also in Modern Arabic. So in Egypt, Tripoli, Tlemsen, and Morocco. The numeral precedes,[2] usually in the masculine form for both genders. In Tripoli, Tlemsen, and Morocco the definite article is used with the noun. Generally speaking واحد *wāḥid*, *wāḥad* is used, but in Tlemsen *ḥad* (<*'aḥad*) is also employed. e. g.,

Eg. واحد ملك *wāḥid melik* 'a king.'

Tl. واحد الراجل { *wāḥad er-rājel* / *wāḥderrājel* } 'a man.'

واحد المرءة { *wāḥad el-mrā* / *wāḥdelmrā* } 'a woman.'

With this use of the definite in connection with the indefinite article is to be compared the use of Amharic አንድ : with article when 'one' out of a number is meant,[3] e. g.,

አንዱ : ሰው : *'and-ū saw* 'a man (one of a number mentioned).'

In Biblical Hebrew this use of the numeral is rare; it may stand before its noun: e. g.,

רֹתֶם אֶחָת 'a broom-plant' (1 Ki. 19, 4).

אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ 'a holy one' (Dan. 8, 13).

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[1] So in Coptic (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 75 f), and in general in those Indo-European languages which have developed an indefinite article, e. g., Eng. *a, an*, Fr. *un, une*, etc.

[2] As a cardinal numeral it follows its noun (cf. p. 201).

[3] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 302. The same rule holds good of the other cardinals and the indefinite ብዙ : *bĕzū* 'much, many,' cf. *op. cit.* pp. 301—303. In Hebrew, Syriac, and Mandaic this same definite character of the numeral 'one' is evidenced by the fact that it may stand after the accusative determinants (cf. p. 153) את, ל: cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 392, espec. n.

It is more common in the later language: the numeral regularly follows its noun: e. g.,

פִּילוֹסוֹפוֹס אֶחָד 'a philosopher.'

גֻּלְגֹּלֶת אַחַת 'a skull.'

In the Arabic dialect of Tangier in Morocco, the word *šī* (<*šaj* 'thing') is used as well as *wâḥad* for the indefinite article; it stands before the noun, which is without article, e. g.,

شي دار *šī dār* 'a house.'

شي حاجه *šī ḥâja* 'a matter.'

In Mesopotamian Arabic the indefinite article is expressed by the adjective *farid, fard* derived from a stem فرد 'to be separated (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 473; Weissbach, ZDMG, 58, p. 938).

The Ethiopic demonstrative ዝ፡ is sometimes used with the force of an indefinite article,[1] e. g.,

ዝ፡ ዐቀቡ፡ *zēkū kuakuēḥ* 'a rock, a certain rock (Enoch. 88, 47 [Laurence]; 89, 29 [Martin]).'

Some of these indefinite articles, e. g., Mesopotamian *fard* and Tangier *šī*, may be employed with the plural in the sense of 'some' (cf. p. 188).

Simple Qualification.

Position.

The regular position of the descriptive adjective in primitive Semitic was probably after its substantive,[2] as is shown by the fact that this is the normal position in nearly all of the Semitic languages; e. g.,

Ass. *šarru dannu* 'mighty king.'

Arab. ملك عظيم *malik*^{u} *aẓīm*^{u} 'mighty king.'

Min. اولدم هنائم *'ild-m hu'-m* 'healthy children.'

Meh. *ǧajên rehejm* 'handsome youth.'

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[1] Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 293.

[2] In Egyptian the adjective likewise stands after its substantive; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 119. In Coptic it has the same position but is usually connected with its noun in a sort of genitive relation, the noun standing in the construct, or the two being connected by the genitive sign *ⲛ̀ⲛ*; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 83. In Indo-European the original position of the descriptive adjective, as of the demonstratives, cardinals, and attributive genitives, seems to have been before the noun: cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 89, 91, 93, 94, 102. In the later development of many of the languages, however, postposition is frequent.

Heb. מֶלֶךְ טוֹב 'good king.'
Ph. אלנם ה-קדשם '(the) holy gods.'
Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךְ רַב 'great king.'
Sam. לעם רב 'great people.'
Mal. *ḥamrā kaijēs* 'good wine.'
Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܛܒܐ 'good king.'
Bab. Tal. גברא רבה 'great man.'
Man. גברא כשמא 'righteous man.'
Mod. Syr. ܒܝܬܐ ܪܒܐ *baitā gûrā* 'large house.'

Postposition of the adjective is practically without exception in Classical Arabic, Minæo-Sabean, Mehri, Hebrew, Phenician, and the Western Aramaic dialects, except Malulan.

In Assyrian, Modern Egyptian Arabic, Christian Palestinian, Malulan, and the Eastern Aramaic dialects, adjectives are sometimes placed before their noun. In Assyrian the adjective in this position has a stronger stress; in Egyptian Arabic the street-hawkers usually place first, as the most important thing, the adjective describing their wares, the interjection *jā* standing between the two, or before the combination; in Aramaic, preposition is especially common in adjectives of praise and blame, which form a sort of title: e. g.,

Ass. *šaqûti Ištar* 'exalted Ishtar.'
Eg. Arab. طبونى يا عيشى *tabûni jā 'ēš* 'oh oven-baked bread.'
يا رومى حلاوة *ja rûmī ḥalâwe* "oh Greek pastry.'
Syr. ܕܡܪܝܩܬܐ ܢܦܫܐ 'of the polished soul.'
ܡܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܡ 'the holy Mary.'
ܪܫܝܥܐ ܝܘܠܝܢܘܣ 'the godless Julian.'
Man. דאביא רושומא 'the pure sign.'
דאבתיא עוראיתא 'oh great Torah.'
Mod. Syr. ܛܦܝ ܐܠܗܐ *ṣepâjī 'ilânâ* 'a good tree.'
ܡܣܟܢܬܐ ܚܢܐ *miskantâ ḥannâ* 'poor Hannah.'
Mal. *yâ qattēšta marṭmaryâ* 'oh saint Mary.'

In Ethiopic and Tigre the position of the adjective has become almost entirely free, tho in Ethiopic in ordinary discourse the original postposition is more common, e. g.,

Eth. ምድር : ሠናይ : *mēdr šanāj* } 'good land.'
ሠናይ : ምድር : *šanāj mēdr* }
Te. እናስ : ሽያብ : *'ĕnâs šajâb* } 'old man.'
ሽያብ : እናስ : *šajâb ĕnâs* }

In Tigriña, while the position of the adjective is free as in

Ethiopic and Tigre, preposition is considerably more common than postposition, e. g.,

ዓበይ : ገደል : *ʿābīy gadal* 'a great abyss.'

ሰብ : ኃጥእ : *sab ḫāṭ͡ʾ* 'a sinful man.'

In Amharic preposition has become the rule, tho postposition is not infrequent when the noun has other modifiers besides the adjective, e. g.,

ታላቅ : መናወጥ : *tālāq manāwaṭ* 'a great trembling.'

የወይን : ጉንድ : እመነኛ : *ya-wayn guënd ʾĕmnatañā* 'a true vine (stalk of wine).'

አንድ : ሰው : ሌላ : *ʾand sāw lēlā* 'an (one) other man.'

Concord in Case.

An adjective regularly agrees with its noun in case, gender, number, and determination.[1]

The concord of case is of course confined to those languages which have developed special case forms. Leaving aside those languages which are preserved only in purely consonantal texts, such as Mineo-Sabean, Moabite, etc., in which the existence or non-existence of case endings cannot be determined, these languages are Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic: e. g.,

Assyr. *šarru dannu, šarri danni, šarra danna.*

Arab. ملك عظيم *malikᵘⁿ ʿaẓīmᵘⁿ, -īᵐ-īᵐ, -aⁿ-aⁿ.*

Eth. ምድር : ሠናይ : *mĕdr šanāy,* ምድረ : ሠናየ : *mĕdra šanāya*

In Assyrian there are many instances of lack of concord in case,[2] e. g.,

malki išaru 'a just king (acc.).'

šadâ marṣu 'the inaccessible mountain.'

In Arabic an adjective modifying a vocative expressed by the nominative may stand in either nominative or accusative, e. g.,

يا زيد العاقل *yâ zaiḍu* { *lʾ-ʿāqilu* / *lʾ-ʿāqila* } 'oh Zaid, the intelligent.'

Concord in Gender.

The concord of gender is practically without exception save in South Semitic. In many cases, however, a feminine noun has masculine forms, and in some cases a masculine noun has

[1] The adjectives in Egyptian have concord of gender and number (cf. Erman, *Aegypt. Gr.* p. 119). In Coptic the adjectives are usually invariable (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 84).

[2] Cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* §§ 165, 92. Some of these at any rate are probably due to the fact that the final vowels were not pronounced; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 114 (§ 43 r, s), p. 466 (§ 245 k)

feminine forms, so that while there is concord in gender itself, there is not concord in the gender forms. In Modern Egyptian and Tunisian Arabic and in Modern Syriac, the masculine is the only form of the plural, and is used as a common form for both genders. e. g.,

Assyr. *nâru marratu* 'bitter river (Persian Gulf).'
Arab. يد عظيمة *jadu*" *'aẓimatu*" 'mighty hand.'
Syr. ܐܘܪܚܐ ܐܪܝܟܬܐ 'long road.'
Heb. עִיר גְּדוֹלָה 'great city.'
בְּנִים עֲזוּבוֹת 'forsaken eggs.'
Mod. Syr. حسفا حسفا *'ajnâtâ šchinê* 'hot springs'.
Eg. Arab. شجرات عاليين *šagarât 'âliîin* 'high trees.'

In Arabic, the broken plurals are regularly treated as feminine, but sometimes when the noun denotes male persons it may take a strong masculine plural, e. g.,

اباء ماضون *âbâ'u mâḍûna* 'ancestors of old.'

In Mehri an adjective agreeing with a masculine plural denoting things may stand in the feminine singular (cf. below), e. g.,

taḥât (sg. *taḥt* m.) *ẓalmet* 'dark rooms.'

In Ethiopic the concord of gender, except in the case of nouns denoting persons has practically been given up, e. g.,

ምድር : ሠናይ : or ሠናይት : *mĕdr ṣanâi* or *ṣanâit* 'good land'.

In Tigriña the rule for the concord of gender is about the same as in Ethiopic. In Amharic there is no distinction of gender in the plural, and in the singular, unless the noun takes the definite article, the masculine is regularly employed with nouns of both genders; in the case of those few adjectives which have a special feminine form, this feminine may be used, but it has an archaic and biblical flavor[1]; when a feminine noun is determined it takes the special feminine article *-ītū*. e. g.,

Ta. ዓመት : ጽቡቕ : or ጽቡቕት : *'âmat ṣĕbûq* or *ṣĕbĕqt* 'good year.'
Amh. ክፉ : ሴት : *kĕfû sĕt* 'a bad woman.'
ቅድስት : ኣገር : *qĕdĕst 'agar* 'the holy city.'
ታናሺቱ : ልጄ : *tânâš-ītû lĕj-ē* 'my little daughter.'

Concord in Number.

In general noun and adjective agree in number, but there are numerous exceptions[2].

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[1] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 161, § 125 c.

[2] For a more complete statement of the rules of concord in Arabic cf. Reck. *Syn. Verh.* p. 80.

Nouns with a collective meaning often take a plural adjective in Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, e. g.,

Ass. *iṣṣur šamê muttapriš̆āti* 'winged birds (of heaven)'.

Arab. قوم ظالمون *qaumu" ẓālimūna* 'violent people.'

Eth. ብዙኃን : ሰብእ : *bəzuḥān zab'* 'many people.'

Heb. הָעָם הַהֹלְכִים בַּחֹשֶׁךְ 'the people that walk in darkness' (Is. 9. 1).

In Hebrew the amplificative plural regularly takes a singular attribute, e. g.,

אֱלֹהִים צַדִּיק 'a just God.'

In Arabic the broken plurals, being originally collectives of the feminine gender, regularly take the adjective in the feminine singular, in Modern Arabic sometimes the strong feminine plural:[1] e. g.,

مدن كبيرة *mudunu" kabīratu"* 'great cities.'

جبال عاليات *jebāl 'āliyāt* 'high mountains.'

Sometimes, however, an adjective agreeing with a broken plural takes itself a broken plural form, or, when the noun denotes persons, stands in the strong plural, e. g.,

رجال كبار *rijālu" kibāru"* 'great men.'

اباء ماضون *āba'u mādūna* 'ancestors of old.'

In Modern Egyptian Arabic when a broken plural or a strong feminine plural denotes persons, an adjective agreeing with them is put in the masculine plural in *in*, e. g.,

شجرات عاليين *šagarāt āliin* 'high trees.'

النسوان المعزومين *en-nisuān el-ma'zūmīn* 'the invited ladies'.

In Mehri the plural of nouns indicating objects may take its adjective in the plural with concord of gender, but, except in case of masculine plurals in *-n*, and feminine plurals in *-t* and *-ten*, the adjective may also stand in the feminine singular, e. g.,

taḥāt (sg. *taḥt*) *ġalmet* (f. sg.) 'dark rooms.'

hajuṉēl (sg. *jōl*) *ḥaurōt* (f. sg.) 'black clouds.'

In Ethiopic the concord of number has to a large extent been given up, except in the case of nouns denoting persons; even here instances occur of a singular adjective agreeing with a plural noun: e. g.,

ኃጥኣን : ብዙኅ : *ḥāṭə'ān bəzuḥ* 'many sinners.'

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[1] *Cf. Pers. Gr. Arab. Vul.* p. 142.

Plurals of nouns which do not denote persons (including broken plurals) may be treated either as singular or plural, as masculine or feminine, though a singular adjective agreeing with a plural noun has usually masculine form; e. g.,

**ቃላት : ዐቢይ : ***qālât ʿabīj* 'loud voices.'
**ተኣምራት : ዐቢያን : ***taʾâmrât ʿabījân* 'great signs.'
**ማያት : ብዙኅ : ***mâjât bēzūḥ* 'many waters.'
**አሕዛብ : ብዙኃን : ***ʾaḥzâb bēzūḥân* 'many people.'
**እውግር : ዞኦት : ***ʾawgēr nawāḥât* 'long walls.'
**አልባስ : ሠናይት : ***ʾalbās śanâjt* 'good clothes.'
**ብዙኅ : አሕዛብ : ***bēzūḥ ʾaḥzâb* 'many people.'

Broken plurals of adjectives, as in Arabic, are most usually, though not always, found in connection with broken plurals of nouns, e. g.,

**ተኣምር : ዐቢይት : ***taʾâmēr ʿabajt* 'great signs.'

but also,

**ብርሃናት : ዐቢይት : ***bērhânât ʿabajt* 'great lights'.

In Amharic an adjective modifying a plural noun may stand either in the singular or plural, though the plural is more common, e. g.,

**ታላቅ : ሰዎች : ***tâlâq sawôč* 'great men.'
**ኃያላን : ሰዎች : ***hâjâlân sawôč* 'strong men.'
**ሽማግሌት : ሴቶች : ***śēmâglit sētôč* 'old women.'
**ብርቱች : አሕዛብ : ***bērtôč ʾaḥzâb* 'strong nations.'
**ጠንካሮች : ዓምዶች : ***ṭankârôč ʿâmēdôč* 'firm pillars.'

In Tigriña such an adjective stands regularly in the plural, though the singular is also sometimes found, e. g.,

**ብዙኃት : እምላል : ***bezûḥât ʾamsâl* 'many parables.'
**ቀጠንቲ : ክዳውንቲ : ***qaṭanti* (pl.) *kēdâwnti* 'fine clothing.'
**ጻዕዳ : ክዳውንቲ : ***ṣaʿdâ* (sg.) *kēdâwntī* 'white clothing.'

An adjective modifying a noun which is at the same time modified by a cardinal (above 'one') regularly stands in the plural, even when the noun is singular, in Ethiopic and Modern Egyptian Arabic. In Classical Arabic, with any numeral between 11 and 99, the adjective may agree either grammatically with the noun or logically with the cardinal. e. g.,

Eth. **ሰብዐቱ : ሠዊት : ቀጢናን : ወዐቡራን : ***sabʿatú śawît qaṭînân ʷa-ʿēbûrân* 'seven ears thin and blasted.'

Eg. Arab. اربعة عشر كتاب طيبين *arbaḥtâšer kitâb ṭajjibîn* 'fourteen good books.'

Cl. Arab. ناصريا / ناصريةٌ | عشرون دينارا *'išrûna dînāra"* | *nâçiriija"* / *nâçiriiyata"*

'twenty dinars of el-Melek, en-Naçir.'

A dual, if we except certain isolated forms in Ethiopic and Aramaic, is found only in Arabic, Classical and Modern, Mineo-Sabean[2], Mehri[3], and Hebrew. In Classical Arabic an adjective modifying a dual stands also in the dual form; in Hebrew and in Modern Arabic the adjective, having no dual, is put in the plural: e. g.,

Cl. Arab. رجلان صالحان *rajulâni çâliḥâni* 'two good men.'

Eg. Arab. البابين البرانيين *el-bâbên el-barrâniin* 'the two outer doors.'

البيتين الكبار *el-bêtên el-kubâr* 'the two large houses.'

Heb. עֵינַיִם רָמוֹת 'haughty eyes.'

Determination.

In those languages that have developed a definite or indefinite form of the noun, the modifying adjective has in general the same form as the noun; so regularly in Arabic, Hebrew, and Western Aramaic except Malulan[4]: e. g.,

Arab. ملك عظيم *malikun" 'aẓîmun"* 'mighty king.'

الملك العظيم *al-maliku al-'aẓîmu* 'the mighty king.'

Heb. מֶלֶךְ טוֹב, הַמֶּלֶךְ הַטּוֹב 'good king', 'the good king.'

Bib. Aram. מַלְכָּא רַבָּא, מַלְכָּא רַב 'great king', 'the great king.'

Sam. לעמה רבה, לעם רב 'great people', 'the great people.'

In Eastern Aramaic and Malulan, tho the ending *â* has lost its definite force, noun and adjective with few exceptions agree in state; in Modern Syriac and Malulan the absolute state is

[1] The feminine ناصرية agrees according to rule with broken plural دنانير *danânîru* implied in عشرون (cf. p. 162).

[2] Hommel does not definitely state whether the adjective in Mineo-Sabean has a dual form or not; cf. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* pp. 42 f, 47: the dual of the noun occurs sometimes in connection with 'two' (cf. following footnote and p. 202 f.).

[3] The Mehri dual is found only in connection with the numeral 'two' (cf. p. 203).

[4] In Greek the article is used with both noun and adjective when the adjective follows the noun, e. g., *ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός* 'the wise man', tho the construction with one article before the combination of adjective + noun, viz., *ὁ σοφὸς ἀνήρ* is the rule (cf. W. W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar*, Boston, 1893, p. 208, § 959).

comparatively rare, and all distinction between the states has been lost: e. g.,

Syr. ܓܒܪ ܥܬܝܪ } 'rich man, the rich man.'
ܓܒܪܐ ܥܬܝܪܐ }

Bab. Tal. אגר רם 'a high roof.'
גברא רבה 'a great man.'

Man. גבר כשים, גברא כשטא 'a righteous man, the righteous man.'

Mod. Syr. ܟܐܦܐ ܪܒܐ *kēpā rābā* 'great stone.'

Mal. *šimšā ḥōmyā* 'brillant sun.'

Instances occur, however, in which there is lack of concord in state, e. g.,

Syr. ܠܬܠܬܐ ܣܗܕܝܢ ܫܪܝܪܐ 'these three true witnesses.'
ܫܒܥ ܬܘܪܬܐ ܫܡܝܢܐ 'the seven fat cows.'

Bab. Tal. אניש נוצא 'a small man.'

Man. עניש בישא 'an evil man.'

Mod. Syr. ܪܘܙ ܢܐܫܐ *rûz 'nāšā* 'honest people.'

Mal. *ḥamrâ kajjēs* 'good wine.'

In Phenician the article may stand with both, or only with the attribute, e. g.,

האלנם הקדשם } 'the holy gods.'
אלנם הקדשם }

In some languages the article is used only once with the combination of noun and adjective[1].

This is found as an exceptional usage in Hebrew both Biblical and Post Biblical, the more frequent in the latter; in Biblical Hebrew cases occur in which the adjective (in most cases a participle) alone takes the article[2]; in Post-Biblical Hebrew instances occur in which the article stands only with the adjective or only with the noun: e. g.,

Bib. שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן 'the higher gate' (Ezek. 9, 2).
חֶרֶב הַיּוֹנָה 'the sword that oppresses.'

[1] In Coptic the article stands only with the noun, e. g., *p-rōme n-sabe* 'the wise man' (cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84). In Indo-European, the article generally stands first before adjective and noun. In Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian the article stands after the adjective, e. g., Old Bul. *dobro-to vino* 'the good wine', Lith. *gerûs-is žmogûs* 'the good man'; cf. above p. 148, n. 2. In Greek the article may stand with the adjective only, when this follows the noun, e. g., ἀνὴρ ὁ σοφός 'the wise man', cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gram.* p. 208, § 959.

[2] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 428, 429 (§ 126 *w*, *x*).

Mish. כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה 'the great synagogue.'
הַיָּרָק חַי 'the raw herbs.'

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, an adjective modifying a definite vocative without article takes the article itself, e. g.,

Cl. يا فاسق الردى *jā fāsiqu 'r-riddiju* 'oh thou unrighteous man, the apostate.'

Eg. يا بنت البيضا *jā bint el-bēḍa* 'oh white maiden.'

In Egyptian Arabic, however, the article may be omitted, and the vocative particle *jā* used before the adjective in its stead, e. g.,

يا بنت يا بيضا *jā bint jā bēḍa* 'oh white maiden.'

In Egyptian Arabic a definite noun at the beginning of a sentence modified by an adjective, stands without article,[1] e. g.,

جبل الاحمر *gebel el-aḥmar* 'the red mountain,'

but,

نروح الجبل الاحمر *neruḥ el-gebel el-aḥmar* 'we went to the red mountain.'

In the dialect of Tunis the article may be used only once before the combination of noun and adjective,[2] tho this construction is rare, e. g.,

الراجل مشحاح *er-rāžel myšḥāḥ* 'the avaricious man.'

In Tigre, this last construction is the regular one; e. g.,

ላእናስ : ሸይብ : *lā-'ĕnās šajāb* } 'the old man.'
ላሸይብ : እናስ : *lā-šajāb 'ĕnās* }

In Amharic the defining suffix is regularly used only with the adjective,[3] e. g.,

ታላቁ : ወንዝ : *tālāq-ū wanz* 'the great river.'
ታላቂቱ : ከተማ : *tālāq-itū katamā* 'the great city.'

When noun and adjective are both indeterminate the accusative -ን may be omitted; it is, however, usually employed, in case the combination is singular, standing ordinarily with the noun, in case it is plural, standing ordinarily with the adjective: if one or the other is specially determined, the adjective by the ar-

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[1] The example given by Caussin de Perceval (*Gr. Arab. Vul.* p. 84). مركب الكبير 'the large vehicle' probably comes under this head. According to the same authority an adjective without article may stand before a noun with suffix cf. *op. cit.* p. 139.

[2] This is the usual construction in Indo-European, cf. p. 165, n. 1.

[3] Cf. the use of the article in Old Bulgarian and Lithuanian (cf. p. 165, n. 1); in these languages, however, the use of the article is confined to the adjective.

ticle, the noun by virtue of being a proper noun, or by a suffix, this element takes the ל: if both are specially determined, both take ל. These rules apply generally speaking to the combination of the noun with pronominal and numeral adjectives as well. e. g.,

ብርቱ : መቅሠፍትን : *bĕrtû maqšaft-ĕn* 'a severe plague'.
አዲስ : ቅኔን : *'adīs qĕnē-n* 'a new song.'
እንግዶችን : አማልክት : *'ĕngĕdôč-ĕn 'amālĕkt* 'strange gods.'
ሕያው : አምላክን : *hĕjāw 'amlāk-ĕn* 'the living God.'
ሴቶች : ልጆችሽን : *sĕtôč ljôč-ĕš-ĕn* 'thy female children.'
አዲሱን : ፀጅ : *'adīs-ū-n ḏaj* 'the new wine.'
ታላቁን : ቤት : *tālāq-ū-n bēt* 'the great house.'
ረጅሙን : ልብስሽን : *rajm-ū-n lĕbs-yā-n* 'her long dress.'
አዲሱን : ስሜን : *'adīs-ū-n sĕm-ē-n* 'my new name.'

In Hebrew and less frequently in Syriac, an adjective modifying a proper name is sometimes without article. This is a relic of the primitive period of Semitic when there was no article.[1] e. g.,

Heb. צִידוֹן רַבָּה 'Great Sidon.'
תְּהוֹם רַבָּה 'The Great Deep.'
בֵּית חורון עֶלְיוֹן 'Upper Bethhoron.'
אֵל עֶלְיוֹן 'The Highest God.'
Syr. תִּשְׁרִין קַדְמָא 'First Tishri.'
כָּנוֹן אָחֳרָי 'Second Kanon.'

Double Qualification.

When the noun is modified by two adjectives,[2] the adjectives are joined by the conjunction 'a'hd' in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. In Amharic the conjunction seems to be used when the two adjectives stand in juxtaposition, otherwise not. In Hebrew, if the noun is feminine, only the first adjective agrees with it, the other being masculine; in Ethiopic and Amharic, the two adjectives are often separated by the noun they modify or some other word; in Amharic, when the noun is determinate, the sign of determination may stand with both adjectives or only with the first. e. g.,

[1] Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 469 (§ 246 d β); Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 429 (§ 126 y); Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 48, n. 2.

[2] Sanskrit, like Arabic, employs no conjunction in this case; in Greek and Latin, cases both with and without conjunction occur; cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 215, 216.

Heb. אֵל טוֹב וְהַגָּדוֹל 'the great, good God.'
רוּחַ גְּדוֹלָה וְחָזָק 'a great strong wind.'

Bib. Aram. קַרְיְתָא מָרְדְתָא וּבְאִישְׁתָא 'the rebellious evil city.'

Syr. ܓܒܪ ܛܒ ܘܬܫܝܪ 'a good, upright man.'

Eth. ዐቢያ : ሥቃየ : ወእኩየ : *'abīja śēqāja ya-'ekūja* (acc.) 'great evil plague.'

ብእሲ : ጻድቅ : ውእቱ : ወፍጹም : *bə'ĕsî çādēq yə'ĕtû ya-fĕçûm* 'he is a righteous and perfect man.'

Amh. ብርቱዩቱም : እንስት : ጸንዓ : *bərtūi-ītū-m 'ĕnĕst 'anbasā* 'and the strong female lion.'

ኩሩይቱ : ቁላጫይቱም : ሴት : *kūrā-ītū qalāçāi-ītū-m sĕt* 'the proud and delicate woman.'

In Arabic and Tigriña no conjunction is used; in Tigriña the noun often stands between the two adjectives as in Ethiopic and Amharic: e. g.,

Arab. الكوكب النير الاحمر *al-kaukabu an-naiiru al-'aḥmaru* 'the bright red star.'

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم *bi-smi 'allāhi 'r-raḥmāni 'r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.'

Ta. ክፉእ : ባርያ : ሀካይ : *kəfū' bārjā hakāi* 'wicked, slothful servant.'

ብዙኅ : ንብሪ : ጽቡቅ : *bəzūḥ gəbrī çəbūq* 'much good work.'

In Assyrian, at least in elevated style, the noun is repeated with each adjective, e. g.,

šarru rabû, šarru dannu 'great, mighty king.'

Construct Chain.

Sometimes a noun and its adjective are joined together in a construct chain.

In Arabic and Hebrew the adjective may govern the noun, e. g.,

Arab. جميل فعلك *jamilu fi'lika* 'thy handsome behavior.'

Heb. חַלְקֵי אֲבָנִים 'smooth stones' (1 Sam. 17,40).

In all the principal languages except Aramaic, viz., Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew, the noun may govern the adjective[1]; in Hebrew the adjective always stands in the masculine: e. g.,

[1] With this is to be compared the Coptic construction of noun in construct + adjective. The more usual construction with n is perhaps a development of this, inasmuch as n is also the sign of the genitive. Cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 82, 83.

Ass. *aṣar rûqi* 'distant place.'
arrat limutti[m] 'the evil curse.'
Arab. بيت المقدس *baitu'l-muqaddasi* 'the holy house, temple.'
Eth. ማየ : ጥዑም : *maja ṭ'ûm* 'sweet water.'
Heb. אשת רע 'an evil woman.'

To be compared with this last case is the Amharic construction according to which certain adjectives are connected with the noun they modify by the genitive sign,[1] e. g.,

የኩሺን : ኔብደ-ሜልክ : *ja-kûšî-n 'ebēdmēlēk* (acc.) 'the Cushite Ebedmelek.'
ዳርዮስም : የሜዲው : *dārjôs-ēm ja-mēdī-y* 'and Darius the Mede.'
የፊተኛው : ሰው : *ja-fītañā-y saw* 'the first man.'
የመንፈሳዊት : ጨለማ : *ja-manfasāyīt ṣalāmā* 'the spiritual darkness.'

Demonstrative[2] Qualification.

Position.

In Assyrian, Hebrew, Moabite, Phenician, Libyanic, and Mehri, the demonstrative adjective stands regularly after the noun, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'
Heb. הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה 'this man.'
Mo. הבמה זאת 'this high place.'
Ph. : אבן 'this stone.'
Lib. הבת דה 'this house.'
Meh. *ǧaj dôm* 'this man.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew, however, the demonstratively used את + suffix precedes the noun, e. g.,

אותו היום 'that day.'

In the various Aramaic dialects its position varies. In the inscription of Zinjirli and in Samaritan it is postpositive, e. g.,

Zinj. ביתא זנה 'this house.'
Sam. ארעא הדה 'this land.'

[1] For the adjectives that take this construction cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 317-320, § 249.

[2] For the forms of the demonstratives, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 316-329, and the various Semitic grammars under the head of demonstratives. The personal pronoun of the third person is used for the more remote demonstrative adjective in Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Phenician; in Minæo-Sabean the singular of this pronoun is apparently used for the nearer demonstrative: cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 299; Praet. *Äth. Gr.* p. 23; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 112, 115, 463; Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 144; Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 11.

In Biblical Aramaic it regularly follows, though in some passages, it also precedes, e. g.,

קַרְתָּא דְךָ 'that city.'

דְנָה בְנְיָנָה 'this building' (Ez. 5, 4.).

In Syriac, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, it may be indifferently either prepositive or postpositive, e. g.,

Syr. הָנָא מַלְכָּא ܗܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ / מַלְכָּא הָנָא ܡܠܟܐ ܗܢܐ 'this king.'

Jew. Pal. הדין עובדא 'this occurrence.'

עלמא הדין 'this world.'

Bab. Tal. הדין ביתא 'this house.'

עמא הדין 'this people.'

In Mandaic the rule is about the same as in Syriac, though preposition is more common; in Malulan usually, in Modern Syriac, always in the spoken language, and usually in the written, the demonstrative precedes its noun; postposition in the modern dialects is due to the influence of the Classical Syriac: e. g.,

Man. האהו מאלכא 'that king.'

אלמא האהו 'that world.'

Mal. *hōḏ šuniṯâ* 'this woman.'

ḥun-aḥ hannā 'thy brother this.'

Mod. Syr. ـــحدا ـــهدا *lē-hō gēbâ* 'on that side.'

In all the South Semitic languages, except Lihyanic and Mehri, the demonstrative is regularly prepositive, e. g.,

Arab. هذا الرجل *hāḏā 'l-rajulu* 'this man.'

Min. ذن سطرن ðn *sṭr-n* 'this inscription.'

Eth. ዝንቱ : ብእሲ : *zēntū bəʾēsī* 'this man.'

Amh. ያች : ሴት : *yāč sət* 'that woman.'

Ta. እትኮኽብ : *ʾət-kōkhōb* 'that star.'

Te. እላ : በሃል : *ʾəllā bahāl* 'this commandment.'

In Amharic preposition is apparently without exception. In Tigre it is without exception as far as the most common demonstrative እሉ : is concerned, but the less frequent ለሃ : 'that' stands after the noun[1], e. g.,

ለእናስ : ለጋይ : *la-ʾənās lahāi* 'that man.'

ለጸሎት : ለሃ : *la-ṣəlōt lahā* 'that prayer.'

In Arabic and Ethiopic the demonstrative may follow the noun in the sense of an apposition or a locative adverb. In

[1] This is true at least of the texts examined by Littmann, cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 297-299.

Arabic a demonstrative modifying a proper noun has always this position. Postposition of a demonstrative sometimes also occurs in Mineo-Sabean, perhaps with a similar meaning, e. g.,

Arab. الرجل هذا *ar-rajulu hāδā* 'the man here'.
زيد هذا *zaidu" hāδā* 'this Zaid.'

Eth. ሀገረ : እያቡሴዎን : ዛቲ : *hagara 'iyābūseyōn zāti* 'the city of the Jebusites here.'

Min. محفدن ذن *mhfd-n δn* 'this (?)'

In Modern Arabic, preposition of the demonstrative is regular except in the case of the monosyllabic forms without -ه *ha*, which regularly follow the noun; the demonstrative هذا *hāδā* may follow a noun already modified by preceding هل *hal*: e. g.,

البيت ذاك *el-bêt dāk* 'that house.'
المدينة دى *el-medine dī* 'this city.'
هل كتاب هذا *hal kitāb hāδā* 'this book here.'

In the dialect of the Egyptian Fellahin and in some provincial cities the monosyllabic demonstratives regularly precede the noun with article, except *dōl*, which always follows, e. g.,

د الولد *da'l-walād* 'this boy.'
دى المراه *di'l-mar'a* 'this woman.'
الناس دول *en-nās dōl* 'these people.'

In the standard dialect this construction is preserved in the expression,

دى الوقت *di'l-waqt* 'this time, now.'

In the dialect of Tlemsen all the demonstratives, including the short forms, seem regularly to precede the noun, e. g.,

دا الراجل *der-râjel* 'this man.'
ذاك الراجل *dâker-râjel* 'that man.'
هدا الراجل *hâder-râjel* 'this man.'

In Tigrina the longer demonstratives may stand after a noun already modified by a preceding short demonstrative, e. g.,

እዝንርዚ : *'ĕz-nagar-zĕiy* } 'this speech.'
እዝንር : እዚ : *'ĕz-nagar 'ĕziy* }

It is difficult to say what was the position of the demonstrative in primitive Semitic[1]. It seems most likely that both positions were allowable originally, and that after the separation of North and South Semitic, the former for the most part adopt-

[1] In Egyptian the older demonstratives follow, the later ones precede, as the demonstratives do in Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 88-92; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 45 f. For the position of the demonstratives in Indo-European cf. p. 158, n. 2.

ed postposition, while preposition, in the main, prevailed in the latter. If this is true, the older Aramaic dialects represent most closely the status of the primitive language. When the demonstrative follows in Arabic and Ethiopic, it has a special meaning. In some of the modern dialects the law of the more ancient languages of the same group is reversed. The modern Aramaic dialects prefer preposition, while in Modern Arabic postposition of certain demonstratives is the regular rule. Modern Arabic and Tigriña have developed an emphatic demonstrative construction in which a noun may be modified by two demonstratives, one before and one after.[1]

Concord.

A demonstrative adjective regularly agrees with its noun in case, number, and gender.

Concord of case is confined to those languages which have case forms of the demonstratives, viz., Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'
šarri anni 'of this king.'
Arab. هذان الرجلان *hāðāni 'r-rajulâni* 'these two men.'
هذين الرجلين *hāðajni 'r-rajulajni* (gen. and acc.)
Eth. ዝንቱ : ግብር : *zĕntû gĕbr* 'this thing.'
ዝንተ : ግብረ : *zanta gĕbra* (acc.)

The concords of gender and number are practically without exception in all the languages except Arabic, Ethiopic, and Tigriña, e. g.,

Ass. *šarrâni annûti* 'these kings.'
šarrâti annâti 'these queens.'
Heb. הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת 'this woman.'
הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה 'these men.'
Bib. Aram. קַרְיְתָא דְּךָ 'that city.'
גַּבְרַיָּא אִלֶּךְ 'those men.'
Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ هذه هذي 'these kings.'
Min. ابن ابضعن *'ln 'bḍ'-n* 'these regions.'
Meh. *ganett dîms* 'this little girl.'
bijût liĕk 'those houses.'

In Arabic the plural of a demonstrative may stand with a strong masculine plural, or a strong feminine plural, a collec-

[1] A similar construction is common in Tagalog, the most important of the languages of the Philippine Islands, viz., *itō-ng tāwo-ng itō* 'this man.'

tive, or a broken plural that denotes persons; a strong feminine plural and a broken plural that denote things, regularly take the demonstrative in the feminine singular: e. g.,

هؤلاء القصابون *hā'ulā'i 'l-qaṣṣābūna* 'these butchers.'
الرجال „ „ *'r-rijālu* 'these men.'
الناس „ „ *'n-nāsu* 'these people.'
البنات „ „ *'l-banātu* 'these girls.'
هذه المدن *hāðihi 'l-mudunu* 'these cities.'
القلوات „ „ *'l-falayātu* 'these deserts.'

In Modern Arabic the demonstrative is sometimes construed according to the sense; for example in Egyptian Arabic,

الناس دول *en-nās dōl* 'these people.'
الحاجات دى *el-ḥāgāt dī* 'these matters.'

In Ethiopic the demonstrative follows the same rules of agreement as the descriptive adjective, e. g.,

a) with nouns denoting persons,

ዝንቱ : ብእሲ : *zēntû bə'ēsi* 'this man.'
ዛቲ : ብእሲት : *zāti bə'ēsit* 'this woman.'

b) with nouns denoting things,

ዝንቱ : ፍርሀት : *zēntû fərhat* 'this fear.'
ውእቱ : ቃላት : *wə'ētû qālāt* 'these voices.'
በውእቱ : መዋዕል : *ba-wə'ētû mayā'il* 'in those days.'
እሙንቱ : ማያት : *'əmūntû mâjāt* 'those waters.'
እላ : ራእያት : *'ēllā rā'əjāt* 'these visions.'

Tigriña seems to follow in general the same rules of concord as Ethiopic.[1]

Determination.

In parent Semitic, in all probability, a noun modified by a demonstrative adjective was determinate by that very fact, and needed no definite article. Assyrian, Ethiopic, and Tigriña, which have not developed any definite article, represent this status, e. g.,

Ass. *šarru annû* 'this king.'
âlâni šunûti 'these cities.'
Eth. **ዝንቱ : ብእሲ** : *zēntû bə'ēsi* 'this man.'
Ta. **እዚሙ : ሰብ** : *'ēzīy sab* 'this man.'

In those languages which possess a definite article, the combination of noun and demonstrative usually takes this article as an additional indication of definiteness.[2]

[1] Cf. Schreib. *Mas. Tig.* p. 28.

[2] In Egyptian and Coptic the demonstrative excludes the article (cf.

In Phenician the combination may stand without article as above, or the article may be used with the noun, e. g.,

אבן ז 'this stone.'

השער ז 'this gate.'

In Amharic the combination may stand without further determination, or either the noun or the demonstrative may take the definite article, e. g.,

ይህ : አሽከር : *jĕh 'aškar* 'this boy.'

ያ : ወራሹ : *jā warāš-ū* 'that inheritance.'

በዚሁ : ፈረስ : *ba-zih-ū faras* 'on this horse.'

The accusative -ን seems to be used either with the demonstrative alone or with both demonstrative and noun, e. g.,

እሊኽ : ብላቴኖች : *'ĕllĕkh-ĕn bĕlâtĕnŏč* 'these boys.'

ይኽን : ነገር : *jĕkh-ĕn nagar* 'this thing.'

ይኽን : ዮርዳኖስን : *jĕkh-ĕn jŏrdânôs-ĕn* 'this Jordan.'

In Tigre the noun modified by the nearer demonstrative እሊ : stands without article, but with the more remote demonstrative ሰሃ : the noun takes the article,[1] e. g.,

እሊ : ፈራዕ : *'ĕllī farā'* 'this people.'

ሰጸልዮ : ሰሃ : *la-ṣalôt lahā* 'that prayer.'

In Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, Moabite, and Western Aramaic the noun stands regularly in the definite state, e. g.,

Arab. هذا الرجل *hāðā 'r-rajulu*

Mod. Arab. هل رجل *hal rajul* } 'this man.'

الرجل دا *ar-rajul dā*

Min. ذن سطرن *ðn str-n* 'this inscription.'

Mo. הבמת זאה 'this high place.'

Bib. Aram. מַלְכָּא דְנָה 'this king.'

Jew. Pal. הדין עובדא 'this occurrence.'

In Eastern Aramaic and Malulan, altho the sign of determination has lost its definite force, the emphatic state, as the most common form, in Modern Syriac and Malulan as practically the only form, of the noun, is regularly employed in connection with a demonstrative, e. g.,

Syr. هٰذَا مَلْكَا هٰذَا 'this king.'

Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 110 f.; Steind. *Kept. Gr.* pp. 45, 46); so usually in Indo-European except in Greek, where the article stands before the noun whatever the position of the demonstrative may be, e. g., οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ or ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος 'this man' (cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gr.* p. 211, § 974).

[1] This is true at least of the texts examined by Littmann, cf. *Tr. Prov.* pp. 297-299.

Sometimes, however, in Syriac and Babylonian Talmudic especially, when the noun is also modified by a numeral, it may stand in the absolute state, e. g.,

Syr. ܗܠܝܢ ܐܪܒܥܐ ܝܪܚܝܢ 'these four months.'
Bab. Tal. בהלין עשרה יומין 'in these ten days.'
הא אינש 'this man.'

The construction of the demonstrative without article with the definite noun, is found in a few cases in Biblical Hebrew chiefly with הוא and היא,[1] e. g.,

בַּלַּיְלָה הוּא 'on that night.'
הַקְּדֵשָׁה הִיא 'that sacred prostitute.'
הַדּוֹר הַזֶּה 'this generation.'

The regular construction, however, has the article with both noun and demonstrative, the demonstrative having been attracted to the construction of the descriptive adjective, e. g.,

הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה 'this man.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew when a noun is modified by the nearer demonstrative זה, the article is omitted with both; instead of the more remote demonstrative הוא, the accusative sign את is used with the proper suffix before the noun with article: e. g.,

יֶרֶק זֶה 'this plant.'
אוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם 'that day.'

This construction of זה is perhaps a survival of the primitive demonstrative usage as we have it in Assyrian, the Abyssinian languages, and Phenician, preserved by popular speech, just as the regular Mishnic relative ש, which is practically unknown in Classical Hebrew, is to be regarded as a survival of the ש which appears in the Hebrew of the Song of Deborah.

In Samaritan the noun stands in the emphatic state, and the demonstrative has in addition a prefixed demonstrative ה,[2] e. g.,

יומא הדן 'this day.'
ארעא הדה 'this land.'
ממליה האלין 'these words.'

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[1] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 428, 429 (§ 126 *g*).

[2] This ה is not the Hebrew article tho it is ultimately identical with it (cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 316, § 107*a*). It is a demonstrative particle identical with the ה of Jewish Palestinian הדן, הדא and the *hâ*, of Arabic هٰذَا *hâdâ*, which was employed in this and other cases in imitation of the Hebrew article. Cf. Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 116 f.

Demonstrative and Adjective.

When a demonstrative modifies a combination of noun and adjective it regularly stands outside of the combination,[1] either before it or after it according to the rules of the various languages, e. g.,

Ass.	*šarru rabû annû*	'this great king.'
Arab.	هذا الملك العظيم *hâḏâ 'l-maliku 'l-'aẓīmu*	
Eth.	ዝንቱ : ንጉሥ : ዐቢይ : *zēntū nēgūś 'abiy*	
Heb.	הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה	
Syr.	מַלְכָּא רַבָּא הָנָא הָנָא מַלְכָּא רַבָּא	

In Amharic in this case only the adjective takes the determinate article, tho even this may dispense with it. The accusative -ን may stand with both demonstrative and adjective, e. g.,

ይኽ : ታላቁ : ኀይልኽ : *yīkh tālāq-û ḥâil-ēkh* 'this great power of thine.'

እነዚህ : ሶስቱ : ነገር : *'ĕnuzīh sōst-û nagar* 'these three things.'

ያችን : ዝንቡርችን : ቀሚስ : *jāč-ēn zĕnguēr-ītû-n qamīs* (acc.) 'that variegated garment.'

ይኽች : ድኻ : ባልቴት : *jīkhčē dōḫā bâltēt* 'this poor widow.'

Interrogative Qualification.

Adjectival.

A noun may be modified by the interrogative ideas expressed by 'which?' 'what?' 'whose?' 'how much?' 'how many?'

'Which?' is expressed in most of the Semitic languages by the particle אי *ai* or some of its derivatives, viz.,

Ass. sg. *ân*, pl. *âûti*

Arab. masc. اى *'aiju*", fem. ايّة *'aiyatu*"

Eg. Arab.[2] „ انهو *'enhû* „ انهى *'enhī*. pl. انهم *'enhum* and اى *'aiy*, *'aiy'*

Tun. Arab. sg. and pl. *'ēna*

Tl. Arab. اشمن *âšmen*

Eth. sg. ኦይ : *'aiy*, pl. ኦይት : *'aiyāt*

[1] In cases like Heb. עַמּוֹ הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה (2 Ch. 1, 10) the adjective modifies not simply the noun but the combination of noun and demonstrative 'this people of thine, the great people.' Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 427, a. 1.

[2] In Palestinian Arabic the forms are in general the same as in Egyptian, but with numerous variations, cf. Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 73.

Ta. sg. and pl. ኣይን : *'aiṇ*, እኛን : *'ajan*, እኛን : *'ĕjan*, ኣይን : *'aiân*, እኛን : *'ĕjân*

Te. masc. ఏ : *'aṯi*, fem. ఏ : *'aṯâ*

Heb. masc. and fem. אֵיזֶה

Syr. masc. sg. ܐܝܢܐ, fem. sg. ܐܝܕܐ, pl. ܐܝܠܝܢ

Bab. Tal. אידין, די

Jew. Pal. masc. היכין, fem. היכא, pl. היכלין

Ch. Pal. masc. הידין, fem. הידא

Mod. Syr. sg. and pl. ܐܝܢ *'aini*

In Classical Arabic the feminine is little used, the masculine being the regular form before all nouns singular and plural. In Ethiopic the forms given are used only of things. The interrogative word regularly stands before its noun, and is treated as an adjective, except in Classical Arabic, and in the case of Egyptian Arabic ايّ, where it takes the modified noun in the genitive. Egyptian Arabic *enhû*, *enhî* may follow their noun. The concords of gender and number are as indicated; Ethiopic has also concord of case. In those languages which distinguish definite and indefinite states, the noun is indefinite: in Christian Palestinian apparently either the emphatic or the absolute state may be used; in Eastern Aramaic the emphatic state as the most common form of the noun is regularly employed, tho occasionally the absolute state is found in Syriac, e. g.,

Ass. *âu ilu* 'which god?'

Eth. ኣይ : ሰዓት : *'aj sa'ât* 'which hour?'
ኧ : ሰዓተ : *'aja sa'âta* (acc.)?
ኣይት : ትእዛዛት : *ajât tĕ'zâzât* 'which commands?'

Ta. ඒදින : ගැඩ : *baján gizê* 'at what time?'

Te. ఏ : ባህለት : *'aji bâhlat* 'which saying?'
ఏ : በሃል : *'ajâ bahâl* 'which commandment?'

Syr. ܐܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ 'which king?'
ܐܝܕܐ ܕܬܚܠܬܐ 'which religion?'
ܐܝܠܝܢ ܣܦܪܐ 'which scribes?'
ܐܝܢܐ ܬܫܥܝܩ 'which torment?'

Mod. Syr. ܐܝܢ ܪܘܚܐ *'aini rûḥâ* 'which spirit?'

Chr. Pal. הידין פקוד 'which commandment?'
בהידא משרא 'in which watch?'
היכין עובדא (*emph. state*) 'which deed?'

Heb. אֵיזֶה דֶּרֶךְ 'which way?'

Cl. Arab. ايّ شيء *'ajju šaj'in* 'which thing?'

ای رجال *'aiju rijāli* 'which men?'
ای عین *'aiju 'aini* (fem.) 'which eye?'

Eg. Arab. من انهی بلد *min 'enhi beled* } 'from which village?'
من ای بلد *min 'aiʾ beled* }
من انهو جنس *min 'enhū gins* 'of what character?'
شیخ انهو *šēḫ 'enhū* 'which sheik?'
ورقة انهی *waraqa 'enhī* 'which leaf?'

Tl. Arab. اشمن راجل *āšmen rājel* 'which man?'

In Classical Arabic the noun may stand with the article, but the meaning is somewhat different, e. g.,

ای الرجال *'aiju 'r-rijāli* 'which of the men?'
ای النساء *'aiju 'n-nisāʾi* 'which of the women?'

In Mandaic 'which?' as adjective occurs in only one passage, being there expressed by האמנו, viz.,

בהאמנו אתרא 'in which place?'

In Hebrew when the modified noun depends on the preposition מן, the preposition stands between the two elements of the interrogative, e. g.,

אֵי מִזֶּה עִיר 'from which city?'

In Ethiopic 'which?' referring to persons, must be expressed by the circumlocution 'who is the — that,' e. g.,

መኑ : ውእቱ : ሰብእ : ዘመጽአ : *mannū yĕʾĕtū sabʾi za-maṣʾa* 'who is the man that came, which man came?'

In Amharic 'which?' is expressed in a few passages by the adverb የት : *jat* 'where?' used as an adjective before the noun, e. g.,

የት : አገር : *ja-jat 'agar* 'of which land?'

In some languages 'which?' referring to persons is expressed by the personal interrogative pronoun,[1] used as an adjective. A few instances are found in Samaritan, Syriac, and the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud; in Tigriña the construction is quite common; and in Amharic, where the adjectival interrogative *aj* has been lost, it is the invariable rule. In Tigriña this interrogative is also used of things. The interrogative precedes the noun, e. g.,

Sam. מן נברא 'which man?'
Syr. لَمَن عَشِيرَا حصي 'to which rich man?'
Bab. Tal. מאן נברא רבא 'what great man?'

[1] The personal interrogatives are derived from a stem *man*, except in Hebrew and certain Modern Arabic dialects where they are formed from a stem *mi* cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 326 f. (§110 c, d).

Amh. ማን : ሰው : *mān say* 'which man?'
Ta. መን : መንፈስ : *man manfas* 'which spirit?'
በመን : ትጋህ : *bĕ-man tĕyâh* 'in which watch?'

The neuter interrogative pronoun is used adjectively in most of the languages to express 'what, what sort of?' and sometimes also 'which?' The forms are, viz.,

Eth. ምንት : *mēnt*
Amh. ምን : *mēn*
Ta. ምንታይ : *mēntāj*
Meh. *hāśan*
Te. ሚ-, -ሚ : *mī*
Heb. מָה
Syr. ܡܢܐ, ܡܢ ܕ
Bab. Tal. מאי
Jew. Pal. מה
Man. מאתו
Mod. Syr. ـــ ܡܘ *mūdī*

In Amharic the same idea is also expressed by adjectives derived from the personal interrogative, which are, however, used with both persons and things. They agree with their noun in gender, viz.,

masc. ማናቸው : *mānāčay*
fem. ማናቸዪቱ : *mānāčajītū*
ማናቸይቱ : *mānāčajtū*

These interrogatives regularly precede the noun. In Ethiopic there is concord of case, e. g.,

Eth. ምንት : ዐስብ : *mēnt 'asb* 'what reward?'
ምንተ : ሠናየ : *mēnta śanāja* 'what good (acc.)?'
Amh. ምን : ትእዛዝ : *mēn tĕ'zāz* 'which order?'
ምን : ፍጥረት : *mēn fĕtrat* 'what sort of a creature?'
ማናቸው : ንጉሥ : *mānāčay nĕgūś* 'which king?'
ምናቸዪቱ : ትእዛዝ : *mānāčajītū tĕ'zāz* 'which commandment?'
Ta. በምንታይ : ሥልጣን : *bĕ-mēntāj śĕlṭân* 'by what power?'
Te. ኤብሚ : መስል : *'ĕb-mī masl* } 'with what parable?'
ኤብ : ሚመስል : *'ĕb mī-masl* }
Heb. מַה־יִּתְרוֹן 'what advantage?'
Syr. ܡܢܐ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܡܢ ܕ 'what punishment?'
Man. מאתו האילא 'what power?'
Mod. Syr. ـــ ܡܘ ـــ ـــ *le-mūdī medittā* 'to what city?'
Jew. Pal. מה חובא 'what sin?'

Meh. *da*[1] *hâšan çâḥan dâ* 'what dish is this?'
da[1] *hâšan jambiijet di* 'what dagger is this?'
da[1] *hâšan mijêr liê* 'what mirrors are these?'

Possessive.

'Whose?' is expressed by treating the personal interrogative like a noun indicating the possessor.

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, Ethiopic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Mandaic the interrogative may form the *nomen rectum* of a construct chain, standing in the nominative form, e. g.,

Arab. بيت من *baitu man*
Eth. ቤት : ማን : *bêta mannû* } 'whose house?'
Heb. בֵּית־מִי

Mod. Pal. Arab. فنجان مين *finjên min* 'whose cup?'

Man. בר מאן
Ta. ወድ : ማን : *ʿwad man* } 'whose son?'

Sam. ברת מן
Jew. Pal. בת מן } 'whose daughter?'

In those languages which have developed a special preposition to indicate the genitive, the interrogative may stand after this preposition. The prepositional phrase usually follows the modified noun in all the languages except Amharic, where it regularly precedes. e. g.,

Eth. ቤት : ዘማን : *bêt za-mannû* 'whose house?'
Amh. የማን : ልጅ : *ja-mân lĕj* 'whose son?'
Jew. Pal. ברתא דמן 'whose daughter?'
Syr. ܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܢܘ ܗܘ 'whose house?'
Mod. Syr. ܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܢܝ ; *tawrâ de-mâni* 'whose ox?'
Meh. (*da*[2]) *habrit da mon* (*dime reheṣmet*) 'whose daughter (is this pretty girl)?'

Quantitative.

The ideas 'how much,[3] how many?' are expressed in Arabic,

[1] For this *da* compare following n.

[2] Just what this *da* is which occurs at the beginning of interrogative sentences (cf. above) is uncertain. Jahn thinks it is a demonstrative (cf. *Meh. Gr.* p. 29). In this case this sentence would be literally 'this one, daughter of whom this pretty one.' So in the sentences above 'this, what sort of a dish is this?' etc.

[3] With regard to the material available for the study of the expression of this idea, the same statement may be made as in the case of the indefinites; cf. p. 182, n. 2.

Classical and Modern, Hebrew, Syriac, and Mehri by the neuter interrogative combined with *ka* 'like.' To express 'how many' this combination is placed directly before the noun, which stands in the plural in Hebrew and Syriac, in Arabic, Classical and Modern, in the singular, which singular is accusative in the Classical language. In Syriac the noun stands sometimes in the absolute, sometimes in the emphatic state, without difference of meaning. e. g.,

Heb. כַּמָּה פְּעָמִים } 'how many times?'
Syr. כְּמָא זִבְנִין معدا حصب }
כְּמָא זְלֵיאָא معدا بحدا 'how many wanton men?'
Arab. كم رجلا *kam rajula*[a] 'how many men?'[1]
Eg. Arab. كم بيت *kam bēt* 'how many houses?'
Pal. „ اكم بيضا *'akam bēḍa* 'how many eggs?'
Meh. *kâm hâbû* (pl.[2]) 'how many men?'

In the languages of the Abyssinian branch, Tigriña and Tigre form similar words for this idea by prefixing a word meaning 'as, how' to interrogative elements, while Ethiopic and Amharic express this idea by words meaning 'measure' or the like, either with or without an interrogative element: viz.,

Eth. ሚመጠን : *mimaṭan*
ስፍን : *sēfn*, አስፍንቱ : *ĕsfēntû*
Amh. ስንት : *sēnt*, እስንት : *ēsent*
Ta. ክንደይ : *kēndaj*
Te. አክልዒ : *'akēlī*, አክልሚ : *'akēlmī*

These words are used as adjectives before the noun, e. g.,[3]

Eth. ሚመጠን : አንቅዕት : *mimaṭan 'anqĕ't* 'how many springs?'
ሚመጠነ : መዛርዐ : *mimaṭana mazār'a* (acc.) 'how many baskets?'

Amh. ስንት : ሰው : *sēnt sau* } 'how many men?'
ስንት : ሰዎች : *sēnt sawōč* }
ስንት : አመት : *sēnt 'amat* 'how many years?'

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[1] In exclamations the genitive of the singular or broken plural is used after كم, e. g., *kam rajuli*[a] 'how many men!' cf. Wright-DeG. *Ar. Gr.* II. p. 126.

[2] Usually with the singular, cf. Juhn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30.

[3] Except in Amharic no statement as to the concord of these words is given by the grammars. In Amharic the noun stands in the singular; the only case in which it stands in the plural is the one here, given by Abbad. *Dict. Lang. Amar.* p. 187: in Ethiopic the noun seems to stand in the plural; in Tigriña, in either singular or plural; in Tigre in the example given it stands in the singular.

Ta. ክንደይ : ገበርቲ : *kəndaj gabartê* (pl.) 'how many workers?'
ክንደይ : ኣካላት : *kəndaj 'akâlât* (pl.) 'how many persons?'
ክንደይ : ማዕልቲ : *kəndaj mə'êltî* (sg.) 'how many days?'
To. ኣክልኡ : እንጌራ : *'akəl'aj 'engêrâ* 'how much bread?'

Sometimes these expressions for 'how many?' are used also for 'how much?'

The idea of 'how much?' may also be expressed in some of the languages by the words just given followed by the noun governed by a preposition having a partitive force, e. g.,

Arab. كم من الخبز *kam mina 'l-hubzi* 'how much bread?'
Heb. (Mod.[1]) כַּמָּה מִן־הַלֶּחֶם 'how much bread?'

Indefinite Qualification.

A noun may be modified by various indefinite pronominal ideas indicating quantity, number, or sort. The principal ideas are, viz., all, every, each, no, some, any, a little, few, much, many, a certain, same, self, other, various, both, such, enough.[2]

All, Every.

'All, every' is expressed in all the Semitic languages by pronouns derived from a root כל[3]. In general the pronoun may stand in the construct state before the noun, or it may take a possessive suffix referring to the noun, and be placed either before or after the noun[4].

The first construction is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Classical and Modern, Mineo-Sabean, Tigriña, Hebrew, Moabite, and in all the dialects of Aramaic. It is rare in Tigriña; in Moabite, Phenician (?), and Biblical Aramaic it is the only construction found. In Modern Syriac, where the construct chain has been lost, the pronoun is rather to be considered an adjective than a *nomen regens*; here ܟܠ always means 'every.' In Syriac and Mandaic either absolute or emphatic state may be used after the pronoun without difference of meaning. In those langua-

[1] No example occurs in Biblical Hebrew.

[2] The material for the discussion of these important modifying ideas is exceedingly meager; in no Semitic grammar are they fully and satisfactorily treated.

[3] Just what the constructions of Mehri *kall*, Mahrah *ḳul* are is not certain; cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 80; Pariset, *Dial. Mal.* p. 312.

[4] In Egyptian *nb* 'all, every' stands after the noun like an ordinary adjective. In Coptic *nim* has the same construction; *têr* + suffix stands after the noun like כל + suffix; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84.

ges which distinguish between definite and indefinite nouns, the pronoun followed by singular noun denotes 'every' when the noun is indefinite, 'all, whole', when it is definite; on the Moabite stone it occurs only with a definite noun (ll. 4 (bis), 11,20, 24.28); in Syriac when the noun is not specially determined by a possessive suffix, following genitive, etc. the pronoun denotes 'every,' e. g.,

Ass. *kal malkê* 'all princes.'

Arab. كل مدينة *kullu madînati*[a] 'every city.'

كل المدينة *kullu 'l-madînati* 'all the city, the whole city.'

كل المدن *kullu 'l-muduni* 'all the cities.'

Ta. ʾʾʾ : ʾʾʾ : *kuĕllĕ dĕnĕ̄* 'every sick man.'

Heb. כָּל־עִיר 'every city.'

כָּל־הָעִיר 'all the city.'

כָּל־הָאֲנָשִׁים 'all the men.'

Mo. כל העם 'all the people.'

כל השלכן 'all the attackers.'

Ph. כל ובח 'every offering.'

כל אדמם 'all people.'

Syr. ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕ 'every city.'

ܟܠ ܩܢܝܢ ܕ 'all possessions.'

ܟܠ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܕ 'all believers.'

Bib. Aram. כָּל־מַלְכָּא 'every king.'

כָּל־מַלְכוּתָא 'the whole kingdom.'

Bab. Tal. כל עבדא 'every slave.'

כל מילי 'all things.'

Mod. Syr. ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ *kul 'nâšâ* 'every man.'

The second construction is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Syriac, Mandaic, Babylonian Talmudic, and Modern Syriac. In Ethiopic and Amharic[1] it is the only, in Tigriña, the usual construction. In Assyrian, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Mandaic the pronoun may stand either before or after the noun. In Tigriña, Babylonian Talmudic, and Modern Syriac it regularly precedes, though some instances of postposition are found in Tigriña and Talmudic[2]. In Arabic and Hebrew it always, in Amharic it almost always follows. The suffix of the pronoun usually agrees in gender and num-

[1] Cf., however, Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 193 b.

[2] Cf. Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* p. 67.

ber with the noun, but in Ethiopic and Amharic the suffix of the masculine singular is most frequently used for both genders and numbers. In Arabic and Hebrew the noun is always definite, in Syriac and Mandaic, always in the emphatic state; in Amharic the noun may take the definite article. When the combination stands in the accusative, the modifier in Ethiopic has a special accusative form in the masculine singular; in Amharic, -ን is regularly used only with the noun, tho occasionally it is found with both. e.g.

Ass. *matāti kalīšina* / *kalīšina matāti* 'all lands.'

Arab. المدينة كلها *al-madīnatu kulluhā* 'all the city.'
المدن كلها *al-mudunu kulluhā* 'all the cities.'
البيت كله *al-baitu kulluhu* 'the whole house.'
الناس كلهم *an-nāsu kulluhum* 'all mankind.'

Eth. ዅሉ፡ብእሲ፡ *kuellū bə'ēsi* / ብእሲ፡ዅሉ፡ *bə'ēsi kuellu* 'every man, all men.'
ዅላ፡ምድር፡ *kuellā mēdr* / ምድር፡ዅላ፡ *mēdr kuellā* 'all the earth.'
ዅሎሙ፡ነገሥት፡ *kuellōmū nagašt* / ነገሥት፡ዅሎሙ፡ *nagašt kuellōmū* 'all (the) kings.'
ዅሉ፡መንግሥት፡ *kuellū mangēšt* 'every kingdom.'
ዅሉ፡ጽጌያት፡ *kuellū ṣəgēyāt* 'all (the) flowers.'

Ta. ዅሊኣ፡ዓዲ፡ *kuellī'ā 'ādī* 'every city.'
ዅሎም፡ሕፃናት፡ *kuellōm ḥəṣānāt* 'all children.'
ዅሰን፡እሕምልቲ፡ *kuellan 'aḥmēltī* 'all plants.'
ዅሌው፡ድውያት፡ *kuellēw dəwyāt* 'all the sick.'
ናብዛ፡ምድሪ፡ዅሊኣ፡ *nābzā mēdrī kuellī'ā* 'in this whole land' (Matt. 9, 27).

Amh. ነገር፡ሁሉ፡ *nagar hūlū* 'every thing.'
መንግሥት፡ሁልዋ፡ *mangešt hūlyā* 'every kingdom.'
ሴቶች፡ሁሉ፡ *sētoč hūlū* 'all the women.'
አገሪቱ፡ሁልዋ፡ *'agar-ītū hūlyā* 'the whole city.'
ነገርን፡ሁሉ፡ *nagar-n hūlū* (acc.) 'every thing.'
ዓለምን፡ሁሉን፡ *'ālam-en hūlū-n* (acc.) 'the whole world.'

Heb. כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל 'all Israel.'
כָּל הָעִיר 'all the city.'
כָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים 'all the men.'

Syr. כָּלָּה מְדִינְתָּא / מְדִינְתָּא כָּלָּה 'all the city.'

כָּלְהוֹן גַּבְרָא ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ
גַּבְרָא כָּלְהוֹן ܓܒܪܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ
} 'all the men.'

Mod. Syr. ܟܠ ܠܠܝܐ *kullāh laylā* 'the whole night.'
ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ *kullāh 'arʿā* 'the whole earth.'

Bab. Tal. כולי עלמא 'all the world.'
כולה מתא 'the entire city.'

In the Modern Arabic of Tlemsen and Tunis the article may be used with *kull* after a noun instead of a suffix[1], e. g.,

الناس الكل *en-nās el-kull* 'all the people.'
البلاد الكل *el-blād el-kull* 'all the land.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew the two constructions of כל are sometimes combined, e. g.,

כָּל הַיּוֹם כֻּלּוֹ 'the whole day.'
כָּל הַשָּׂדֶה כֻּלָּהּ 'the whole field.'

Sometimes other words are employed with the same meaning and in the same constructions as כל; the most important of these are Assyrian *gimru*, *gabbu*, Arabic جميع *jamīʿ*. In Assyrian *gimru* is most commonly employed with a suffix after its noun, tho it may stand before the noun in the construct; *gabbu* regularly stands after, but rarely takes a suffix; e. g.,

ilāni gimrašun } 'all gods.'
gimir ilāni }
mātāti gabbu 'all lands.'
mātu gabbiša 'the whole land.'

In Arabic, both Classical and Modern, جميع (Eg. Arab. *gamī*) has the same constructions as كل, e. g.,

جميع العالم { Cl. *jamīʿu 'l-ʿālami* / Mod. *jamīʿ el-ʿālam* } 'all the world.'
العالم جميعه { Cl. *al-ʿālamu jamīʿuhu* / Mod. *el-ʿâlam jamīʿôh* }

The distributive idea of 'each, every, one by one, one after another' is expressed in many of the Semitic languages by repetition of the indefinite noun; in the Abyssinian languages this is comparatively rare, except in Amharic. In Syriac and Mandaic the noun most frequently stands in the absolute state, e. g.,

Cl. Arab. كتاب كتاب *kitābu kitābu* 'every book, one book after another.'
Eg. Arab. ريال ريال *riyāl riyāl* 'dollar by dollar.'

[1] Said by Marçais to be common to all the dialects and not unknown in the classical language, cf. *Arab. Tl.* p. 178.

Heb. יום יום 'every day.'
Syr. שָׁבַע שָׁבַע 'every seven.'
זָבַן זָבַן 'from time to time.'
Man. מאלכא מאלכא 'every king.'
במדין מדין 'city by city.'
Sam. גבר גבר 'each man.'
Amh. } ዕለት : ዕለት : *'ĕlat 'ĕlat* 'every day.'
Ta. }

Sometimes the two nouns are connected by a conjunction or a preposition. The most usual preposition is ב: the conjunction ו appears to be used only in Hebrew: e. g.,

Heb. יום בְּיוֹם 'every day.'
דּוֹר וָדוֹר 'all generations.'
Syr. כָּל שְׁנָא בִּשְׁנָא 'every year.'
יום מן יום 'from day to day.'
Man. יום ביום 'day by day.'
לבוש על לבוש 'dress after dress.'

In Ethiopic and Tigriña this idea is most commonly expressed by doubling the preposition on which the noun depends; in Ethiopic the prepositions that are chiefly so employed are በ *ba-*, ለ *la-*, and ዘ *za-*; in Tigriña the chief reduplicated forms are በብ *babĕ-* or ብብ *bĕbĕ*, ንን *nĕnĕ-*, ዛናይ *nanâi*; ናበብ : *nâbab*: in Amharic when the noun depends on the preposition በ, the whole combination is doubled: e. g.,

Eth. ሲሳዪ : ዘለለ : ዕለትነ : *sîsâja-na za-laîa 'ĕlatĕ-na* 'our food for every day.'
በበዘመዱ : *baba-zamad-û* 'each according to its kind.'
Ta. ሲሳይና : ዛናይዕለትና : *sîsâi-nâ nanâi-'ĕlat-nâ* 'our food for every day.'
ንንዕለት : *nĕnĕ-'ĕlat* 'for every day.'
Amh. በመት : በመት : *bâmat bâmat* 'every year.'
በነገ : በነገ : *ba-nagh ba-nagh* 'every morning.'

Some, Any.

The indefinite idea of 'some, any' in many of the languages, probably in all, may be expressed simply by the indefinite noun, singular or plural, in certain constructions, e. g.,

Heb. יֵשׁ לִי 'I have some wine' (Jud. 19, 19).
וַיּוֹתִרוּ אֲנָשִׁים מִמֶּנּוּ עַד־בֹּקֶר 'and some men left some of it till the morning' (Ex. 16, 20).
הֲיֵשׁ־בְּלְשׁוֹנִי עַוְלָה 'is there any iniquity in my tongue?' (Job. 6, 30).

Arab. هل عندك دراهم *hal 'inda-ka darâhimu*[a] 'have you any money?'

Eth. እምድኅረ : መዋዕል : *'ĕmdĕḫra maṣā'ĕl* 'after some days.'

In Assyrian and the Abyssinian languages (very rarely in Ethiopic), this idea may be expressed by pronominal adjectives identical with or derived from the interrogatives, viz.,

Ass. *manman*, *manma* (in their various forms)
aumma, *ṣaumma*

Eth. መኑ :, ምንት : *mannû*, *mĕ'nt* (usually with -ሂ, -ኒ, *-hi*, *-nī* added; *mannû* ordinarily takes *hi*, and *mĕ'nt*, *nî*, viz., *mannûhī*, *mĕntnî*)[1]

Amh. ማናቸው : *mānāčaw* (and its feminine forms)

Ta. መን :, ምንታይ : *man*, *mentâi*

Te. መንማ : *manmâ*

E. g.:—

Ass. *šarru aumma* 'some king or other.'

Amh. ማናቸው : መቅሠፍትና *mānāčaw maqšaftĕnā* 'any plague.'
ማናቸዉት : ነፍስ : *mānāčaẓitu nafs* 'any soul.'

Ta. ኃይል : መን : *hâiâl man* 'any strong man.'

Te. ደብ : መንማ : ቤት : *dīb manmâ bêt* 'in any house.'

In Syriac the interrogative adjective + ; + personal pronoun of the 3. sg. is used as an adjective before or after the noun in the sense of 'any, any at all'; both the interrogative and the personal pronoun agree with the noun: e. g.,

מְטֶל צְבוּתָא אִידָא דְהִי עלֵיהּ 'about any matter at all.'

אִידָא דְהִי מְדִינְתָא 'any city at all.'

וּמוֹתָא אִידָא דְהוּ 'and any death.'

Special words for the idea of 'some, any' outside of the class just considered have been developed in some of the languages. In Amharic አንዳች : *'andâč*, አንዳንድ : *'andând* or አንዲድ : *'andâd*, and አደሉ : *'ajâlē*; in Tigriña አደሉ : and ክንደይ : *kĕndaẓ*, in Tigre ገሉ : *galē*, are used as adjectives in this sense; all the Amharic words except አንዳች : have a plural meaning and are employed with nouns in the plural, tho the singular may also be used; in Tigriña and Tigre the singular is apparently employed. e. g.,

Amh. አንዳች : ነገር : *'andâč nagar* 'any opportunity.'

[1] Very rare in affirmative sentences.

	እንዳድ : እቃ :	*'andâd 'eqâ* 'some vessels.'
	እደሌ : ሰው :	*'aḍâlē sayṭ*
„	ሰዎች :	*'aḍâlē sayṭôč* } 'some people.'
Ta.	እደሌ : ከንደይ :	*'aḍâlē kōndaḍ* } *mā'ēlīl* 'some days.'
Te.	ገሌ : ሰብ :	*galē sab* 'some people'.

In Arabic the noun بعض *ba'ḍu*ⁿ may stand in the construct before a genitive in this sense of 'some', in Classical Arabic only in connection with another بعض meaning 'other', but in Modern Arabic often without correlative[1]; e. g.,

Cl. بعض الشر اهون من بعض *ba'ḍu 's-širri 'ahwanu min ba'ḍi*ⁿ 'some evils are easier to bear than others.'

Mod. بعض الناس *ba'ḍ el-nâs* 'some people.'

In Hebrew the plural of the numeral אחד 'one' is sometimes used with a plural noun to express 'some',[2] e. g.,

יָמִים אֲחָדִים 'some days' (Gen 27,44; 29,20).

In some Modern Arabic dialects the indefinite article may be used with a plural or collective in the sense of 'some' (cf. p. 158), e. g.,

Mesopotamian فرد اولاد *fard ulâd* 'some children.'

Tangier شي قوم *ši qawm* 'some people.'

In Syriac ܡܶܕܡ ܥܒܪ is used as an adjective with either singular or plural nouns in the sense of 'some'; it may stand either before or after the noun, e. g.,

ܐܰܢܫܶܐ ܡܶܕܡ ܥܒܪ 'some men.'

ܡܶܕܡ ܝܬܪܢ ܥܒܪ 'some advantage.'

ܒܝܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܶܕܡ ܕ— ... ܥܒܪ 'among some corpses that —'.

Words meaning 'some' may in many cases be connected with the noun they modify by a partitive preposition, e. g.,

Amh. እንዳንድ : ካገር : ሰዎች : *'andând kâgar* (*ka-ag-* for *ka-ia-ag-*) *sayṭôč* 'some of the people of the city.'

Ta. እደሌ : እንክብ : ፈሪሳውያን : *'aḍâlē 'ĕnkāb farîsâwēyān* 'some of the Pharisees.'

Arab. بعض من الناس *ba'ḍu*ⁿ *mina 'n-nâsi* 'some of the people.'

Syr. ܒܡܶܕܡ ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ... ܥܒܪ ܒ ... ܚܕܐ 'in some of the books.'

The partitive idea 'some of' with a definite noun may be

[1] In Mehri *baḍ* is said to be used in this sense with a following plural, cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30.

[2] Compare with this the use of the plural of 'uno' in Spanish, e. g., *unos bollos* 'some cakes'; cf. Knapp, *Gram. of Mod. Span.* p. 159.

expressed by the preposition מן 'from' used before the definite noun, rarely the indefinite, as a sort of partitive article like the French *de*. So in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Syriac, and Mandaic, e. g.,

Arab.	من الدنانير *mina 'd-danānīri* 'some of the denars.'
	من الخبز *mina 'l-ḫubzi* 'some of the bread.'
Eth.	እምነ፡እንስሳ፡ *'ĕmna 'ensēsā* 'some of the beasts.'
	እምዕፀብ፡ *'em-'ĕdûb* 'something difficult.'
Heb.	מִזִּקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'some of the elders of Israel' (Ex. 17,5).
	מִדַּם הַחַטָּאת 'some of the blood of the sin-offering' (Lev. 5,9).
Bib. Aram.	מִן־נִצְבְתָא דִי־פַרְזְלָא 'some of the firmness of iron.'
Sam.	מן אדם 'some blood.'
Syr.	من تلميذوهي 'some of his disciples.'
	من روحك 'some of thy spirit.'
Man.	מן מאלאכיא דנורא 'some of the fire angels.'
	מן ביוכתאן 'some of our blessing.'

No.

The adjectival idea 'no' is expressed in general by an indeterminate noun in connection with a negative, most usually with the negative meaning 'there is not,' e. g.,

Arab.	ليس له مخلص *laisa la-hu maḫlaṣu* 'he had no way of escape.'
Heb.	אֵין לֶחֶם בַּבַּיִת 'there is no bread in the house.'
Bib. Ar.	לָא אִתַּי לָךְ חֶלֶק 'you will have no part.'
Syr.	لا الاه الا هو لَا אֱלָהָא הוֹ 'he is no god.'
	او ليت كאנא אִי לֵית כַּאנָא 'if there are no righteous ones.'
Man.	אסותא לית לה 'there is no cure for him.'
Bab. Tal.	באתר דלית גברא 'in a place where there is no man.'
Eth.	ኀልቢየ፡ምተ፡ *'albēja mēta* 'I have no husband.'
Amh.	በገራችን፡ወግ፡የለም *b-agar-āčĕn ʸag ʸallam* 'in our land there is no law.'
Tn.	ብርሃንማ፡የለን፡ ኣባኹ፡ *bĕrhân-mā ʸallan 'abā'ù* 'for there is no light there.'

In Assyrian and the Abyssinian dialects the idea of 'no' is emphasized by the indefinite adjectives (cf. p. 187 above) in connection with a negative. In Ethiopic they usually have ወኢ— before them in addition to the other negative; in Tigriña they may be preceded by ወይ—; e. g.,[1]

[1] No examples are available in Amharic and Tigriña; cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 426 (§ 325a); Praet. *Tig. Spr.* pp. 342, 344.

Ass. *ilu manuman ul* . . . 'no god.'
šarru ṣaumma ul . . . 'no king.'

Eth. ኢታንሥኡ : ምንተኒ : ጸረ : *'i-tânše'û mĕntanī çōra* 'ye shall not bear any burden.'
ከመ : ኢይነሣእ : ምንተኒ : ብእሲት : *kama 'i-yĕnšā' mĕnta-nû bĕ'ĕsita* 'that he should take no wife.'
ኢትግበሩ : ወኢምንተኒ : ዐመፃ : *'i-tĕgbarū ya'i-mĕntanī 'amaḍā* 'do no harm.'

The negative idea is sometimes emphasized by some other modifier of the noun. In Hebrew, the Western Aramaic[1] dialects, and Ethiopic, such a modifier is כל, e. g.,

Heb. לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן 'ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden.'
כָּל־מְלָאכָה לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה 'no work shall be done.'
Bib. Aram. וְכָל־אֲתַר לָא הִשְׁתְּכַח לְהֹן 'and no place was found for them.'
Jew. Pal. לא תיכלון מכל אילן 'ye shall not eat of any tree.'
Sam. ולא אתותר כל ירק 'and no green thing was left.'
Eth. ወኵሉ : ግብረ : ሐረሰ : ኢትግበሩ : *wa-kuĕllô gĕbra ḥarîs 'i-tĕgbarū* 'and no heavy work (work of ploughing) shall ye do.'

In Syriac מדם ܡܕܡ 'some' is used in a similar manner, e. g.,

ܡܕܡ ܒܗܝܢ ܠܝܬ ܒܗܝܢ ‖ מִדֵּם יוֹתֶרֶת לֵית בְּהֵין } 'no advantage is in them.'

ܠܐ ܣܠܩ ܥܠ ܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܡܛܢܦܐ ‖ לָא סַלְקָא עַל לִבְהוֹן מִדֵּם מְטַנּוּפָא } 'no unclean thing comes into their mind.'

In Modern Syriac the idea of 'no' is regularly expressed by *hič* and *čû* used as adjectives, in connection with a negative, e. g.,

ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܗܘ ܐܘܪܚܐ ‖ *hič 'urhâ la maçjâ 'yâ* 'no road was found.'

ܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ‖ *lâ min čû qenûmâ* 'from no person.'

A certain.

In a number of the languages the idea of 'a certain' as distinct from the simple indefinite idea 'a', has special forms of expression.

In Arabic it may be expressed by the particle ما after the indefinite noun, e. g.,

[1] Probably this statement is true with regard to Christian Palestinian, and perhaps also with regard to Maluian, but the construction is not mentioned by the authorities.

رجل ما *rajula-mmā* 'a certain man.'

To be compared with this are the groups,

Ph. אדם מ[1] 'a certain man.'

Heb. וְדָבָר מַה־יַּרְאֵנִי וְהִגַּדְתִּי לָךְ 'if he shows me anything (רבר מה) I will tell you' (Nu. 23, 3).

In Arabic the noun بعض *ba'ḍu* 'part' followed by the genitive of a plural or a collective may also be used in this sense, e.g.,

بعض التلاميذ *ba'ḍu 't-talāmīḏi* 'a certain one of the pupils.'

في بعض الايام *fi ba'ḍi 'l-'aiāmi* 'one day, a certain day.'

In Ethiopic it is expressed by the word for 'man' or 'woman' in apposition to the noun, by the numeral 'one,' or by the adjective እገሌ: *'ĕgalē*, e. g.,

ብእሲት: ዕብራዊት: *bə'ĕsīt 'ebrāwīt* 'a certain Hebrew woman.'

አሐዱ: ብእሲ: *'aḥadū bə'ĕsī* 'a certain man.'

እገሌ: ወሬዛ: *'ĕgalē waręzā* 'a certain youth.'

The word እገሌ: is used also in this meaning in Amharic and Tigriña.[2] In Tigriña ሓደ: *ḥādē* 'one' may be employed in this sense, e. g.,

Ta. ሓደ: ሳምራዊ: *ḥādē sāmĕrāwī* 'a certain Samaritan.'

In Syriac it is expressed by ܡܢ after the noun, e. g.,

ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܬܐ ܡܢ 'a certain enmity.'

In the Babylonian Talmud it is expressed by the demonstrative הדוא before the noun,[3] e. g.,

הדוא גברא 'a certain man.'

הדיא איתתא 'a certain woman.'

In Modern Syriac it is expressed by ܦܠܢ *pelān* before the noun, e. g.,

ܒܦܠܢ ܙܒܢܐ *be-pelān zavnā* 'at a certain time.'

ܒܦܠܢ ܕܘܟܬܐ *be-pelān dukta* 'in a certain place.'

A Little, Few,

The ideas 'a little,' 'few' are expressed by the following words, viz.,

Ass. *iṣu*

Arab. قليل *qalīlu*[u], Mod. *qalīl*

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[1] Some prefer to read אדמם 'men' in the only passage in which this occurs, cf. Schroed., *Phön. Spr.* p. 166.

[2] Cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 130; *Tig. Spr.* p. 304 (n. 2); in the examples given it appears only as substantive; in Tigriña texts it occurs only once.

[3] With this indefinite use of the demonstrative הדוא is to be compared the use of the Ethiopic ዝኩ: as indefinite article (cf. p. 158).

Meh. *haraun* (with sg. and pl.)[1]
Eth. ጎደጥ : *hēdâṭ*
Amh. ጥቂት : *ṭeqīt*, ቅሲ : *qēlū*
Ta. ቍሩብ : *quērūb*, ንእሽተይ : *nēʾstaj*
Heb. מְעַט
Syr. קְלִיל ܩܠܝܠ
Mod. Syr. ܙܥܘ *ḥačâ*
Ch. Pal. זיבחד
Jew. Pal. קליל, זעיר, צבחד
Sam. ציבעד, ציבעת, זעור

The Assyrian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac words may be inflected, tho the Syriac is usually employed without variation. The plurals of the Assyrian, Arabic and Hebrew words used as adjectives denote 'few:' 'a little' is denoted by the singular of these adjectives; in Hebrew, however, most frequently by מעט in the construct before the noun. In those languages in which the word is employed without variation, it is used with both meanings. Ordinarily these words take the same position and construction as descriptive adjectives. The Aramaic words, however, have a tendency to precede the noun, and in Ethiopic and Tigriña preposition is the rule. The Samaritan forms stand before the noun and are probably in the construct like Hebrew מעט. In some of the languages the words may be followed by the definite noun after a partitive preposition. e. g.,

Ass. *itti uqu içi* 'with few people.'
çābē içūti 'few warriors.'
Arab. مال قليل *mālu*ⁿ *qalīlu*ⁿ 'a little property.'
رجال قليلون *rijālu*ⁿ *qalīlūna* 'a few men.'
قليل من الناس *qalīlu*ⁿ *mina 'n-nāsi* 'a few people.'
Eth. ጎደጥ : መዋዕል : *hēdâṭ mawāʿl* 'a few days.'
Amh. ጥቂት : { ሰው : / ሰዎች : } *ṭeqīt* { *sau* / *sawōč* } 'few men.'
Ta. ንእሽተይ : ዓሣ : *nēʾstaj ʿāsā* 'a few fishes.'
ቍሩብ : ማዕልቲ : *quērūb māʿēltī* 'a few days.'
Heb. מְעַט מַיִם 'a little water.'
עֶזֶר מְעַט 'a little help.'
אֲנָשִׁים מְעַטִּים 'a few men.'
Syr. קְלִיל שִׁמְשָׁא ܩܠܝܠ ܫܡܫܐ 'a little sun.'
לוּבָא קְלִיל ܠܘܒܐ ܩܠܝܠ 'a little comfort.'

[1] Cf. Jahn, *Mek. Gr.* p. 31.

קְלִיל מִלֵּי שְׁלָמָא ‘a few words of peace.’
קְלִיל מִן סָטָנָא ‘a little of Satan.’

Mod. Syr. حسيا بحدا *bĕ-ḥačâ zavnâ* ‘in a little time.’

Jew. Pal. זעיר בסות ‘a little clothing.’
צבחר נוברין ‘few men.’

Sam. ציבעד מיא ‘a little water.’
ציבעת מזון ‘a little food.’

Much, Many.

The ideas ‘much,’ ‘many’ are expressed by the following words, viz.,

Ass. *mādu*
Arab. كثير *kathīru*[a]; Mod. *katīr*
Meh. *mākon* (with sg. and pl.)[1]
Eth. / Ta. ብዙኅ : *bĕzûḥ*
Amh. ብዙ : *bĕzû*, እጅግ : *'ĕjĕg*
Heb. רַב
Bib. Aram. שַׂגִּיא
Ch. Pal. סגי
Jew. Pal. סגין, סגי
Syr. سُبْ
Mod. Syr. بحدا *rabâ*
Man. נאפשא

In Amharic, Christian Palestinian, Modern Syriac, and usually in Mandaic, the words are invariable, and in Syriac it may remain without inflexion. Where singular and plural forms are distinguished, the singular denote ‘much’, the plural ‘many.’ These words have in most cases the position and construction of the descriptive adjective, but occasionally the Hebrew word precedes its noun, while in Aramaic there is a strong predilection for this position, and in Tigriña preposition is the rule. In some languages the words may be followed by a definite noun after a partitive preposition. e. g.,

Ass. *šarrāni mādûtu* ‘many kings.’
Arab. مال كثير *mālu*[a] *kathīru*[a] ‘much property.’
كلاب كثيرون *kilābu*[a] *kathīrūna* / كثير من الكلاب *kathīru*[a] *mina 'l-kilābi* ‘many dogs.’
Eth. ኃጣኣን : ብዙኃን : *ḫāṭĕ'ān bĕzûḥān* ‘many sinners.’
ብዙኅ : ሰብእ : *bĕzûḥ sab'ĕ* ‘much people.’

[1] Cf. Jahn, *Mek. Gr.* p. 81.

Ta. ብዙኅ : ሰብ : *bəzūḥ sab* 'many people.'
ብዙኅ . ገብሬ : *bəzūḥ gəbrē* 'much work.'
Amh. ብዙ : ሰው : *bəzū sɨw* 'many men.'
እጅግ : ሰዎች : *ʾəǰəg sayōč*
Heb. מְקֻנָה רַב 'much cattle.'
אֲנָשִׁים רַבִּים 'many men.'
רַבִּים מַכְאוֹבִים 'many pains' (Ps. 32, 10).
Syr. ܣܓܝܐ ܒܣܪܐ 'much flesh.'
ܣܓܝܐ ܓܒܪܐ 'many men.'
ܣܓܝܐ ܙܒܢܝܢ 'many times.'
Bib. Aram. מַתְּנָן רַבְרְבָן שַׂגִּיאָן 'many great gifts' (Dan. 2, 48).
Jew. Pal. כסף סגין 'much silver.'
סגין דבש 'much honey.'
Man. בישותא נאפשא 'much evil.'
שניא נאפשאתא 'many years.'
נאפשא נישמאתא 'many souls.'
נאפשא עקארא 'much honor.'
Mod. Syr. ܪܒܐ ܝܩܪܐ *rābā īqārā* 'much splendor.'
ܪܒܐ ܣܘܣܝܬܐ *rābā sūsāyātē* 'many horses.'
ܣܘܣܝܬܐ ܪܒܐ *sūsāyātē rābā*

In Arabic the idea of 'many a' is expressed by رب *rubba* followed by an indefinite substantive in the genitive, or followed by a suffix and the noun in the accusative; this suffix is usually *-hu*, but it may agree with the following noun: e. g.,
رب رجل كريم *rubba rajulᵃ karīmᵃ* 'many a noble man.'
رب ورقاء هتوف *rubba warqāʾa hatūfᵃ* 'many a cooing dove.'
ربه امرأة *rubba-hu ʾmraʾatᵃ* 'many a woman.'
ربها امرأة *rubba-hā ʾwraʾatᵃ* 'many a woman.'
ربهم رجالا *rubba-hum rijālᵃ* 'many men.'

Other.

'Other' is expressed by various adjectives, many from the stem אחר, which in Arabic and Hebrew have the sense of 'another' in the indefinite state, and that of 'the other' in the definite state, e. g.,

Ass. *ʾanû*
Arab. اخر *ʾaḫarᵘ*
Meh. *ǧâher*
Eth. ካልእ : *kālēʾ*, ባዕድ : *bāʿəd*
Amh. ሌላ : *lēlā*
Heb. אַחֵר

Bib. Aram. אָחֳרָן
Ch. Pal. תורין
Jew. Pal. אוחרן
Syr. ܐܚܪܝܢ
Man. הורינא

These adjectives follow the construction of ordinary adjectives except in the case of Syriac, where it regularly precedes the noun, e. g.,

Arab. ملك اخر *malikᵘⁿ 'aḫarᵘⁿ* 'another king.'
الملك الاخر *al-malikᵘ l-'aḫarᵘ* 'the other king.'
Heb. אִישׁ אַחֵר 'another man.'
הָאִישׁ הָאַחֵר 'the other man.'
אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים 'other gods.'
Eth. ካልእ : ብእሲ : *kālē' bə'si* 'another man.'
እምብዕድ : ዘመድ : *'im-bā'id zamad* 'of another tribe.'
Amh. ሌላ : ሰው : *lēlā sau* 'another man.'
ሌሎች : አማልክት : *lēlōč 'amālikt* 'other gods.
Syr. ܐܚܪܝܢ ܡܬܠܐ ܣܦ 'another parable.'

Various.

The idea of 'various, different kinds of' is sometimes expressed simply by repetition of the noun. So in Hebrew and some of the Aramaic dialects. In Hebrew and Samaritan the two nouns are connected by ו, in Syriac, Mandaic and Modern Syriac no connective is used; in Syriac and Mandaic the noun stands most frequently in the absolute state. e. g.,

Heb. אֶבֶן וָאָבֶן 'different weights' (Deut. 25. 13).
Sam. מכלה ומכלה 'different ephas.'
Syr. ܒܠܫܢ ܠܫܢ ܠܫܢ 'with various tongues.'
Mod. Syr. ܪܓܐ ܪܓܐ *rangā rangā* 'various colors.'
Man. דנאוניא נאוניא 'of various colors.'
זאן זאן 'various kinds.'

In Amharic this idea is usually expressed by the repetition of the adjectives ሌላ : and ልዩ :; a preposition is repeated before the second ሌላ : but stands only once before doubled ልዩ :. The noun seems to stand usually in the singular, tho the plural also occurs. e. g.,

ሌላ : ሌላ : / ልዩ : ልዩ : } አምላክ : { *lēla lēla* / *lēju lēju* } *'amlāk* 'various, different gods.

በሌላ : በሌላ : ደዌ : *ba-lēlā ba-lēlā dayē* 'with various kinds of disease.'

በልዩ : ልዩ : ምት : *ba-lēǰû lēǰû môt* 'in different deaths.'

ልዩ : ልዩ : አራዊት : *lēǰû lēǰû 'arāwît* 'different kinds of animals.'

Similarly in Syriac repeated ܫܢܝ (ܡܕܡ), either with or without preceding preposition ܒ (ܒ), may be used in this sense as an attribute of a plural noun, which it regularly follows, e. g.,

ܥܠܠܬܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ ܫܢܝ ܫܢܝ 'various causes.'

ܡܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܕܡ ܒ ܫܢܝ ܫܢܝ 'various words.'

In Arabic and Syriac special adjectives have been developed for this idea, viz.,

Arab. مختلف *muḫtalifu*" متغاير *mutaǧâ'iru*" متباين *mutabâ'inu*"

Syr. ܡܫܬܚܠܦ (ܡܫܬܚܠܦ): ܡܬܓܢܐ (ܡܬܓܢܐ):

the noun stands in the plural, e. g.,

كتب متغايرة *kutubu*" *mutaǧâ'iratu*" 'various books.'

من اصناف مختلفة *min 'aṣnâfi*" *muḫtalifati*" 'of various kinds.'

ܙܒܢܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦܐ ܙܒܢ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ 'various times.'

In Arabic the idea may be expressed by انواع 'kinds' + the genitive, e. g.,

انواع الفواكه *'anwâ'u 'l-fawâkihi* '(various) kinds of fruit.'

Both.

'Both' is expressed in various ways. In Assyrian it is indicated by *kilallān, kilallēn, kilallē* used as an adjective after the noun, e. g.,

ina ṣēlē kilallān 'on both sides.'

narâti kilallē 'both rivers.'

In Arabic it is expressed by the dual كلان *kilâni* in the construct before the dual of the noun with article, or it may stand after with the dual suffix, e. g.,

كلا الرجلين *kilā 'r-rajulaini*
الرجلان كلاهما *ar-rajulâni kilâ-humâ* } 'both men.'

In a number of languages, perhaps in all, it may be expressed by the numeral 'two' + suffix in apposition either before or after the noun; in those languages which have a special definite form, as Hebrew, the noun takes the article: e. g.,

Eth. ክልኤሆን : እደዊሁ : *kilē'ê-hōn 'ĕdawī-hū* 'both his hands.'

Ta. እዞም : ደቀይ : ኽልቱእም : *'ezōm daq-ai khēltē-'ōm* 'both these children of mine.'

Syr. ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܚܕܐ 'both the worlds.'

Heb. שְׁנֵיהֶם הַמְּלָכִים 'both the kings' (Dan. 11, 27).

Same, Self.

In many of the Semitic languages there is no special word for 'same', the simple demonstratives having this meaning.

In those languages which have special emphatic particles, at least[1] in Assyrian and Ethiopic[2] (cf. Adverbial Qualification below), these particles may be used with the demonstratives or a pronominal suffix or its equivalent, to express this meaning; in Ethiopic this is especially frequent with ከደ, which may also stand alone in this sense (cf. below): e. g.,

Ass. *ina šatti-ma šiāti* 'in that very, same year.'
ina ûmi-šu-ma 'on that same day.'

Eth. ከደሃመ : ፍናት : ሶሐሩ : *kīdā-hā-ma fēnōta ṣaḥaṙū* 'they go the same way.'
ከደሃ : ከመ : መሥዋዕተ : *kīdā-hā kēma maśwā'ta* (acc.) 'the same sacrifice.'

In some of the languages special constructions have been developed to express this idea, tho they often express rather 'self' than 'same'.

In Ethiopic the emphatic pronouns formed by adding the suffixes to ሰለ and ከደ may stand before a noun in the sense of 'self, same,' ሰለ is used with a nominative, ከደ with an accusative: e. g.,

ሰለሃ : ፍናቶሙ : *lalī-hā fēnōt-ōmū* 'their path itself.'
ከደሃ : ምድረ : *kīdā-hā mēdra* 'the land itself.'
ከደሁ : መንፈስ : *kīdā-hū manfasa* 'the same spirit.'

In Arabic these ideas may be expressed by ذات 'substance,' نفس 'soul,' or a similar word + suffix, standing as an appositive, or in a prepositional phrase introduced by ب after a definite noun, e. g.,

الكتاب بذاته *al-kitābu bi-ðāti-hi* 'the book itself, the same book.'

جاء الرجل بنفسه (نفسه) *jā'a 'r-rajulu bi-nafsi-hi* (or *nafsu-hu*) 'the man himself came.'

The idea of 'same' is sometimes expressed by ذات or a similar word as *nomen regens* before the noun, or by the pronoun of the 3. sg. standing in apposition to a noun modified by a demonstrative, e. g.,

ذات الرجل ðātu *'r-rajuli* 'the same man.' [distance.'

على ذلك القدر هو *'alā ðālika 'l-qadri huwa* 'at the same

In Biblical Hebrew in a few passages the noun עצם 'bone' occurs in the construct before a definite noun in the sense of 'same, self,' e. g.,

[1] *Hō* is apparently not used in this way in Syriac (cf. below).
[2] Cf. Dill. *Lex. Aeth.* cols. 142, 722, 830, 869, 918, 919, 967.

בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה 'on this same day.'

כְּעֶצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם 'like the heaven itself.'

In one passage the plural of אחד is used for 'same,' viz.,

דְּבָרִים אֲחָדִים 'the same words' (Gen. 11, 1).

In Post-Biblical Hebrew עצם + suffix may stand as an appositive after a noun in the sense of 'self,' e. g.,

הַפְּרִי עַצְמוֹ 'the fruit itself.'

In Post-Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan, and Christian and Jewish Palestinian, את or ית + suffix is used before a definite noun in the sense of 'same' (cf. above p. 148).

In Western Aramaic, and in Post-Biblical Hebrew (here probably borrowed from Aramaic) a noun depending on a preposition may be given the added meaning of 'same' by the construction described p. 148 above.

In Syriac the idea of 'same' may be expressed by a repeated personal pronoun, independent or suffix, with ـ between, used in apposition before the modified noun, e. g.,

הוּ בַּר הוּ כְּנָא 'the same nature.'

לֵהּ בַּר לֵהּ לְתַלְמִידֵהּ 'to his same disciple.'

בָּהּ בַּר בָּהּ בְּהָהִי מַרְכַּבְתָּא 'in that same wagon.'

The idea of 'self' in apposition to a noun is expressed by נפשא 'soul' or פרסונא 'person' with suffix, e. g.,

מַלְכָּא נַפְשֵׁהּ 'the king himself.'

חַלְקָא קְנוֹמֵהּ 'Fate itself.'

In Amharic[1] ባለቤት፡ 'master of the house' and ራስ፡ 'head,' in Tigre ናስ፡ 'soul,' + suffix, are used as appositives in the sense of 'self,' e. g.,

Amh. ንጉሣቸው፡ ባለቤት፡ *nĕgûš-āčāu bālabēt-ū* 'their king, himself.'

የሱስ፡ ራሱ፡ *jasûs rās-ū* 'Jesus himself.'

Te. ዳዊት፡ ናሱ፡ *dawit nās-ū* 'David himself.'

Such.

'Such' is ordinarily expressed by some combination of the particle *ki*, *ka* 'as, like,' and a demonstrative pronoun; the Ethiopic form is sometimes preceded by the relative, the Syriac

[1] נפש is also thus employed in other Aramaic dialects; in Jewish Palestinian גרם 'bone' also seems to occur in this construction.

[2] In Tigriña ባዕል፡ *bā'l* 'lord' is apparently used in the same way, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 160.

form is regularly so preceded; in Amharic the idea may be expressed by a relative clause consisting of the adverb 'thus' + relative + verb 'to be'; generally speaking the word for 'such' may precede or follow: e. g.,

Arab. رجل كهذا *'rajulu" ka-hāðā*
Eth. ብእሲ : ከመዝ : *bə'isi kama-zə*
ብእሲ : ዘከመዝ : *bə'isi za-kama-zə*
Ta. ሰብ : ከምዚ : *sab kamzi* } 'such a man.'
Amh. እንደሀ : ያለውን : *ənd'ih jälla-w-n' mâman* (acc.) 'such faith.'
Te. እብ : ዕከእለሲ : ንዣር : *'əb'akəl'əllī gaʒār* 'with such shrieks.'
Heb. זֶה אִישׁ 'such a man' (Gen. 41, 38).
Bib. Aram. מִלָּה כְדְנָה 'such a thing' (Dan. 2, 10).
Syr. ܪܐܝܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܚܫܐ ܕܝ ܟܕܝܢ ܫܓܐ 'such pains.'
ܒܪܐܬ ܗܢ ܣܥܪܢܐ ܕܝ ܟܕܝܢ ܥܒܕܐ 'in such a deed.'
ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܝ ܟܕܝܢ ܡܠܬܐ 'such a thing.'
ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܪܐܝܬ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܝ ܟܕܝܢ ܥܒܕܐ 'such oppressions.'

In Modern Syriac the old demonstratives ܗܕܐ *hādâ* ܗܕܟ *hādākh* and ܗܟܗ *hatkhâ* (prob. ܗ + ܕ + ܗ = ܙܐ) are used as adjectives before the noun in this meaning, e. g.,

ܗܕܐ ܐܢܫܐ *hādâ 'nāšā*
ܗܟܗ ܐܢܫܐ *hatkhā 'nāšā* } 'such people.'

In Christian Palestinian the phrase דנגם הלין 'of the kind (γένος) of these' is used as an adjective in this sense; is seems usually to precede its noun: e. g.,

דנגם הלין אתיא 'such signs.'

Enough.

'Enough' is expressed in various ways.[1]

In Arabic it is rendered by بالكفاية *bi'l-kifājati* 'in the sufficiency,' e. g.,

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[1] Cf. under Sentence Qualification below.

[2] In Modern Syriac it is expressed by ܚܣܕ *kasad* used as an adjective after the noun (cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 159); in Mehri by the verbal expression *jesedâd* 'it is enough' used attributively with the noun (cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 121): in Syriac ܟܦܝ ܗܘ and ܣܓܝ (ܣܓܐ) mean 'enough', but they do not seem to be used attributively: in Ethiopic the idea may be expressed by a relative clause with the verb ጸከለ : *'akkala* 'to suffice;' መጠን : *maṭan* 'measure' + genitive also seems sometimes to have this meaning (cf. Dill. *Lex. Aeth.* col. 222); in Amharic the idea is expressed by የመጢበቃ : *jamiṭbaqā* 'which suffices' used as an adjective (cf. Isenb. *Amh. Dict.* I, 89; II, 75.)

مال بالكفاية *mâlu" bi'l-kifâjati* 'property enough.'

In Hebrew it is expressed by the noun דַּי 'sufficiency' in the construct before its noun, tho most of the examples that occur in Biblical Hebrew mean 'enough for,' e. g.

דֵּי שֶׂה 'enough for one sheep.'

דֵּי חֲלֵב עִזִּים 'enough goat's milk.'

(To be continued.)

Comparative Syntax of the Combinations formed by the Noun and its Modifiers in Semitic (Conclusion). — By Frank R. Blake, Ph. D., Johns Hopkins University.

Numeral Qualification.

Construction of Cardinals.

The Semitic numerals from 'three' to 'ten' possessed originally the peculiarity that feminine forms were used with masculine nouns, and masculine forms with feminine nouns. This reversed concord is preserved in most of the Semitic languages,[1] but in some either the feminine or the masculine forms have become the prevailing type. In Ethiopic, although the comparatively rare masculine forms are regularly used with feminine nouns, the feminine has become the usual form with all nouns, whatever the gender. In Tigriña and Amharic these cardinals (including 'two') have only one form, which is in Tigriña always feminine, in Amharic, feminine from 'two' to 'eight', 'nine' and 'ten' being masculine.[2] In Modern Syriac as spoken in the lowlands, the masculine form has been entirely lost, though the two sets of forms are still preserved in the dialect of Kurdistan. In Modern Palestinian Arabic the feminine forms are giving way to the masculine. In Modern Egyptian Arabic the masculine and feminine forms are used without distinction of gender. In the dialect of Tlemsen there seems to be only one series of forms, which are feminine, except 'one' 'two' and 'nine' which are masculine.[3]

[1] So in Classical Arabic, Minæo-Sabæan, Mehri (for exceptions cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 75), Hebrew, (for exceptions cf. Herner, *Syst. der Zahlwörter*, p. 7), Phœnician, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Christian and Jewish Palestinian, Malulan, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, and Mandaic; apparently also in Assyrian (cf. below). This peculiarity is not found in Egyptian and Coptic, where the numerals agree in gender with the noun; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 130 f.; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 86—89.

[2] Cf. Praet. *Ath. Gr.* p. 126; Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 216; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 202, 203.

[3] Cf. Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* pp. 150, 151; Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 80; Spitta, *Arab. Vul. Aeg.* pp. 157, 158; Març. *Arab. Tl.* p. 155.

In Arabic the constructions of the cardinals may be divided into four classes.

a) واحد 'one' is an adjective and follows the rules of position and agreement of other adjectives, e. g.,

رجل واحد *rajulu" yâḥidu"* 'one man.'

اثنان 'two' is also sometimes rarely used as an adjective with the dual, e. g.,

رجلان اثنان *rajulâni 'ithnâni* 'two men,'

but usually the dual alone is sufficient.

b) The numerals 'three' to 'ten' take the modified noun in the plural; they may stand after it like adjectives, or before it in the construct state. The plural is regularly a broken plural if there is one, and in preference a *pluralis paucitatis*. The numeral agrees with the gender of the singular, and not with the feminine gender of the broken plural. e. g.,

بنون ثلاثة *banûna thalâthatu"* 'three sons.'

بنات اربع *banâtu" 'arba'u"* 'four daughters.'

ثلاثة بنين *thalâthatu banîna* 'three sons.'

اربع بنات *'arba'u banâti"* 'four daughters.'

ثلاثة رجال *thalâthatu rijâli"* 'three men.'

Contrary to the regular rule these numerals are followed by the genitive singular (in poetry sometimes by the genitive plural) of the word for 'hundred,' e. g.,

ثلاث مائة *thalâthu mi'ati"* 'three hundred.'

c) The numbers from 'eleven' to 'ninety-nine' are followed by the noun in the accusative singular, e. g.,

ثلاثون رجلا *thalâthûna rajula"* 'thirty men.'

d) The 'hundreds' and 'thousands' are followed by the genitive singular, e. g.,

اربع مائة رجل *'arba'u mi'ati rajuli"* 'four hundred men.'

الف رجل *'alfu rajuli"* 'a thousand men.'

In compound numerals the construction of the modified noun is that demanded by the preceding adjacent numeral; the noun, however, may be repeated with each numeral. The intermediate numbers above 'one hundred' may stand after the noun like the numerals from 'three' to 'ten.' e. g.,

اربعة آلاف وسبع مائة واحدى واربعون سنة *'arba'atu âlâfi" wa-sab'u mi'ati" wa-'iḥdâ wa-'arba'ûna sanata"* '4741 years.'

ثلاثة آلاف وثلاثمائة واربع سنين *thalâthatu 'âlâfi" wa-thalâthu-mi'ati" wa-'arba'u sinîna* '3304 years.'

الفا الف دينار ومائة الف دينار واربعة واربعون الف دينار وثمانون دينارا *'alfā 'alfi dīnāri" ya-mi'atu 'alfi dīnāri" ya-'arba'atu" ya-'arba'ūna 'alfa dīnāri" ya-thamānūna dīnāra"* '2,144,080 dinars.'

سمك كبير مائة وثلاثة وخمسون *samaku" kabīru" mi'atu" ya-thalāthatu" ya-ḫamsūna* 'large fishes, a hundred and fifty-three.'

In rare instances we find an accusative plural for a genitive after the numerals 'three' to 'ten': an accusative plural for an accusative singular after the numerals 'eleven' to 'ninty-nine;' an accusative singular or genitive plural after the 'hundreds' and 'thousands:' e. g.,

خمسة اثوابا *ḫamsatu" 'athwāba"* 'five pieces of cloth.'

اثنتى عشرة اسباطا *ithnataj 'aśrata 'asbāṭa"* 'twelve tribes.'

مائتين عاما *mi'atajni* (acc.) *'āma"* 'two hundred years.'

ثلاث مائة سنين *thalātha* (acc.) *mi'ati sinīna* 'three hundred years.'

In Modern Arabic the constructions of the numerals are the same as in the Classical language except in the following cases.

When the numeral 'two' is employed with a noun the latter regularly stands in the plural, rarely in the dual, e. g.,

Eg. Arab. اثنين اولاد *ētnēn ūlād* 'two children.'

اثنين بيوت *ētnēn bijūt* 'two houses.'

With the numerals from 2—10 the singular is sometimes found, e. g.,

Eg. Arab. ثلاثة قرش *telāte qirś* 'three piastres.'

اربعه جنيه *arba'a ginēh* 'four pounds.'

Any numeral may be placed after the noun in apposition, when the meaning is definite, the noun in this case standing in the plural. For examples cf. p. 212 below.

In Mineo-Sabean the numerals seem regularly to precede their noun. After 'two' the noun seems to stand in the dual; after the numbers from 3—100 (exclusive), in either singular or plural; after '100,' in the singular: the noun has in many cases the indefinite *-m* affixed. The numeral is probably sometimes in the construct, certainly so in the case of the forms of the 'tens' other than 'twenty' in ى-. e. g.,

احد ثور *'ḥd thur* 'one bull.'

ثنى معنينى *thnj m'ljnj* (du.) 'two watch posts.'

ثنى ثمرن *thuj umrn* (du.) 'two panthers.'
شلث احلى *šlth 'hlj* (pl.) 'three ornaments.'
شلثة الاكم *šlht 'hh-m* (pl.) 'three offerings.'
اربعة خسف *'rb't ḫsf* (sg.?) four *hasf*'s (a measure).'
خمسة الفم *ḫmst 'lf-m* (sg.) 'four thousands.'
سبع عشر امة *sb' 'šr 'mh* (pl.) 'seventeen cubits.'
اربعة عشر امم *'rb't 'šr 'm-m* (sg.) 'fourteen cubits.'
عشرى الفم *'šrj 'lf-m* (pl.) 'twenty thousands.'
اربعى الفم *'rbj 'lf-m* (sg.) 'forty thousands.'
عشرى وماة اسدم *'šrj w-m'l 'sd-m* (sg.) 'one hundred and twenty soldiers.'
ماتن اسدم *m'tn 'sd-m* 'two hundred soldiers.'

In Mehri the numerals from 'two' to 'ten' stand before the noun, which is regularly in the plural, tho the singular also occurs. The numerals from 'eleven' up take the noun after them in the singular. e. g.,

rbôt yaiôten (m. sg. *yaiô*) 'four baskets.'
hôba aienten (f. sg. *ain*) 'seven eyes.'
arba' šama' (sg.) 'four candles.'
temantâšar haiôbît 'eighteen female-camels.'
aśrîn qarš 'twenty dollars.'

The numeral 'two', however, ordinarily stands after the dual in *-i*, e. g.,

qaršî tru 'two dollars.'
jôniti trît 'two sacks.'

In Hebrew 'one' is an adjective, e. g.,

אִישׁ אֶחָד 'one man.'
אִשָּׁה אַחַת 'one woman.'

'Two' has been attracted to the construction of the numerals 'three' to 'ten' without, however, conforming to the reversed concord of gender. The numbers 'two' to 'ten' regularly take the object numbered in the plural;[1] they may stand either before or after it as adjectives, or before it in the construct. e. g.,

שְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים
שְׁנַיִם אֲנָשִׁים
אֲנָשִׁים שְׁנַיִם
} 'two men.'

שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים
שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים
נָשִׁים שְׁתַּיִם
} 'two women.'

[1] For the few cases in which the noun stands in the singular, cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 454 (§ 134 *e*).

שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים 'three days.'
שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים 'three sons.'
שְׁלֹשׁ עָרִים 'three cities.'
בָּנוֹת שָׁלֹשׁ 'three daughters.'

The numbers[1] from 'eleven' to 'nine-teen' usually take the plural, except with certain frequently counted nouns;[2] the numeral regularly precedes, but sometimes also follows, especially in later texts: e. g.,

אַחַד עָשָׂר בָּנִים 'eleven sons.'
שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר פָּרִים 'twelve bullocks.'
אֵילִם שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר 'twelve rams' (Nu. 7, 87).
אַחַד עָשָׂר יוֹם 'eleven days.'

The 'tens' may stand before or after the noun, which is regularly plural except in the case of certain frequently counted nouns[3] after the numeral, e. g.,

אַרְבָּעִים עָרִים 'forty cities.'
אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים 'twenty cubits.'
אֵילִם שִׁשִּׁים 'sixty rams.'
שְׁלֹשִׁים אִישׁ 'thirty men.'

Numbers intermediate between the 'tens' take the noun after them in the singular, even when the unit immediately precedes the noun, or before them in the plural, e. g.,

שִׁשִּׁים וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה 'sixty two years' (Gen. 5, 20).
שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה 'thirty-eight years' (Deut. 2, 14).
שִׁבְעִים שִׁשִּׁים וּשְׁנַיִם 'sixty-two weeks' (Dan. 9, 26).

The various forms of the numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' take the noun after them,[4] sometimes in the singular,[5] sometimes in the plural; all forms may stand in the absolute state,

[1] For the use of singular and plural with the numbers above 'ten' cf. Hern. *Syn. Zahlw.* p. 90 ff.

[2] These are יוֹם *day*, שָׁנָה *year*, אִישׁ *man*, נֶפֶשׁ *person*, שֵׁבֶט *tribe*, מַטֶּה *pillar*, and less regularly in the singular, אַמָּה *cubit*, חֹדֶשׁ *month*, עִיר *city*, שֶׁקֶל *shekel*.

[3] These nouns are in most cases the same as those mentioned in the case of the 'teens,' viz., אִישׁ, יוֹם, נֶפֶשׁ, שֶׁקֶל, and אֶלֶף *thousand*, כִּכָּר (a certain measure).

[4] The noun, however, sometimes precedes as, e. g., צֹאן שְׁלֹשֶׁת־אֲלָפִים '3000 sheep' (I Sam. 25, 2).

[5] The nouns which stand in the singular are in general the same as those which are placed in the singular with the 'teens' and 'the tens', viz., אִישׁ, אֶלֶף, אַמָּה, יוֹם, שָׁנָה, כִּכָּר, שֶׁקֶל, and רַגְלִי *foot soldier*, צֶמֶד *yoke*, כִּכָּר *talent*; cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 454 (§ 134 *g*).

and some forms of both 'hundred' and 'thousand' may stand in the construct:[1] e. g.,

מְאַת שָׁנָה / מֵאַת שָׁנָה	'a hundred years.'
אֶלֶף אִישׁ	'a thousand men.'
שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ	'six hundred men.'
מָאתַיִם לֶחֶם	'two hundred (loaves of) bread.'
מְאַת צִמּוּקִים	'a hundred bunches of raisins.'
שְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת שׁוּעָלִים	'three hundred foxes.'
אֶלֶף עִזִּים	'a thousand goats.'
שֵׁשֶׁת אֲלָפִים גְּמַלִּים	'six thousand camels.'

Numerals intermediate between the 'hundreds' and 'thousands,' when they follow the noun take it in the plural, when they precede the noun, it takes the form required by the immediately preceding numeral, e. g.,

יָמִים אֶלֶף מָאתַיִם וְתִשְׁעִים '1290 days.'

שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת וְשִׁשִּׁים וְשֵׁשׁ כִּכְּרֵי זָהָב '666 talents of gold.'

In the compound numerals made by addition, excepting the 'teens' the noun is often repeated with each numeral in the required form, as in Arabic, e. g.,

חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה '75 years.'

מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשֶׁבַע שָׁנִים '127 years.'

In Phenician the noun modified by the numeral usually stands before it in the plural, tho some cases occur in which it is found after it in the singular, e. g.,

שענת עשר וארבע (pl.) 'fourteen years.'

לטים מאת (pl.) 'one hundred pounds.'

ששם שת (sg.) 'sixty years.'

In Jewish Palestinian and Samaritan 'one' is an adjective and follows the noun. The numerals 2—10 rarely stand before the noun in the construct, usually before or after the noun in apposition;[2] the noun stands in the plural. In Pal-

[1] The forms that may stand in the construct are the singular of 'hundred' and the plural of 'thousand,' viz., מְאַת and אַלְפֵי: the form of the singular of 'thousand,' viz., אֶלֶף is indecisive, it may be either absolute or construct; probably one form was meant in some cases and the other in other cases. The other forms are always in the absolute, viz., מֵאוֹת, מָאתַיִם, אֲלָפִים. The form אַלְפֵי, however, is not used as a regular numeral, but only in the indefinite sense of 'thousands.'

[2] This statement is made by Winer, *Gram. Chal.*, but all his examples in which the numeral follows are taken from Biblical Aramaic, cf. p. 111.

estinian the higher numerals stand before the plural of the noun, tho they may be placed after in lists. In Samaritan the higher numerals stand before the noun, which is plural except in the case of certain nouns (about the same as those which stand in the singular with the 'teens' in Hebrew).[1] In Samaritan the 'hundreds' and 'thousands' take the singular, e. g.,

Jew. Pal. שבעה יומין 'seven days.'
חמשת עסר בנין 'fifteen sons.'
ארבעין סמכין 'forty sockets.'
עז מאתן ותישא עסרין ודכרי עסרין '200 she-goats, 20 he-goats, and 20 rams' (Gen. 32, 14).

Sam. שבעה יומין 'seven days.'
עסר שנין 'ten years.'
תורין תרין 'two bulls.'
תרי ברין 'two sons.'
תריעסר איש 'twelve men.'
שבעים תמרים 'seventy palm trees.'
ארבע מואן גבר 'four hundred men.'

In Biblical Aramaic 'one' is an adjective and follows the noun, which stands in the singular,[2] e. g.,

שִׁטְרָא חַד 'one side.'

The numerals from 'three' to 'ten' take the noun in the plural, except, as in Arabic, in the case of מְאָה 'hundred;' as in Arabic and Hebrew they may stand before or after the noun, before it usually in the construct state: e. g.,

שִׁבְעַת יְעָטֹהִי 'his seven councillors.'
אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שְׁמַיָּא 'the four winds of heaven.'
גְּבַרִין תְּלָתָה 'three men.'
אַרְבַּע מְאָה 'four hundred.'
עֲשַׂרָה מַלְכִין 'ten kings.'

The higher numerals also take the noun in the plural, but stand without exception as adjectives after the noun, e. g.,

יַרְחִין תְּרֵי עַשַׂר 'twelve months.'
יוֹמִין תְּלָתִין 'thirty days.'
אַחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא מְאָה וְעֶשְׂרִין 'a hundred and twenty princes.'

The numerals are regularly used as adjectives in Syriac, Mandaic, Modern Syriac, and Malulan. In Syriac and Mandaic the numeral stands either before or after the noun, preposition being more common; in Modern Syriac and Malulan (apparently)

[1] Cf. p. 205, n. 2.

[2] There are no examples of 'two' modifying a noun.

it always precedes. Except with 'one' the noun stands generally speaking in the plural; in Mandaic, however, some instances of the singular are found, and in Malulan the singular is perhaps as common as the plural. In Malulan the original absolute form of the noun seems to be regularly used; in Syriac the absolute state is often found, but the emphatic is just as common; in Mandaic, the emphatic state is the usual form; in Modern Syriac it is the only form used. e. g.,

Syr. ܬܡܢܛܥܣܪ ܡܠܟܐ / ܬܡܢܛܥܣܪ ܡܠܟܝܢ } 'eighteen kings.'

Man. תרין מאלאכיא 'the two angels.'

שיתין ושאבא בנאתא '67 daughters.'

שובא דמי 'seven figures.'

Mal. *tlōtā gabrūn* 'three men.'

tlōṯā yōm 'three days.'

Mod. Syr. ܡܐܐ ܐܠܦ *'iwā 'nāšā* 'a hundred people.'

After compound numbers ending with 'one' in Syriac and Mandaic the singular may be used as well as the plural; e. g.,

Syr. (ܝܘܡܐ) ܥܣܪܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܝܘܡ 'twenty-one days.'

Man. (שידתא) בשובין וחדא שיתא 'in seventy-one years.'

The numeral 'thousand' is regularly followed in Mandaic by a genitive construction; in Syriac also it sometimes takes its noun after ܕ[1] e. g.,

Man. אלפא דשניא / אליף שניא } 'a thousand years.'

Syr. ܫܬܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܐ 'six thousand years'.

In Syriac the construct of the numeral is preserved in a few standing expressions, e. g.,

ܥܣܪܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ 'the ten cities, Dekapolis.'

ܐܪܒܥܬ ܪܘܚܐ 'the four winds.'

In the languages of the Abyssinian group also the adjectival construction has become the regular one. It is the only construction in Amharic and Tigriña, and the usual one in Ethiopic. The numeral regularly precedes the noun in all three languages. The reversed concord of gender, as we have seen, has been given up, except in comparatively rare instances in Ethiopic. With the numerals from 'two' upwards the rules for the concord of number are as follows. In Ethiopic

[1] According to Maclean, in Modern Syriac ܪܒܒܐ *ribbā* '10,000', and sometimes ܐܐ take ܕ before their noun. cf. *Vern. Syr.* p. 67.

the noun stands most frequently in the singular tho the plural may also be used; in Tigriña either singular or plural may be used without distinction; Amharic follows in general the rule of Tigriña, but with the numerals from 'hundred' upwards the singular is more common, and with the lower numerals, living beings stand somewhat more frequently in the plural, things somewhat more frequently in the singular. e. g.,

Eth. ፀሠርቱ፡ ወሠለስቱ፡ አህጉር፡ *'ašartû ṣa-šalastû 'ahgûr* 'thirteen cities.'
ምእት፡ አባግዕ፡ *mə̈'ət 'abāgə̈'* '100 sheep.'
ስድስቱ፡ ምእት፡ ብእሲ፡ *sədəstû mə̈'ət bə̈'əsî* '600 men.'
አልፍ፡ ብእሲ፡ *'ə̈lf bə̈'əsî* '1000 men.'
ሠላስ፡ አህጉር፡ *šalāš 'ahgûr* 'three cities.'

Amh. ሁለት፡ ዓይን፡ *hùlat 'āiṇ* 'two eyes.'
ሁለት፡ ሰይፎች፡ *hùlat saifôc* 'two swords.'
ሶስት፡ ሴቶች፡ *sōst sə̈tôc* 'three women.'
መቶ፡ ልጅ፡ *matô lə̄j* 'a hundred boys.'

Ta. ኃምስቲ፡ ዐቋል፡ *ḫāmə̈stê bōquāl* 'five sparrows.'
አዕዋፍ፡ *ḫāmə̈stê 'a'wāf* 'five birds.'

In Ethiopic and Amharic the numeral may stand after the noun in the enumeration of chapters, &c., e. g.,

Eth. በ፭መት፡ ፭፻፡ *ba-'āmat 500* 'in the year five hundred.'
Amh. ምዕራፍ፡ አንድ፡ *mə̄rāf 'and* 'chapter one.'

Some relics of the ancient construction with numeral as nomen regens of a construct chain are found in Ethiopic in the case of those numerals which are without the suffix *t*, e. g.,

ኀምስተ፡ ዕደው፡ *ḫamə̈sta 'ədaw* 'five men.'
ሰቡዐ፡ ዕለት፡ *sabū'a 'ə̈lat* 'seven days.'

In Assyrian *ēdu* may precede or follow its noun, *ištēn* regularly precedes: 'two' takes the plural: e. g.,

ēdu amēlu 'one man.'
edlu ēdu 'one hero.'
ina ištēn ūmi 'in one day.'
šinā ūmē 'two days.'

The constructions of the other numerals are not entirely clear, as they are usually not written out, but the following points seem to be certain.

a) The numerals may stand in the construct or as an adjective before a following plural, the reversed concord of gender being apparently observed, e. g.,

ana irbitti šârê 'to the four winds.'
irbit naçmade 'team of four.'
šelalti ûmê 'three days.'

b) The numerals may follow the noun in the plural, the relation being apparently either adjectival or that of a construct chain; the reversed concord of gender is apparently not always observed: e. g.,

kibrât irbitti^{m}
kibrâti ·
kibrât arba'i
kibrâti^{m} *arba'i*^{m} (genitive)
} 'the four regions.'

c) The higher numerals seem to take the noun in the singular, e. g.,

10,000 qaštu '10,000 bows.'

In parent Semitic,[1] therefore, the cardinals had in all probability the following constructions.

The first two were originally adjectives as is shown by their regular concord of gender. The remaining numerals might stand before the noun, governing it in a dependent case, or they might stand, before it or after it as an appositive or adjective.

The plural was probably always used whenever the noun preceded the numerals 'three' and upwards, or when it stood after them in the partitive genitive. The singular of the noun seems to have been used when the numeral governed the noun in the accusative, indicating that with respect to which the enumeration was made. Parent Semitic may have possessed a living dual like Arabic, in which case 'two' was probably not employed as a nominal modifier; but it is more

[1] In Old Egyptian the cardinal ordinarily stands after the noun, which is usually in the plural; in the Pyramid texts the cardinal may stand in appositon before the noun; in New Egyptian the cardinal usually stands before the noun, to which it is joined by the genitive *n*; similarly in Coptic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 130; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 88, 89. In Coptic the noun stands usually in the singular, as a special plural form is ordinarily not made, cf. Steind. *op. cit.* pp. 68—72.

In Indo-European the usual position of the numeral was before the noun (cf. p. 158, n. 2). Originally the numerals from 1—19 had the construction of adjectives, those from 20 up the construction of substantives; the adjectival construction gains on the substantive construction in the development of the individual languages; cf. Delbrück, *Verg. Syn.* I. pp. 521—535, espec. 522.

likely that originally 'two of anything' was indicated by the numeral adjective following a noun in the plural.

In general the lower numbers seem to have preferred a plural noun, the higher numbers, a singular noun.

The original status of the numerals has been best preserved in Arabic and Hebrew, and many traces of it are found in the other languages, but in the Aramaic and Ethiopic branches the numerals have passed over more or less completely to an adjectival construction. The common use of the genitive singular after the higher numbers, and the rare use of an accusative plural after certain numbers which we find in Arabic, are probably due to the mixing of the original constructions with genitive plural and accusative singular.

Determination of Cardinals.

The combination of noun and cardinal is made definite in those languages which distinguish between the definite and indefinite states of a noun, by the use of the definite article.

In Classical Arabic when the article is applied to the 'teens' it is used ordinarily only with the unit, tho it may stand with both; when it is applied to the numbers intermediate between the 'tens' it stands with both parts; when it is applied to multiples of 'hundred', it stands before the unit: in Egyptian Arabic it is used only once with the first part of a compound numeral: e. g.,

Cl. الثلاثة عشر *ath-thalâthata 'ašara*
الثلاثة العشر *ath-thalâthata 'l-'ašara* 'the thirteen.'
السبعة والسبعون *as-sab'atu ṭa-'s-sab'ūna* 'the seventy-seven.'
الثلاثمائة *ath-thalāthu-mi'ati** 'the three hundred.'
Eg. الخمسة عشر *el-ḫamastâšar* 'the fifteen.'
الواحد وعشرين *el-ṭāḥid ṭe-'ašrin* 'the twenty-one.'

In Classical Arabic when the relation between the two is adjectival, both take the article, e. g.,

الرجل الواحد *ar-rajulu al-ṭāḥidu* 'the one man.'
الرجال الخمسة *ar-rijālu al-ḫamsatu* 'the five men.'

When the two are joined in a construct chain, the article stands usually only with the *nomen rectum*, tho cases occur in which it stands before the *regens*, in which case the combination has become practically a compound,[1] e. g.,

[1] cf. Reck. *Syn. Verh.* p. 284.

خمسة الرجال *ḫamsatu 'r-rijâli* 'the five men.'
الف الرجال *'alfu 'r-rijâli* 'the thousand men.'
الثلاث ساعات *ath-thalâthu-sâ'âti** 'the three hours.'

When the noun follows the numeral in the accusative, the article is used only with the numeral, e. g.,

التسعون رجلا *'at-tis'una rajula** 'the ninety men.'
السبعة والسبعون جملا *'as-sab'atu ṭa-'s-sab'una jamala** 'the seventy-seven camels.'
الثلاثة عشر جملا *'ath-thalâthatu 'ašara jamala** 'the thirteen camels.'

In Modern Arabic when the numeral precedes it alone takes the article; when the noun comes first the article is used with both; the first construction is the usual one: e. g.,

Eg. Arab. الكراسى العشره *el-kerâsî el-'ašara* 'the ten chairs.'
البيوت الثلاثة وعشرين *el-bijût et-telâte ṭe-'ašrîn* 'the thirty-three houses.'
القروش الخمسين *el-qurûš el-ḫamsîn* 'the fifty piastres.'
الثمانيه قضه *et-tamânije faḍḍa* 'the eight piastres.'
الخمسه وعشرين حمار *el-ḫamsa ṭe-'ašrîn ḫumâr* 'the twenty-five asses.'
الاربعين صندوق *el-'arba'în çandûq* 'the forty chests.'
الالفه دينار *el-'alfe dînâr* 'the thousand dinars.'

In Minæo-Sabean the definite *-n* seems to be used sometimes with the noun alone, sometimes with both noun and numeral, e. g.,

اربع امن *'rb' 'm-n* 'the four cubits.'[1]
اربعتن وعشرنهن اصلمن *'rb't-n ṭ-'šrn-hn 'çlm-n* 'the four and twenty images.'

In Hebrew the article is regularly used only with the noun, whatever the construction, e. g.,

חֲמֻשֶׁת הָאֲנָשִׁים 'the five men' (Jud. 18, 7).
אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם 'the forty days.'
שְׁלֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֲנָק 'the three sons of Anak.'
הַמַּכְנוֹת עֲשֶׂר 'the ten shrines.'

The first cardinal usually takes the construction of a

[1] This expression is translated simply 'four cubits' by Hommel, but the *n* of امن seems to be the definite article.

descriptive adjective, tho in a number of cases it stands without article like the other cardinals,[1] e. g.,

הַיָּם הָאֶחָד 'the one sea.'

הַכֶּבֶשׂ אֶחָד 'the one lamb.'

In Jewish Palestinian the definite state of the noun may be employed with the numeral, e. g.,

תרין נהוריא 'the two rivers.'

In Amharic, as with the descriptive adjective, the cardinal alone takes the definite article; in the case of numerals compounded by multiplication the definite article stands only with the first. The accusative —ን is used according to the rule for descriptive adjectives (cf. p. 166 f.), e. g.,

ሰባቱ : ከዋክብት : *sabât-ù kawākēbt* 'the seven stars.'

አስራ : ሁለቱ : ወታደር : *'asrā hûlat-ù waṭādar* 'the twelve soldiers.'

አራቱ : መቶ : ሰዎች : *'arât-ù matô sawôč* 'the four hundred men.'

ሁለቱን : ገዛቾች : *hûlat-ù-n gazāčôč* (acc.) 'the two blasphemers.'

In Syriac and Ethiopic and apparently also in Assyrian the determination may be expressed by adding the suffix of the third person to the numeral. In Syriac the suffix is plural and agrees in gender with the noun; in Ethiopic the suffix may stand in the plural agreeing in gender with the noun, or in the masculine singular.[2] e. g.,

Syr. ܬܠܬܝܗܝܢ ܚܙ̈ܝܐ / תְּלָתֵיהֵין חֲזָיִין הַרְסִים 'these three views.'

ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܥܠܡ̈ܐ תְּרֵיהוֹן עָלְמָא 'the two worlds.'

ܚܡܫܬܝܗܘܢ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ חַמְשָׁתֵיהוֹן מַלְכָא 'the five kings.'

Eth. ሠለስቲሆሙ : ዕደው : *šalastî-hômû 'ĕdaw* 'the three men.'

ክልኤሆን : እደዊሁ : *kĕl'ê-hôn 'ĕdawî-hû* 'his two hands.'

ሰብዐቲሁ : ሰማያት : *sab'ati-hû samāyāt* 'the seven heavens.'

ተስዓቲሁ : ሕዝብ : *tas'āti-hû ḥĕzb* 'the nine tribes.'

Ass. *sibitti-šunu ilāni limnûti* 'the seven evil spirits.'

This construction is found also in Biblical Aramaic in one passage, viz.,

גַּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ תְּלָתְהוֹן 'these three men' (Dan. 3, 23).

Many of the Aramaic dialects have developed a special form of the numeral to indicate the determination;[3] so in

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[1] cf. Horn. *Syn. Zahlw.* pp. 13, 14.

[2] The numerals above 'two' take an *i* before the suffixes just like a plural noun.

[3] For these determinate forms cf. Nöld. *Chr. Pal.* p. 483 f.; Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 129; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 133 f.; Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 190; Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 154 f.

Christian and Jewish Palestinian, Modern Syriac, and to some extent also in Samaritan; in Mandaic, only the numeral 'two' has such a form. In Western Aramaic the modified noun has the definite form, e. g.,

Mod. Syr. ܬܪܝܬܝ ܝܘܡܢܐ *tirṯāj iōmānē* 'the two days, both days.'
ܐܪܒܥܬܐ ܟܠܬܐ *'arba'ntâj kâlâtē* 'the four daughters in law.'

Ch. Pal. ארבעתי רוחיא 'the four winds.'
חמישתא לחמא 'the five loaves.'

Sam. שבעתי מרבחיא 'the seven altars.'
עסרתי מליא 'the ten commandments.'

Ordinals.

Special forms for the ordinals usually occur only for the first ten numerals, in Modern Syriac only for the first two.[1] They are treated in general like ordinary adjectives in all the languages;[2] in Assyrian they may stand either before or after the noun, and in the Abyssinian languages they regularly precede. In those languages which distinguish between the definite and indefinite state of nouns, the noun modified by the ordinal is regularly treated as definite, e. g.,

Ass. *ina šanîti šanûti* 'the second time.'
ina šalši ûmi 'on the third day.'

Arab. البيت الاول *al-baitu al-'awwalu* 'the first house.'
المراة الاولى *al-mar'atu al-'ûlā* 'the first woman.'

Meh. *gaiēn sōlit* 'the third boy.'

Heb. יום השלישי 'the third day.'

Eth. በሣልስት፡ዕለት፡ *ba-šālēst 'ĕlat* 'on the third day.'

Amh. ባራተኛው፡ ዓመት፡ *bārātañā-u 'āmat* 'in the fourth year.'

Ta. ፭ሠርቱ፡ሰዓት፡ *'ašartē sĕ'āt* 'the tenth hour.'

Bib. Aram. תניתא רביעיתא 'the fourth beast.'

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[1] In Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Arabic, Jewish Palestian, Syriac, and Mandaic ordinals occur for some of the numbers above 'ten', cf. Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 213; Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 328; Praet. *Äth. Gr.* p. 131; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 205, 206; Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. pp. 261, 262; Dalm. *Jew. Pal.* pp. 131, 132; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 95 (§ 153); Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 192.

[2] In Egyptian and Coptic the ordinals may stand either before or after the noun; in Coptic the two are joined by the genitive sign ⲛ; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 131; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 90.

Sam. בר חמישאי 'the fifth son.'
ביומה תליתאה 'on the third day.'
Syr. ܬܪܝܢܐ ܝܘܡܐ 'the second day.'
Mod. Syr. ܣܡܐ ܩܡܐ *sâmâ qâmâ* 'the first part.'

In Modern Arabic, the masculine form of the ordinals may be followed by the genitive of their noun. In Classical Arabic اول 'first' has the same construction.[1] No article is used with the combination in Classical Arabic, and usually none in the Modern language. In Egyptian Arabic when the article is employed it stands before the ordinal, the whole combination being treated as one idea.[2] e. g.,

Cl. اول بيت *'awwalu baiti'* 'the first house.'
Eg. اول مرة *awwal marra* 'the first time.'
تانى نابه *tānī nōba* 'the second time.'
تالت يوم *tālit jōm* 'the third day.'
التالت يوم *et-tālit jōm* 'the third day.'

Sometimes in those languages which possess a special definite form of the noun, the article may be omitted either wholly or partly. So in Hebrew with the noun or with both noun and ordinal:[3] in Amharic with the ordinal; in Amharic the ordinal in this case stands very frequently after the noun. This omission is especially frequent in the enumeration of days, chapters, or the like. e. g.,

Heb. יום שֵׁנִי 'day second' (Gen. 1, 8).
יום הַשִּׁשִּׁי 'day the sixth' (Gen. 1, 31).
Amh. በሶስተኛ፡ቀን፡ *ba-sôstanā qan* 'on the third day.'
ምዕራፍ፡ዘጠነኛ፡ *mĕrâf zaṭanañā* 'chapter ninth.'

The cardinals are frequently used for the ordinals, not only when the corresponding ordinal does not exist, but also often when the corresponding ordinal is in use. The cardinal may be used as an adjective, or it may stand in the genitive.

The first construction is found in Arabic, the Abyssinian languages, Hebrew, Jewish Palestinian, Samaritan, and Mandaic. In Arabic the cardinal follows the noun; in Ethiopic and Hebrew it may precede or follow; in Samaritan the noun usually follows either in the absolute or the emphatic state;

[1] In Coptic likewise the first ordinal may stand in the construct before its noun; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 90.

[2] To be contrasted with this is the Amharic construction of the ordinal 'first' as genitive to its noun (cf. p. 217).

[3] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 428 (§ 126 *w*).

in Amharic, Tigriña, and Mandaic the cardinal regularly precedes. The noun is usually in the singular, but in Mandaic and in a few cases in Amharic the plural is used. In Arabic the cardinal takes the article like an ordinal: in Hebrew the article appears to be used with the cardinal after the noun.[1] e. g.,

Arab. البيت العشرون *al-baitu 'l-'išrūna* 'the 20th house.'

Eg. Arab. البيت الخمسة عشر *el-bêt el-ḫamastāšar* 'the 15th house.'

Eth. በምእት : ወዐሠርቱ : ዓመት : *ba-mə'ĕt wa-'ašartū 'âmat* 'in the 110th year.'

በዓመት : ዐሠርቱ : ምእት : *ba-'âmat 'ašartū mə'ĕt* 'in the year 1000.'

Heb. בְּשִׁבְעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם 'on the seventeenth day.'

בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה 'on the fortieth day.'

עַד יוֹם הָאֶחָד וְעֶשְׂרִים 'on the twenty-first day.'

Sam. בשבעה עסר יום 'on the seventeenth day.'

בערבעים שנה 'in the fortieth year.'

בערבע עסרה שתה 'in the fourteenth year.'

Man. ביומא חדא 'on the first day.'[2]

בארבא יומיה 'on the fourth day.'

Amh. ባሥራ : አንድ : አመት : *bâśrâ 'and 'amat* 'in the eleventh year.'

በአሥራ : ሁለት : ቀን : *ba'asrâ ḥûlat qan* 'on the twelfth day.'

በ፯፪ : ከዘሃ : ዙፍ : ዘመናት : *ba-7-šī ka-200. 81 zamanāt* (pl.) 'in the 7281st year.'

Ta. ብዐሠርት : ሓዲ : ስዓት : *bə'ašart ḥādē sə'āt* 'at the eleventh hour.'

The construction with cardinal in the genitive is found in Arabic, Classical and Modern, Hebrew, Phenician, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Modern Syriac; no article is employed except sometimes in Hebrew: e. g.,

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[1] Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 456 (§ 134*o*).

[2] In all the examples given by Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 348 *f.*, except this one, the numeral precedes and the noun has the plural form as in the second example. With this plural is to be compared the plural which is occasionally found in Amharic; cf. last example here and Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 329 (top).

Arab. في سنة الف من الهجرة *fi sanati 'alfin mina 'l-hijrati* 'in the year 1000 of the Hejira.'

Eg. Arab. عربية تلاتين *'arabîjet telâtin* 'the 30th wagon, wagon No. 30.'

Heb.[1] בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ 'in the third year.'

שְׁנַת הַשֶּׁבַע 'the seventh year.'

Ph. בשנת עשר וארבע 'in the 14th year.'

Bib. Aram. עַד שְׁנַת תְּרֵתִין 'until the second year.'

Syr. ܒܝܘܡ ܬܪܝܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ 'the second day.'

ܥܕ ܫܢܬ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ 'until the 420th year.'

Mod. Syr. ܒܝܘܡ ܬܪܝ *jûmâ de-trâj* 'the second day.'

In Hebrew in a few passages an ordinal with article is used in the genitive after a noun, the ordinal agreeing with the noun in gender. Here we have a mixing of the regular construction of the ordinal with the construction just described, e. g.,

בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁעִית 'in the ninth year' (2 Ki. 17, 6).

Similar, tho not directly allied with this, is the Amharic construction by which the ordinal 'first' is placed in the genitive after its noun (cf. p. 169 above), e. g.,

የፊተኛው ሰው : *ja-fîtañâ-u sau* 'the first man.'

Nominal Qualification.

Construct Chain.

The representation of a genitive relation between two nouns by what is called a construct chain is one of the most characteristic and primitive features of Semitic speech.[2] It is found in all the branches of the family but not to the same extent

[1] In expressions in which the cardinals stand in the sense of ordinals after יום, e. g., יום אֶחָד Gen. 1, 5; בְּיוֹם שְׁמֹנָה 2 Chr. 29, 17, it is not impossible to consider the cardinal a genitive as here: but it is also possible to consider it an adjective as in the preceding case.

[2] The construct chain is found also in Egyptian and Coptic. In Egyptian the relation between the two nouns is not so close as in Semitic, as they may be separated by other words; in Coptic this construction has in most cases given way to the one with genitive sign n: cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 115; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 79, 82, 83, 89, 90. It occurs moreover in Malay and Javanese; cf. A. Seidel, *Prakt. Gram. d. Malayischen Spr.* (Hartleben) p. 19; H. Bohatta, *Prakt. Gram d. Javanischen Spr.* (Hartleben) p. 32.

in all. It is the regular rule in Arabic, Mineo-Sabean, and Hebrew; in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigriña, Tigre, Phenician, and Aramaic, and in Modern Arabic and Mishnic Hebrew, it is more or less completely replaced by other constructions; in the Eastern Aramaic dialects the use of the construct is more restricted than in the Western, and in Malulan, Modern Syriac, and Amharic it has been practically lost, occurring only in a few standing expressions.[1] The two words of the construct chain form one idea, and cannot be separated by another word except in certain special cases.[2] The first word loses its primary accent, and usually suffers a modification in form. The second word stands logically in the genitive, but it is only in Assyrian and Arabic that it is also genitive in form: in the other languages it is the same as the nominative. In those languages which have developed a determinate form of the noun, this combination is made definite by using the second noun in this form; the first noun can never take the determinate form, except in certain cases in Arabic.[3] In those languages which do not distinguish between definite and indefinite nouns (including the Eastern Aramaic dialects), the combination may be either definite or indefinite. When the combination is definite, both nouns are definite. It is not possible to combine an indefinite *regens* with a definite *rectum*

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[1] Cf. Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 506, Nöld, *Neus. Spr.* p. 117 ff.; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 195, 196.

[2] This is almost the only species of nominal compound known to Semitic, tho even here no real compound is formed save in exceptional cases (cf. pp. 211 f., 219, 220; also Phil. *Stat. Con.* pp. 44—54; Del. *Ass. Gr.* p. 202 f.) A second kind of compound is found in Assyrian, and consists of noun + adjective, e. g., *šēp arik* 'long foot (a bird)', *libbu rapšu* 'great-hearted.' These compounds are equivalent in meaning to adjective + noun in the genitive, such as *rapšu uzni* 'far reaching of mind.' Delitzsch explains the noun before the adjective as an accusative dependent on the adjective, e. g., 'long with respect to foot' (cf. *Ass. Gr.* p. 203), but it is not impossible that these formations may be possessive compounds like the Sanskrit *bahuvrihis*, viz., 'having a long foot,' etc. (cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar* 3rd ed, Leipzig and Boston, 1896, pp. 501—511). With the paucity of nominal compounds in Semitic is to be contrasted the exuberance of such formations in the Indo-European languages, particularly in Sanskrit; cf. Delb. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 200—215, 217—220; Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 485—515.

[3] For cases in Hebrew in which the article seems to stand with a construct cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 431, 432 (§ 127 *f*, *g*).

or vice versa, these combinations must be effected with the help of the prepositional phrases described below (p. 225 ff.). e. g.,

Ass. *bāb bīti* 'a house-door, the door of the house.'
bēl ilāni 'the lord of the gods.'

Arab. بنت ملك *bintu maliki*[1] 'a king's daughter, a princess.'
بنت الملك *bintu 'l-maliki* 'the king's daughter.'

Min. بيت ملكن *bit mik-n* 'the king's house.'

Eth. ወልደ : ንጉሥ : *walda nĕgŭś* 'a, the king's son.'

Ta. சொல் : இறைவன் : *qāl 'iṟai'aṉṟaṉ* 'the word of God.'

Te. మాట : దేవ *mād dēva* 'son of God.'
అబ్బ : అమ్మ : *'ab-bā' 'am-ma* 'the father of the girl.'

Heb. בַּת מֶלֶךְ 'a king's daughter.'
בַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ 'the king's daughter.'

Ph. מלך הארץ 'the king of the land.'

Bib. Aram. לְבַב אֱנָשׁ 'a man's heart.'
בֵּית מַלְכָּא 'the king's house.'

Syr. ܟܣܦ ܘܐܣܐ 'false money.'
ܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ 'the Holy Spirit.'

When the second noun of the chain is a proper name or a noun with a possessive suffix, the combination is necessarily definite, e. g.,

Heb. בֶּן־דָּוִד 'the son of David, David's son.'
אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתַי 'the gods of my fathers.'

The second noun may also be made definite by a following definite genitive, e. g.,

Heb. יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיֶּיךָ 'the days of the years of thy life.'

Arab. على قتل رسول الله *'alā qatli rasūli 'llāhi* 'for killing the apostle of God.'

In Arabic an adjective[2] modifying a definite noun, and hence with article, may stand in the construct before a noun indicating with respect to what, e. g.,

الرجل الحسن الوجه *ar-rajulu 'l-ḥasanu 'l-waǰhi* 'the man of the beautiful countenance.'

Here, however, the combination حسن الوجه *ḥasanu 'l-waǰhi*

[1] The article *la, lā* is regularly written as one word with the construct, tho of course it belongs to the second noun; cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 300.

[2] Strictly speaking the properties of adjectives and participles do not come under the head of the present discussion, but these points are added here for the sake of completeness.

is treated as if it were a simple adjective, taking the article according to rule after a definite noun.

An Arabic participle[1] followed by a genitive may also take the article, e. g.,

القاتل الناس *al-qâtilu 'n-nâsi* 'he who kills people.'

This, however, is probably due to a mixture of constructions. A participle may take its object in either genitive or accusative, and before the accusative object, of course, the article is admissible with the participle, viz.,

(a) *qâtilu 'n-nâsi* (gen.)
(b) *qâtilu" 'n-nâsa* (acc.)
(c) *al-qâtilu 'n-nâsa* (acc.)

The anomalous construction *al-qâtilu 'n-nâsi* is due to a confusion of (a) and (c).

In Modern Arabic[2] and Tigre certain construct chains have come to be regarded as one word, and so may take the article before the first element,[3] e. g.,

Eg. Arab. الماورد *el-mâ-ward* 'the rose water.'

Te. ለበኣል : ቤት : *la-ba'âl-bêt* 'the master of the house.'

Under ordinary circumstances a proper name can not stand as the first member of a construct chain, but in Arabic and Hebrew a genitive is sometimes added to a proper name in order to distinguish between persons, places, etc. with the same name, the proper name becoming, for the time being, common;[4] e. g.,

Arab. ربيع الفرس *rabi'u 'l-farasi* 'Rabia of the horse.'

حيرة النعمن *hîratu 'n-nu'mâna* 'Hira (capital city) of Numan.'

Heb. בֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה 'Bethlehem in Judah.'

In Ethiopic and Syriac such expressions are regularly rendered by the circumlocution with the relative (cf. pp. 226, 230 f.).

In certain cases the two nouns of the construct chain do not stand in immediate juxtaposition.

In Arabic, Syriac, and Tigriña certain particles or parenthetical expressions may intervene between them;[5] e. g.,

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[1] Cf. n. 2 of pag. 219.

[2] Cf. also article which compound numerals p. 211.

[3] For apparent cases in Hebrew cf. Phil. *Stat. Con.* p. 49.

[4] In this case Coptic employs the genitive case sign *ente*, cf. p. 151, n. 2.

[5] For cases in which the construct chain is apparently broken in Hebrew cf. Phil. *Stat. Con.* p. 9 f.; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 435 (§ 128 c).

Arab. ان الشاة تسمع صوت والله ربه
'inna 'š-šāta tasma'u ṣaṷta, ṷa-'llāhi, rabbihi 'the sheep hears the voice, by God, of its master.'

Syr. ܒܢܝ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܠܥܐ ܚܣ ܒܝ ܚܣ 'the sons, indeed, of Bala.'
ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܢ ܕܝܩܐ ܚܣ ܠܗ ܘܫ 'that they are the sons of the righteous.'

Ta. ብመንፈስን : ብኀይልን : ኤልያስ : *bĕ-manfas-ēn bĕ-ḥâil-ēn 'ĕlĕjās* 'in the spirit and in the power of Elias.'

In Ethiopic certain modifiers of the genitive, particularly the demonstratives and ዘ፡ may stand between genitive and construct, e. g.,

ኆኀተ : ውእቱ : ቤት : *ḥôḥta ṷē'ētū bēt* 'the door of that house.'
ንጉሠ : ዘላ : ምድር : *nĕgûša kuĕllā mĕdr* 'the king of the whole land.'

When two nouns are modified by the same genitive it is possible to form a construct chain by placing the two nouns in the construct state connected by 'and' and following them with the genitive. In Ethiopic in this case only the second noun has the construct form, the first standing in the absolute: such a construction is, however, comparatively rare, a circumlocution being ordinarily employed. e. g.,

Arab. قطع الله يد ورجل من فعل هذا
qaṭa'a 'llāhu ɣada ṷa-rijla man fa'ala hāðā 'God cut off the hand and foot of him who did this.'

Eth. ነገደ : ወሕዝበ : እስራኤል : *nagad ṷa-hĕzba 'ĕsrā'ēl* 'the tribes and people of Israel.'

Heb. מִבְחַר וְשׁוּב לְבָנוֹן 'the choicest and best of Lebanon.'

Syr. ܟܬܒܝ ܘܩܪܝ ܫܡܗܬܗܘܢ 'those who write and read their own names.'

The circumlocutions which are usually employed to express this combination are of several kinds, viz.:

a) the genitive may be used with both nouns;
b) the genitive may be used with the first noun and the second noun take a suffix representing the genitive;
c) one of the other means of expressing the genitive may be employed (cf. pp. 225—238). e. g.,

a) Eth. ነገደ : እስራኤል : ወሕዝበ : እስራኤል : *nagada 'ĕsrā'ēl ṷa-hĕzba 'ĕsrā'ēl* 'the tribes and people of Israel.'

b) Arab. سيف زيد ورمحه
saifu zaiḍⁱⁿ ṷa-rumḥu-hu 'Zaid's sword and spear.'

Eth. ነገደ : እስራኤል : ወሕዝቡ : *nagada 'ĕsrā'ēl ya-hĕzb-ū* 'the tribes and people of Israel.'

Heb. אֶל־תְּפִלַּת עַבְדְּךָ וְאֶל־תְּחִנָּתוֹ 'to the prayer and supplication of thy servant.' (1 Ki. 8,28)

When one noun is modified by two genitives, the combination is quite frequently expressed by a construct chain, the modified noun standing in the construct state and the two other nouns following the genitive connected by 'and'; e. g.,

Ass. *ēkal šamē u erṣiti*[m] 'the temple of heaven and earth.'

Arab. سلطان البر والبحر *sulṭānu 'l-barri ya-'l-baḥri* 'Sultan of the land and sea.'

Heb. שָׂרֵי הָאֲלָפִים וְהַמֵּאוֹת 'the captains of thousands and hundreds' (Nu. 31,54).

Eth. እምላክ : ሰማይ : ወምድር : *'amlāka samāy ya-mĕdr* 'the God of heaven and earth.'

This combination may also be expressed in several other ways, viz.:

a) the *nomen regens* may be repeated before each genitive;

b) the *nomen regens* and the first of the modifying nouns may form a construct chain, and the second stand after a particle indicating the genitive;

c) the genitive of both nouns may be indicated by such a particle; e. g.,

a) Heb. אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וֵאלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ 'the God of heaven and earth.'

b) Eth. መዛግብተ : ፀሓይ : ወዘወርኅ : *mazāgĕbta ḍaḥāy ya-za-yarḥ* 'the treasuries of the sun and moon.'

c) Ass. *ilāni ša šamē u erṣiti*[m] 'the gods of heaven and earth.'

Eth. ኖሎት : ዘሎጥ : ወዘአብራም : *nŏlŏt za-lŏṭ ya-za-'abrām* 'the shepherds of Lot and Abraham.'

The plural of the idea expressed by a construct chain is indicated sometimes by pluralizing the construct, sometimes by pluralizing the genitive, and sometimes by pluralizing both, e. g.,

Assyr. *bît nakamāti* 'treasure houses.'

abnê nisiqti[m] 'precious stones.'

Eth. አራዊተ : ምድር : *'arawita mĕdr* 'wild animals (animals of the land).'

ዐጽመ : ገበዮት : *'aṣma gabayāt* 'ribs (bones of the side).'

ኣብያተ : ክርስቲያናት : *'abĵāta krĕstijānāt* churches (houses of Christians).'

Heb. בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 'Benjamites.'
בֵּית אָבוֹת 'families (fathers' houses).'
גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל 'heroes of valor.'
Syr. בֵּית קְבוּרָא حصة محفوظة 'graves (houses of burial).'
בְּנַת מֶלָּא حصة ملّا 'words (daughters of the voice).'

When the *nomen regens* of a construct chain is logically modified by a possessive adjective idea, if the possessive suffix is used, it must stand with the *rectum* and not with the *regens*, e. g.,

Arab. كأس فضّته *ka'su fiḍḍati-hi* 'his silver cup.'
Eth. ንዋየ፡ሐቅልከ፡ *nĕwāja ḥaqlē-ka* 'thy field-instrument, weapon.'
Te. ውላዴ፡ደረሰው፡ *ʾwēlād darasā-hû* 'his disciples (children of his teaching).'
Heb. הַר קָדְשִׁי 'my holy mountain.'
Jew. Pal. בעלי דבביכון 'your enemies (possessors of enmity).'
Sam. אד ימינה (ה suffix) 'his right hand.'

When the *nomen regens* is modified by a descriptive adjective[1] the adjective stands after the *rectum* in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic; in Ethiopic it may stand either before the *regens* or after the *rectum*. In Assyrian the adjective either precedes the regens, or the circumlocution with *ša* is used. When the construct chain is definite, the adjective has the definite form in those languages which distinguish between definite and indefinite. e. g.

Arab. بنت ملك جميلة *bintu malīki*[n] *jamīlatu*[n] 'a beautiful princess (king's daughter).'
بيت الملك الواسع *baitu 'l-maliki 'l-wāsīʿu* 'the spacious palace (king's house).'
Heb. עֲטֶרֶת זָהָב גְּדוֹלָה 'a great crown of gold.'
מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל 'the great work of JHVH.'
Bib. Aram. בֵּית אֱלָהָא רַבָּא 'the great temple.'[2]
Sam. באלמן קשמך רבה 'in the great law of thy truth (thy great and true law).'

[1] In Coptic when the *nomen regens* of a genitive combination is modified by an adjective or another genitive, this additional modifier is added after the genitive sign *ente*, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 81.

[2] Altho this passage, Ezra 5, 8 is usually translated 'the temple of the great God,' [so A. Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah* (= Abt. XIX of Marti's Kurzer Hande. zum AT.) Tübingen & Leipzig, 1902, p. 21] the similar phrase בֵּית אֱלָהָא דְנָה 'this temple' makes the connection of רבא with בית not unlikely.

Eth. ዐቢይ : ዐጸደ : ወይን : *'abīj 'açada yain* / ዐጸደ : ወይን : ዐቢይ : *'açada yain 'abīj* 'a great vineyard (garden of wine).'

Ass. *rapšāti matāti Nairi* 'the broad lands of Nairi.'

Ambiguity sometimes arises in this construction from the fact that the adjective may in many cases be referred to either *nomen regens* or *nomen rectum*. In Classical Arabic ordinarily no ambiguity is possible on account of the case endings; in Modern Arabic and the other languages the ambiguity may be prevented by using some circumlocution for the construct chain (cf. pp. 225—238). These circumlocutions are employed even in those languages which have the property of placing the adjective before the construct, e. g.,

Cl. Arab. باب بيت كبير { *bâbu baiti" kabīru"* 'a large house-door.' / *bâbu baiti" kabīri"* 'a door of a large house.'

Eg. Arab. باب البيت الكبير *bâb el-bēt el-kebīr* { 'the large door of the house.' / 'the door of the large house.'

الباب الكبير بتاع البيت *el-bâb el-kebīr betâ' el-bēt* 'the large door of the house.'

Heb. בֶּן־הָאִישׁ הַטּוֹב { 'the son of the good man.' / 'the man's good son.'

הַבֵּן הַטּוֹב אֲשֶׁר לָאִישׁ 'the man's good son.'

Ass. *šangû çīru ša Bēl* 'high-priest of Bel.'

namçaru zaqtu ša epēš taḫâzi 'the sharp battle-sword.'

Eth. በዕለተ : ዐቢይ : እግዚ : ዘኮኑ : *ba-'ĕlat 'abâj 'ĕnta kuênanē* 'on the great day of judgment.'

When the *nomen regens* is modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative has in general the same position as the adjective, tho in Ethiopic it stands more frequently before the *regens*. The article required by the demonstrative is taken of course by the *rectum*: in Hebrew the demonstrative itself has the article, as it has after a simple definite noun; on the other hand the Samaritan demonstrative is without the prefixed ה which it takes when modifying a simple noun. e. g.,

Arab. بيت الملك هذا *baitu 'l-maliki hâðâ* 'this palace (king's house).'

Heb. אִישׁ־הַבְּלִיָּעַל הַזֶּה 'this good-for-nothing man (man of no account).'

Bib. Aram. בֵּית־אֱלָהָא דְנָה 'this temple (house of god).'

Sam. משרי אלהים דן 'this camp of God.'

Eth. ዝንቱ : ዐጸደ : ወይን : *zĕntu ʿaṣada yaiⁿ* 'this vinyard.'
ውስተ : ሀገረ : አያቡሴዎን : ዝቲ : *ŋĕsta hagara ʾijābūsĕ-yôn zāti* 'in this city of the Jebusites' (or 'the city of the J. here').

Prepositional Phrases.

Case relations between nouns may also be denoted by prepositions, the noun and following prepositional phrase being often equivalent in meaning to a construct chain. These prepositional phrases, in the course of the development of the Semitic languages, have encroached more and more upon the domain of the construct chain,[1] until in some of the modern dialects, viz., Amharic and Modern Syriac, they have driven it entirely from the field.

The principal prepositions that are used in this way are, viz.:

a) prepositions derived from the relative pronouns;
b) prepositions derived from nouns meaning property, possession and the like;
c) prepositions indicating a dative;
d) prepositions indicating a partitive genitive;
e) other prepositions, which play a comparatively insignificant role.

These phrases are in many cases the exact equivalent of the genitive in a construct chain. This is true not only of those languages in which the construct chain is obsolete or obsolescent, but also to some extent in those languages in which it exists in full vigor. In these latter languages, however, they are usually employed only when for some reason the construct chain is awkward or inadmissable.

(*a*)

The first class of prepositions is found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Amharic, Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, Phenician, and Aramaic.

[1] Cf. p. 218, n. 1. In Coptic the genitive sign n is employed not only to indicate a genitive but also to connect noun and attributive adjective, cardinal, or ordinal; cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 83, 89, 90. Similarly the so-called ligatures in the Philippine languages are employed both in genitive and adjectival relations; cf. my article *The Tagalog Ligature and Analogies in other Languages* JAOS, vol. I. c., 1908, pp. 227—231.

In Assyrian the relative *ša* + dependent noun may be employed as follows:

a) as the exact equivalent of the genitive in a construct chain, with or without suffix on the *nomen regens*, referring to the genitive, e. g.,

ina ṣilli ša Uramazda 'in the protection of Ahuramazda.'

mutu ša aššati / *mussu ša aššati* 'the woman's husband.'

ilâni šût šamê erciti$_m$ 'the gods of heaven and earth.'

b) necessarily for the simple genitive when the *nomen regens* is modified by a possessive suffix, following adjective or other modifier, e. g.,

andulla-šunu ša šalâme 'their safe protection (protection of safety).'

šangû ṣiru ša Bêl 'high-priest of Bel.'

šarrâni kalî-šunu ša Nairi 'all the kings of Nairi.'

c) for emphasis at the beginning of a sentence with retrospective suffix on the following dependent noun, e. g.,

ša NN ..... abikta-šu aštakan 'of so and so .... I accomplished the defeat.'

ša ^{mat} *Madaa mandatta-šunu amḫur* 'of Media .... I received the tribute.'

In Ethiopic the relative pronoun is usually employed in the masculine form ዘ-; the position of the phrase is entirely free, it may stand either before or after the modified noun, and it may be separated from it by other words.

These phrases may be used as the exact equivalent of the genitive in the construct chain, e. g.,

ወልድ : ዘንጉሥ : *walda za-nəguś* 'the king's son.'

ዕለት : እንተ : ዙኒ : *'əlat 'ənta kuənanē* 'the day of judgment.'

Usually, however, they are employed when for one reason or another the construct chain is ambiguous or impossible, viz.:

a) after proper names which cannot stand in the construct state, e. g.,

ቤተ : ልሔም : ዘይሁዳ : *bēta lḥēm za-ǧihūdā* 'Bethlehem in Judah.'

b) after words ending in a long vowel that have no special construct form, and after an accusative, e. g.,

ምሳሌ : ዘክርዳደ : ገራህት : *mēsālē za-kērdāda garāht* 'the parable of the weed of the field.'

ቀተለ : ሕፃናተ : ዘበተ : ልሔም : *qatala ḥēḏānāta za-bēta lē-ḥēm* 'he killed the children of Bethlehem.'

c) when the *nomen regens* is modified by a suffix, or following adjective or other modifier, e. g.,

ደምየ : ዘሐዲስ : ሥርዐት : *damē-ja za-ḥadīs šēr'at* 'my blood of the new covenant.'

በዕለተ : ዐባይ : ዘዘኒ : *ba-'ĕlat 'abāi za-ḳuēnanē* 'on the great day of judgment.'

ምሥዋዖ : ለበዓል : ዘለዪከ : *mēsqā-ō la-bá'āl za-'abû-ka* 'the Baal-altar of your father.'

d) to avoid a long succession of construct states, e. g.,

ኵለ : ሐቅል : ዘወልድኪ : *kōla ḥaql za-ɣaldē-kī* 'thy son's mandrakes.'

e) when a noun is modified by more than one genitive; in this case the governing noun may stand in the construct before the first dependent noun, and the second may take **ዘ**, or the governing noun may stand in the absolute form, both dependent nouns taking **ዘ**: e. g.,

መዛግብተ : ፀሐይ : ወዘወርኃ : *mazāgĕbta ḍaḥai ɣa-za-ɣarḥ* 'the treasuries of the sun and moon.'

ኖሎት : ዘሎጥ : ወዘአብራም : *nōlōt za-lōṭ ɣa-za-'abrām* 'the herdsmen of Lot and Abram.'

In Amharic the construction with the relative **የ** *ja* has completely replaced the construct chain. In the older texts the position of the phrase introduced by the relative is free, as in Ethiopic, but in the modern language its position is regularly before the noun, except with the genitives of geographical names modifying the name of a person, which may stand either before or after. In the modern language the relative phrase and its noun stand regularly in immediate juxtaposition, ordinarily no word except the enclitic particles **ም**, **ስ**, **ን**, being allowed to stand between them (cf., however, below). e. g.,

የጸጋ : ልጅ : *ja-ṣagā lĕj* 'son of grace.'

የናዝሬቱን : የሊስን : *ja-nāzĕrēt-ū-n jasūs-ĕn* 'Jesus of Nazareth (acc.).'

የሱስ : የናዝሬቱ : *jasūs ja-nāzerēt-ū* 'Jesus of Nazareth.'

Sometimes, as in Assyrian and Aramaic, the *nomen regens* has a possessive suffix referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g.,

የጠቢባን : ዘውዳቸው : *ja-ṭabībān zawd-āẓaw* 'the crown of the wise.'

When two or more genitives depend on the same noun, all the genitives connected by ም or ና may stand before the noun: but frequently only the first is placed before the noun, the others following: e. g.,

የእግዚአብሔርና : የበጉም : ዙፋን : *ja-'ĕgzi'abḥēr-nā ja-bag-ō-m*[1] *zūfān* 'and the throne of God and the lamb.'

የያዕቆብም : ወንድም : የዮሳም : የይሁዳም : የስምዖንም : *ja-jā'qōb-ēm wandēm ja-jōsā-m ja-jīhūdā-m ja-simōn-ēm* 'and the brother of Jacob, Josa, Juda, and Simon.'

When two or more nouns are modified by the same genitive, the genitive as usual stands first, the modified nouns connected by ም following; usually the last *nomen regens*, and in a series of more than two, several of the last, take a suffix referring to the genitive: e. g.,

የቅዱሳን : ትዕግሥት : ሃይማኖታቸውም : *ja-qĕdūsān tĕ'gĕśt hāimānōt-ačaw-m* 'the hope and belief of the saints.'

The sign of the genitive ኛ is quite frequently omitted, the preceding genitive being then practically an adjective modifying the noun. This is always the case when the *nomen regens* depends on a preposition or the sign of the genitive ኛ, but it is also found outside of this construction, especially in titles, geographical names, and standing expressions. e. g.,

የመቶው : አለቃ : *ja-matô-w 'alaqā* 'the commander of a hundred.'

ለመቶው : አለቃ : *la-matô-w 'alaqā* 'to the commander of a hundred.'

ወደ : ንጉሥ : ቤት : *wada nĕgūś* (for *ja-nĕgūś*) *bēt* 'to the house of the king.'

ደጅ : አዝማች : *daj 'azmāč* 'duke (soldier of the door).'

አጋውምድር : *'agāw-mēdr* 'the land of Agau.'

ወጥ : ቤት : *waṭ bēt* 'kitchen (house of sauce, cookery).'

When the *nomen regens* is itself in the genitive, it and its preceding *nomen rectum* are placed before the new *nomen regens*, one ኛ standing at the beginning instead of two; this new *nomen regens* may itself be placed in the genitive in the same way, and so on indefinitely, the ኛ of the subordinate

[1] This *-m* connects the whole expression with what precedes, being placed with the second instead of the first word of the element it connects with something preceding: cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 394 (§ 296*b*).

genitive being regularly dropped after that of the governing noun, so that no more than one ፃ ever stands at the beginning of such a chain of successively subordinated genitives. If the last *nomen regens* of such a chain is governed by a preposition, the preposition stands first and even the single ፃ is lost. e. g.,

ናምድር : ነገሥታትም : አለቃ : *ja-mēdr nagaśtāt-ĕm 'alaqā* 'and the prince of the kings of the earth.'

የእግዚአብሔር : ልጅ : ወንጌል : መጀመርያ : *ja-'ĕgzi'abḥēr lĕj wangēl majamarjā* 'the beginning of the Gospel of the Son of God.'

በባቢሎን : ምርኮ : ጊዜ : *ba-bābilōn* (for *ba-ia-bā-*) *mĕrkô gīzē* 'at the time of the Babylonian captivity.'

Some instances of this peculiar genitive construction occur also in Tigriña and Tigre,[1] due doubtless to the influence of Amharic, e. g.,

Ta. ኣንካብ : የርዳኖስ : ማዕዶ : *'ĕnkāb jordānōs* (for *nāj jô-*) *mā'dô* 'from the other side of Jordan.'

Te. ኣብ : ደማ : ዝኾት : *'ĕb dīmā* (for *nāi dī-*) *kĕhājôt* 'in the life of eternity.'

With regard to the application of the article and the accusative -ን, the genitive phrase is treated just like an adjective (cf. p. 166 f.). When both elements of the combination, however, are indeterminate the accusative -ን is usually placed with the genitive, rarely with the *regens*. e. g.,

Art. የመቶው : አለቃ : *ja-matō-u 'alaqā* 'the commander of a hundred.'

የትግሬው : ሽፍታ : *ja-tĕgrē-u šĕftā* 'the rebel of Tigre.'

የቤትኤሉ : ካህን : *ja-bēt'ēl-ū kāhĕn* 'the priest of Bethel.'

Acc. የሰው : ልጅን : *ja-saw lĕj-ān* 'the son of man.'

የኃጢአተኛን : ሞት : *ja-ḥāṭi'atanā-n mōt* 'the death of a sinner.'

የደረት : ልብሱን : *ja-darat lĕbs-ū-n* 'his upper garment (his breast-clothing).'

የደረቱን : ልብስ : *ja-darat-ū-n lĕbs* 'the clothing of his breast.'

የኡዚኤልን : ልጆች : *ja-'uzi'ēl-n lĕjōč* 'the sons of Uziel.'

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[1] Cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 212 f.; Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 292. In Tigriña the use of the construct chain in such expressions instead of the locution with ናይ : e. g., ኣንካብ : ማዕዶ : የርዳኖስ : instead of ኣ'' ማ'' ናይ : የ'' is also due to Amharic influence cf. *op. et loc. cit.*

የሰማያት : አባታችሁን : *ja-samāj-ä-n 'abāt-āčhū-n* 'your father in heaven.'

ቸርነቱን : የእግዚአብሔርን : *čarnat-û-n ja-'ĕgzi'abhêr-n* 'the goodness of God.'

In Mineo-Sabean the relative is in certain constructions employed to indicate a genitive relation,[1] e. g.,

ثورن ذ ذهبن *thur-n ð dhb-n* 'the bull of gold.'

قشبة ذت مرثدم *qšbt ðt mrthd-m* 'K. (a woman) of (the tribe of) M.'

اصلمم الى ذهبم *'ṣlm-m 'lj ðhb-m* 'statues of gold.'

In Mehri the genitive is regularly expressed in this way,[2] e. g.,

habrīṭ da doulet 'the daughter of the king.'

bōb da bêt 'the door of the house.'

hare dí rīšit 'a snake's head.'

ṭajûten la faraṭ 'baskets for dates.'

In Aramaic the use of the relative + dependent noun has encroached greatly upon that of the construct chain. It may be used for the construct in almost any case. In Western Aramaic the two constructions are used side by side, in Biblical Aramaic, with about the same degree of frequency, while in Jewish Palestinian the relative construction has gained considerably on the other; in Syriac and Mandaic the relative

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[1] Cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 14.

[2] Closely connected with these South Arabian constructions is the construction of Arabic demonstrative ذو (employed as relative by some tribes, cf. Wright-DeG. Arab. Gr. I. p. 272f.) in the sense of 'owner, possessor' (cf. p. 151, n. 1). This ذو with its genitive may be used in apposition to a preceding noun, in which case it is very much like a genitive sign, cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 295. e. g.,

رجل ذو مال *rajulᵘ ðû mālⁱ* 'a man of wealth (a man, a possessor of wealth).'

ارض ذات شوك *'arḍᵘ ðātu šawkⁱ* 'land covered with thorns.'

On the other hand Ethiopic **ዘ**, Tigre **ዝ**, and occasionally Mineo-Sabean ذ are used absolutely like Arabic ذو, e. g.,

Arab. ذو رحم *ðû raḥmⁱⁿ* 'a relative.'

اولو الالباب *'ulū 'l-'albābi* 'intelligent people.'

Eth. **ዘለምጽ** : *za-lamṣ* 'a leper.'

እሰ : ዐመፃ : *'illa 'amaḍā* 'unjust people.'

Te. **ዐቀጥል** : *la-ʿaqaṭṭl* 'something mortal.'

ሰእምን : *la-'amĕn* 'the believer.'

Min. ذت نشقم *ðt nšq-m* 'she of N.—Goddess of N.'

Cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 415 (§ 186 a δ); Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 305; Homm. *Süd.-arab. Chr.* p. 14.

construction is by far the more frequent; in Modern Syriac it has completely replaced the construct chain. In Modern Syriac the *nomen regens* may take the ending ـــ *-it*, after which the relative is usually dropped.[1] In Biblical Aramaic the *nomen regens* without suffix stands in the absolute or emphatic state according as it is definite or indefinite; in Syriac and Mandaic it stands regularly in the emphatic state, though the absolute is also used in rare instances. In practically all the Aramaic dialects when both *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* are determinate in sense, the *nomen regens* may take a suffix referring to the *nomen rectum* (cf. p. 145 ff.). As in Ethiopic, the position of these phrases in Syriac and Mandaic is very free; they may stand not only after, but also before their noun, and other words may stand between them, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. נְהַר דִּינוּר 'a stream of fire.'
רֵאשָׁה דִּי דַהֲבָה 'the head of gold.'
שְׁמֵהּ דִּי אֱלָהָא 'the name of God.'

Syr. כַּסְפָּא דְּזֵיפָא 'false money.'
מַלְכָּא דְּבָבֶל 'the king of Babylon.'
בְּרָה דֵּאלָהָא 'the son of God.'
כָּל שׁוּלְטָן דְּרוּסְיוּתָא 'every military (Roman) office.'

Mod. Syr. *šeuâqâ de-ḥetiâtâ* / *šeuâqit ḥetiâtâ* 'forgiveness of sins.'
ḥišśit de-mâran 'the suffering of our Lord.'
berôn-eh de-'alâhâ 'the son of God.'

When the *nomen regens* of a construct chain is modified by another genitive the paraphrase with the relative must be used, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מָאנֵי בֵית אֱלָהָא דִּי דַהֲבָה וְכַסְפָּא 'the gold and silver vessels of the temple.'

Syr. עֲבַר פּוּקְדָנָא דְּאָדָם 'Adam's breaking of the covenant.'

In Phenician the relative plus dependent noun is quite frequently used as the equivalent of the genitive of a construct chain, e. g.,

מצבת שאמן 'the grave of Athan.'
yth alonim ualonuth si macom syth 'the gods and goddesses of this place.'

[1] For an explanation of this ending cf. p. 146.

(*b*)

The second class of prepositional phrases is found in Tigriña, Tigre, and Modern Arabic, in all of which they are used alongside of the construct chain, as the equivalent of the *nomen rectum*.

In Tigriña and Tigre the word ናይ : *nâi* (<Eth. ንዋይ : *nəwāi* 'possession') is used to introduce phrases of this type. In Tigriña the order of the phrase is free like that of the relative phrases in Ethiopic and Aramaic, tho the natural position is after the modified noun; it may stand before or after the noun, and other words may intervene between them; in its use it corresponds closely to the use of the phrase introduced by the relative in Ethiopic: in Tigre the phrase stands regularly before the noun, tho it may follow,[1] e. g.,

Ta. ገሊላ : ናይ : አሕዛብ : *galīlā nâi 'aḥzāb* 'Galilee of the heathen.'

ናይእግዚአብሔር : ቅዱስ : *nâi-'ĕgzi'abḥêr qĕdūs* 'a saint of God.'

እነስ : ድምጽ : እዩ : ናይዘጸውዕ : *'an-ĕs dĕmç 'iju nâi-zĕçawē* 'I, however, am the voice of one crying.'

Te. ናይ : ረቢ : ቅዱስ : *nâi rabbi qĕdūs* 'a saint of God.'

ናይ : ደማ : ኽዮት : *nâi dimā lḥâjōt* 'the life of eternity.'

In the Modern Arabic dialects, the genitive of a construct chain may be replaced by a noun meaning 'possession' governing the genitive and standing in apposition to the *nomen regens*. These nouns are the genitive signs متاع (Syria and Algeria), بتاع (Egypt and Palestine), شيت (Jerusalem), مال (Baghdad), حق (Yemen) [cf. p. 150]. These are ordinarily invariable for gender and number; occasionally, however, Egyptian بتاع, Syriac متاع, and Jerusalem شيت have the plural forms بتوع *bĕtū'*, متوع *mĕtū'*, شيوت, شووت *šujūt, šuyūt* after a plural noun; and more rarely the Egyptian and Syrian words have a feminine form بتاعة *bĕtā'et*, متاعة *mĕtā'et*, after a feminine noun. The *nomen regens* regularly takes the article, but in Egypt at least, it may also stand in the indefinite form, e. g.,

الدار متاع شريكى *ed-dār metā šarīki* 'the house of my companion.'

الكتاب مال التلميذ *el-kitāb māl et-talmīd* 'the pupil's book.'

[1] Cf. Litt. *Te. Prov.* p. 292, n. 2.

الصندوق حق المسافر *eṣ-ṣandûq ḥaqq el-musâfir* 'the traveler's trunk.'

العساكر بتاع (بتوع) السلطان *el-'asâkir bet'â (betû') es-sulṭân* 'the Sultan's soldiers.'

شباك بتاع الجامع *šibbâk betâ' el-gâmi'* 'a window of the mosque.'

Here is also to be classed the similar use of the demonstrative دا, دى in North Africa, e. g.,

كتاب دا البنت *kitab del-bint* 'the book of the girl.'

شجرة دا الزيتون *šajare dez-zaitûn* 'olive tree (tree of olives).'

(*c*)

Prepositional phrases of the third class are found in Arabic, Ethiopic, Tigriña, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, and rarely in Syriac.

In Arabic the preposition ل is used to express the genitive relation between an indefinite *nomen regens* and a definite *nomen* or *pronomen rectum*,[1] e. g.,

ابن للملك *ibnu" li-l-maliki* 'a son of the king.'

اخ لك *'aḫu" la-ka* 'a brother of thine.'

In Ethiopic phrases introduced by ለ are employed as follows, viz.:

a) as the equivalent of a genitive in a construct chain, especially when the genitive has rather a dative force, e. g.,
ሠዲደ : ለአቡክሙ : *ṣêlûda* (acc.) *la-'abû-kəmmû* 'children of your father' (Matt. 5, 45).
ጨው : ለምድር : *ṣêw la-mədr* 'salt of the earth' (Matt. 5, 13).

b) to modify an indefinite noun after a negative, when the *nomen* or *pronomen rectum* is definite, e. g.,
አይትረክብ : ሎሙ : አስር : *'i-ṣêtrakab lômû 'asr* 'no trace of them is found.'

c) after **እሊ** : *'êlla* in the sense of 'those of,'[2] e. g.,
ወአርዳእኑ : ለዮሐንስ : ወእሊሂ : ለፈሪሳውያን : *ya-'ardâ'i-hû la-ẓôḥanês ya-'êlla-hî la-farisâwêẓân* 'the disciples of John and those also of the Pharisees.'

d) with pronominal suffix in the place of a possessive suffix (cf. below, p. 244 f.).

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[1] Coptic *ente* has a similar use; cf. p. 230, n. 4.

[2] Strictly speaking this belongs to the discussion of the pronoun and its modifiers, but it is added here for the sake of completeness.

e) above all in connection with a suffix on the *nomen regens* to indicate that the idea expressed by the combination is definite; this construction may also be used even when the determination is already indicated by the determinate character of the nomen rectum (cf. p. 145): e. g.,

ጠፈራ : ለታቦት : *ṭafar-ā la-tābôt* 'the roof of the ark.'

ወልዱ : ለንጉሥ : *walda-hu la-nĕgûś* 'the king's son.'

ምሕረቱ : ለእግዚአብሔር : *mĕḥrat-hu la-'ĕgzī'abḥēr* 'the mercy of God.'

ወርቃ : ለይእቲ : ምድር : *warqā la-jĕ'ĕti mĕdr* 'the gold of that land.'

ስሙ : ለአቡክ : *sĕm-hu la-abū-ka* 'the name of thy father.'

In Tigriña a phrase introduced by the preposition ኀ *nē* 'to' is quite frequently used to express the genitive, usually, tho not always, in connection with a suffix on the *nomen regens* referring to the *nomen rectum*, e. g.,

ልደኡ : ጀሱስ : *lĕdē-'ū nĕ-ĵasûs* 'the birth of Jesus.'

ኀእግዚአብሔር : መልአክ : *nĕ-'ĕgzī'abḥēr mal'ak* 'the angel of God.'

ሰበይት : ኀኡሪያ : *sabaĵt nĕ-'ûrîjā* 'the wife of Uriah.'

In Hebrew phrases introduced by ל are used in the sense of a genitive; sometimes when a construct chain would be equally suitable, e. g.,

הַצֹּפִים לְשָׁאוּל 'the watchmen of Saul' (1. Sam. 14, 16); but ordinarily when for any reason a construct chain would be difficult or impossible. The principal uses[1] of such phrases are, viz.:

a) to express a determinate genitive which depends on an indeterminate noun, e. g.,

בֶּן לִישַׁי 'a son of Jesse' (1. Sam. 16, 18).

מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד 'a psalm of David' (Ps. 3, 1).

b) to modify a noun which is already modified by a genitive or a possessive suffix, e. g.,

חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה לְבֹעַז 'Boaz' portion of the field' (Ru. 2, 3).

עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 'in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel' (1. Ki. 14, 19).

שְׁכָבְתְּךָ לְזָרַע 'thy emission of seed' (Lev. 18, 20).

c) to modify substantives accompanied by numerals, especially in dates, e. g.,

[1] For exceptional cases in which ל is used as genitive sign cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 439, 440 (§ 129 *c*, *g*).

בְּשִׁבְעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ 'on the twenty-seventh day of the month' (Gen. 8, 14).

בִּשְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם לְדָרְיָוֶשׁ 'in the second year of Darius.'

בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי לְלִדְתִּי 'on the third day after my giving birth' (1 Ki. 3, 18).

In Biblical Aramaic and Samaritan the use of phrases with ל is in general the same as in Hebrew; they are employed, viz.:

a) to express the genitive of a determinate noun modifying an indeterminate, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. מֶלֶךְ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל 'a king of Israel.'

לְעָלְוָן לַאֲלָהּ שְׁמַיָּא 'for burnt offerings for the Lord of Heaven.'

Sam. עבד לרב מבחיא 'a servant of the chief cook.'

b) after a noun modified by a numeral, in dates, e. g.,

Bib. Aram. בִּשְׁנַת חֲדָה לְבַלְשַׁאצַּר 'in the first year of Belshazzar.'

יוֹם תְּלָתָה לְיַרְחַ אֲדָר 'the third day of the month Adar.'

Sam. בשתה תנינתה למפוקיהון 'in the second year of their going out.'

c) to modify a noun already modified by a genitive, e. g.,

Sam. נסיא בית אב לכהן קהתה 'the family chief of the family of Kohath.'

In Syriac, phrases with ܠ are sometimes used to express the genitive after expressions of space and time, e. g.,

ܡܢ ܓܪܒܝܐ ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕ ܚܨܪܐ 'on the north of the enclosure.'

ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܝܪܚܝܢ ܠܡܦܩܬܗ ܕ ܡܢ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܙܠ 'thirty months after his departure.'

Cases like: —

בִּשְׁנַת מְאָה וְחָדָא לְחַי אַבְרָהָם חסא חדא מיא לחי אברהם 'in the year one hundred and one of Abraham's life,'

seem to be borrowed from Hebrew.[1]

In Malulan *il* is a common genitive determinant, e. g.,

ḏairayōṯ il mālūlā 'the convents of Malula.'

pāiṯ il malkā 'the house of the king.'

(*d*)

Prepositional phrases of the fourth class are found principally in Arabic and Ethiopic.

[1] Cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 183 (§ 247).

In Arabic, phrases with the preposition من are used in the sense of a partitive genitive as follows, viz.:

a) to express the genitive of a determinate noun modifying an indeterminate, e. g.,

حى من الجن *ḥaiju*ⁿ *mina 'l-jinni* 'a tribe of Jinn.'

جماعة من خدمه *jamā'atu*ⁿ *min ḫadami-hi* 'a company of his servants.'

b) to express the genitive of possession after an indeterminate noun, the object of the preposition in this case being the plural of the governing noun followed by the genitive of the possessor, e. g.,

قصر من قصور ملك *qaṣru*ⁿ *min quṣūri maliki*ⁿ = قصر ملك *qaṣru maliki*ⁿ 'a royal castle.'

قصر من قصور الملك *qaṣru*ⁿ *min quṣūri 'l-maliki* = قصر للملك *qaṣru*ⁿ *li-l-maliki* 'a castle of the king.'

ملك من ملوك فارس *maliku*ⁿ *min mulūki fārisa* 'a king of Persia.'

c) to modify a noun already modified by a suffix, e. g.,

اصهاره من الجن *'aṣhāru-hu min al-jinni* 'his relatives of the Jinn.'

In Ethiopic a phrase after እም፡ or እም- sometimes stands for a partitive genitive, e. g.,

ውሉደ ፡ ትጉሃን ፡ እምሰብእ ፡ *wĕlūda tĕgūhân 'ĕm-ṣab'ĕ* 'the children of the watchers among men.'

It may also, like the phrases with ל in Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic, depend on a noun modified by a numeral, e. g.

እመ ፡ ክ ፡ ፮፻ወ፮፭ዓ ፡ እምሕይወቱ ፡ ለኖሕ፡ *'ama kôna 601 'āmata 'em-ḥĕywat-ū la-nōḥ* 'in the year six hundred and one of Noah's life (when it was six hundred and one years of Noah's life).'

Phrases of this sort also occur occasionally in the other languages, e. g.,

Sam. מים מן נהרה 'water of the river.'

חלק מן רביאנך 'part of thy excellence.'

Bib. Aram. עור מן־אדריכים 'chaff from the threshing floors of summer.'

(e)

The use of other prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers is comparatively rare; examples are,

Arab. ذريتك من بعدك *ðurriyyatu-ka min ba'dika* 'thy posterity after thee.'

Eth. ስምዕ : በሐሰት : *sĕmʿĕ ba-ḥasat* 'false witness (heard falsely).'
ላሕ : በእንተ : እሙ : *lāḥ ba'ĕnta 'ĕmmū* 'sorrow for his mother.'
Heb. אִישָׁהּ עִמָּהּ 'her husband with her' (Gen. 3, 6).
מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם 'king in Jerusalem' (Ecc. 1, 1).
Sam. נסיאה בעמך 'prince among thy people.'

Other Forms.

Instead of the simple juxtaposition of noun and modifying phrase, the two may be more closely joined in several ways.

Sometimes the noun and the following prepositional phrase form a construct chain, the noun standing in the construct state; so in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and rarely in Assyrian: e. g.,

Heb. שִׂמְחַת בַּקָּצִיר 'joy in the harvest.'
Bib. Aram. מַלְכְוָת תְּחוֹת כָּל־שְׁמַיָּא 'the kingdoms under the whole heaven' (Dan. 7, 27).
Ass. *têm ša Arabi* 'news of the Arabs.'

Sometimes the two are joined together by the relative pronoun, the prepositional phrase forming the predicate of the relative clause. Such a construction is of course possible in all the languages, but sometimes the relative has practically lost its force as such, and simply serves to connect modifier and modified more closely. So in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ethiopic. In Ethiopic this is the ordinary way of joining a noun and a prepositional phrase that modifies it. Here is also to be classed Maghrebinic ديال which is a combination of a demonstrative element + the preposition ل. Some of these combinations have become practically genitive determinants. In Hebrew אשר ל is practically equivalent in meaning to the simple ל when it indicates possession; Post-Biblical של takes its noun without article, and the governing noun usually has a suffix. e. g.

Eth. እኅቲ : ዘበሥጋ : *'ĕḫtū za-ba-śĕgā* 'his sister according to the flesh.'
ኣልቦ : ባዕደ : አምላክ : ዘእንበሌከ : *'albō bâʿda 'amlāka za-'ĕnbalē-ka* 'there is no other God beside thee.'
Bib. Heb. צֹאן אֲשֶׁר לְאָבִיהָ (= צאן אביה) 'the flocks of her father.'
הַמַּשְׁקֶה וְהָאֹפֶה אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם 'the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt.'
שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לִשְׁלֹמֹה 'Solomon's song of songs.'
יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה 'to Jerusalem in Judah.'
הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לָרָקִיעַ 'the water under the firmament' (Gen. 1, 7).

Mish. שְׁנָה שֶׁל שַׁחֲרִית 'the sleep of the morning.'
שְׂכָרָן שֶׁל מִצְוֹת 'the reward of the commandments.'
תַּלְמִידָיו שֶׁל אַהֲרֹן 'the disciples of Aaron.'

Bib. Aram. הֵיכְלָא דִי בִירוּשְׁלֶם 'the temple in Jerusalem.'
גְּבַר דִי מִן־בְּנֵי גָלוּתָא 'a man of the captives.'

Sam. אפואה דלמלך 'the baker of the king.'
עאנה דלאבוה 'the sheep of her father.'
גוניתה דבנהרה 'the fishes of the river (Nile).'

Mal. *ǧabrnō til-malûlā* 'the men of Malula.'
k'uppōiṭā til-mōjā 'a glass of water.'
pāiṭā til-malk'ā 'the house of the king.'

Alg. Arab. السيف ديال الملك *es-sīf dijāl el-melik* 'the king's sword.'

Personal Pronominal Qualification.

Simple.

The idea expressed in English by the possessive adjectives is regularly rendered in all the Semitic languages by the possessive suffixes.[1] The combination really forms a construct chain, the suffix, which represents a personal pronoun, being added

[1] Cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 306—313 (§ 105), and the various Semitic grammars under the head of pronominal suffixes. Similar suffixes are found in Egyptian and Coptic; cf. Erm. *Ägypt. Gr.* pp. 77—81 (§§ 138—147); Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 39—45. In Indo-European languages are to be compared the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Greek (the genitive forms corresponding to the possessive suffixes, the dative and accusative forms to the Semitic suffixes after prepositions and verbs) and the predominantly postpositive position of the possessive adjectives in Latin, Gothic, and certain Slavic dialects: cf. Whitney, *Sanak. Gr.* pp. 186, 187; A. V. W. Jackson, *Avesta Gr.* Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 110—113. Goodwin, *Greek Gram.*, pp. 81, 82; Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 91—93. In a number of the Malayo-Polynesian languages similar enclitic pronominal forms exist; so in Malay, Javanese, and the Philippine languages: cf. A. Seidel, *Praktische Gram. d. Malay. Spr.*, Wien (Hartleben), p. 44; H. Bohatta, *Prakt. Gram. d. Javan. Spr.* Wien (Hartleben), p. 44; F. R. Blake, *Contribs. to Comp. Phil. Gr.* JAOS. vol. xxvii, 1906, pp. 385—386 (espec. p. 386 bot.). Possessive suffixes occur also in Hungarian and Turkish: cf. F. v. Ney, *Ungarische Sprachlehre*, 27. Aufl., Budapest, 1903, p. 85; A. Müller, *Türkische Gram.*, Berlin, 1889, p. 62 f.

to the construct state of the noun. The noun is made definite by the addition of the suffix and can, of course, not ordinarily have the determinate form.[1] e. g.,

Ass. *mât-su*
Arab. ارضه *'arḍu-hu*
Eth. ምድሩ : *mĕdr-û* } 'his country.'
Heb. אַרְצוֹ
Syr. ארעה

In those languages which have a preformative definite article, a participle[2] may take the article and the suffix at the same time; the suffix in this case, however, is not possessive but represents an accusative: e. g.,

Arab. القاتله *al-qâtilu-hu* 'the one that killed him.'
Heb. הַמַּכֵּהוּ 'the one smiting him' (Is. 9, 12).

In Tigre, however, and in the Arabic dialect of Malta an ordinary noun with a possessive suffix may take the article,[3] e. g.,

Te. ለብእሳ : *la-bĕ'ĕs-â* 'her husband.'
Malt. *lil-bint-u* 'to his daughter.'

In Modern Arabic the possessive pronouns (originally a noun meaning possession + possessive suffix) may take the definite article,[4] e. g.,

المتاعى *el-metâ'î* 'mine.'

A noun with possessive suffix is definite, and an adjective modifying it stands ordinarily in the definite state when one is distinguished. So in Arabic, Hebrew, and probably in Western Aramaic. In Amharic the article may stand with the adjective, especially if it is a cardinal, but it may also be omitted. e. g.,

Arab. اخوه الصغير *'aḫûhu 'ṣ-ṣaġîru* 'his little brother.'
جبتيها الزرقاء *jubbatuhâ 'z-zarqâ'u* 'her blue jacket.'
Heb. יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה 'thy strong hand' (Deut. 3, 24).
Amh. ታናሺቱ : ልጄ : *tânâš-ûtû lĕj-ê* 'my little daughter.'
አራቱ : ልጆቹ : *'arât-û lĕjôč-û* 'his four sons.'

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[1] Contrast with this the use of the article with noun modified by possessive adjective or pronoun in Greek and Italian; e. g.,

Gr. ὁ ἐὸς πατὴρ / ὁ πατὴρ σου } 'thy father.' Ital. *il tuo padre* 'thy father.'

Cf. Goodwin, *Greek Gram.* p. 206 (§ 946); C. N. Grandgent, *Italian Grammar*, 3rd ed., Boston, 1892, p. 33.

[2] Cf. p. 219, n. 2.

[3] In Maltese this is probably due to the influence of the Italian construction, e. g., *la sua figlia*; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 470, n. 2.

ንጹሕ : ልባችሁን : *nĕṣûḥ lĕbb-āĕhū-n* (acc.) 'your pure hearts' (2 Pet. 3, 1).

In Assyrian an adjective modifying a noun with suffix often stands before it, e. g.,

ina emqi libbīšu 'in his wise heart.'

aqrâti nâpšātīšunu 'their precious life.'

In Modern Arabic an adjective without article may stand before a noun with suffix,[1] e. g.,

غالى سلامتكم *ġâlī selâmat-kum* 'your dear health.'

When a demonstrative modifies a noun with possessive suffix, its construction is in general the same as when it modifies a *nomen regens* in a construct chain. In Hebrew, however, no article is used with the demonstrative, and the Samaritan demonstrative is without the prefixed ה which it takes when modifying a simple noun. e. g.,

Arab. هذه اختنا *'uḫtunā hāðihi* 'our sister here, this sister of ours.'

Amh. ይኽ : ታላቅ : ኀይልኽ : *jĕkh tālāq-ä ḥājl-ĕkh* 'this great power of thine.'

Ta. እዞም : ደቀይ : *'ezôm daq-ai* 'these my children.'

Heb. הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה 'this matter of ours.'

Sam. סמני אלין 'these signs of mine.'

Syr. מִלֵּין הָלֵין חבי 'these words of ours.'

Mod. Syr. هذا محبي *'āhâ šeṭâyî* 'this neighbor of mine.'

Just as it is impossible to express the combination of indefinite *regens* with definite *rectum* by a construct chain (cf. p. 218f.), so ordinarily the combination of indeterminate and personal pronominal qualification can not be expressed by noun + suffix; one of the circumlocutions for the genitive must be employed (cf. pp. 225—238): e. g.,

Arab. اخ لك *'aḫun laka* 'a brother of thine.'

In Modern Syriac, however, this idea is rendered by placing the indefinite article ـا *ḥâ* before the noun with suffix,[2] e. g.,

ـاصحبي ـا *ḥâ dōst-î* 'a friend of mine.'

Emphatic.

The idea which is expressed by the possessive suffix may also be indicated in various other ways, originally with em-

[1] Cf. Perc. *Gr. Grab. Vul.* p. 139; also above p. 186, n. 1.

[2] This un-Semitic construction is probably borrowed from Turkish, cf. Nöld. *Neus. Syr.* p. 278.

phasis on the possessive, though in some cases these constructions have become practically equivalent to the noun + suffix.

(*a*)

An independent pronoun corresponding to the suffix may be used with the noun + suffix.

In Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Samaritan, Classical and Modern Egyptian Arabic, the nominative corresponding to the suffix is used in connection with the suffix,[1] either before or after the noun in Hebrew and Egyptian Arabic, after the noun in Classical Arabic; e. g.,

Heb. מוֹתִי אָנִי 'my own death' (2 Sam. 19, 1).
דָּמְךָ גַּם־אַתָּה 'thy own blood also' (1 Ki. 21, 19).
אֲנִי עִם־לְבָבִי 'in my own heart' (1 Ch. 28, 2).

Bib. Aram. רוּחִי אֲנָא 'my spirit' (Dan. 7, 15).

Sam.[2] ופגריכון אתון 'and your own bodies.'

Eg. Arab. بيتها هى *bēt-hā hija* 'her own house.'
انا بدنى *ana badan-ī* 'my body.'

Cl. Arab. رايه هو *ra'ju-hu huya* 'his opinion.'
نصيبى انا *naçīb-ī 'anā* 'my share.'

In Assyrian the independent genitive and accusative forms are used either absolutely or after *ša* in connection with the suffix; they regularly precede the noun: e. g.,

kâtu amât-ka 'thy own command.'
šâšu mašak-šu 'his own skin.'
ša kâšu ... qurdi-ku 'thy might.'

(*b*)

The emphasis may be expressed in those languages which

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[1] This construction is not confined to possessive suffixes, but is just as frequent with suffixes after verbs and prepositions; cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 459; Uhlem. *Inst. Sam.* p. 148; Wright-De G. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 282. In Mehri the independent pronouns are used to emphasise suffixes after a verb or a preposition, but not a nominal suffix; cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* pp. 28, 130.

The cases in Tigriña in which an independent pronoun is placed absolutely at the beginning of a sentence referring to a following suffix, e. g., ንሕናስ : ኣብርሃም : ኣቦና : *nəḥnā-s 'abrəhâm 'abō-nā* 'as for us, Abraham is our father,' do not belong here, cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 291.

Similar to this is the Coptic construction of absolute personal pronoun after a noun with possessive article (cf. p. 242. n. 1) for the sake of emphasis, e. g., *pa-eiōt anok* 'my father,' cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p 44 f.

[2] As this is the only example given by Uhlemann it is uncertain whether the pronoun may precede the noun.

have developed an independent possessive form,[1] by using this form either alone or in connection with the corresponding suffix.[2]

Sometimes the possessive stands after the noun in the construct state; so in Ethiopic and Syriac (rarely): e. g.,

Eth. **ብእሲ : ዚአየ** : *bə'əsê zi'aya* 'my husband.'

Syr. ܩܢܘܡ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܥܨܡܐ 'their own person.'

Usually, however, the possessives are treated as adjectives or prepositional phrases, and may stand either before or after the noun, which may or may not have the corresponding suffix.

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[1] The independent possessives are formed in almost all the languages which make them by adding the suffixes to certain forms connected with the sign of the genitive. These forms are, viz.,

Eth. **ዘእ-**, **እንቲእ-**, **እሊእ-**: cf. Dill.-Bez. p. 304.

Ta. **ናይ-**, or its plurals **ናያት-**, **ናት-**: cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 162.

Meh. *da*: cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 30; it is not stated whether they are used attributively.

Syr. **ܕܝܠ-**: cf. Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* p. 47.

Man. **ד(ל)**: cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 332 (especially n. 2), 333.

Bab. Tal. **-דיד**, (**-דיל**): Marg. *Man. Bal. Tal.* pp. 18, 69.

Mod. Syr. **ـܕ**: Nöld. *Neus. Spr.* p. 83.

Jew. Pal. **-דיד**, (**-דיל**): Dalm. *Jüd. Pal.* p. 118.

Mal. *tid*: cf. Parisot, *Dial. Mal.* p. 311.

Mish. Ph. **-של**: cf. Geig. *Spr. Mish.* p. 37; Schröd. *Phön. Spr.* p. 165.

Mod. Arab. **-متاع** (Syriac and Algeria), **-بتاع** (Egypt. and Palestine) **-حق** (Yemen), **-مال** (Baghdad), **ديال** (Algeria and Morocco), **شيت** (Jerusalem): cf. Wahrm. *Prak. Handb.* pp. 45, 46; Spitta. *Gramm. Vul. Aeg.* p. 262; Bauer, *Pal. Arab.* p. 100.

In Amharic they are formed by prefixing the genitive sign **የ** to the independent pronouns; cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 119.

In Tigre **ናይ** : and in Amharic, **ገንዘብ** : *ganzab* 'possession' and **ወገን** : *yagan* 'side' are employed with suffixes to form possessive pronouns, but these are used only absolutely: cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 291; Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 119.

In the Assyrian of the Amarna letters a particle *ša* (probably connected with the demonstrative *annû*) + suffix is employed as a possessive.

For these possessive pronouns in general, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 315, 316, (§ 106, f, g). Coptic possesses a series of possessive pronouns always used as substantives, and also a so-called possessive article consisting of the article with possessive suffixes which is used before the noun as the equivalent of the old possessive suffixes, which are obsolescent; e. g., *pek-son* 'thy brother,' *tef-sône* 'his sister,' *neu-eiote* 'their parents,' cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 43, 44.

[2] Cf. the French construction *mon livre à moi* 'my own book,' cf. W. D. Whitney, *A Pract. French Gram.* New. York, 1887, p. 251.

In Ethiopic[1] the possessive may stand before or after the noun; the noun may have the suffix, or the possessive may be preceded by the sign of the genitive ዘ-. The stem of the possessive pronoun (not the suffix) agrees in gender and number with the *nomen regens*. e. g.,

ነፍሶ : እንቲአሁ : *nafs-ô 'entī'ahû* 'his own life.'

ለእሊአሁ : ደርዳእሁ : *la-'ellī'ahû 'arda'ī-hû* 'for his own disciples.'

ብእሲት : ዘእንቲእከ : *bə'ĕsīt za-'ĕntī'aka* 'thy wife.'

In Tigriña the possessive stands either before or after the noun without suffix, e. g.,

ኣድጊ : ናይቱ : *'adgî nâjâtû* 'his ass.'

ናይቱ : ዕታ : *nâjâtû bôtâ* 'his place.'

In Amharic it precedes the noun, which may or may not have a suffix, e. g.,

የኔ : ልቤ : *janê lĕbb-ê* 'my heart.'

የኛ : ቃል : *jañâ qâl* 'our word.'

In Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic, Mandaic, and Modern Syriac, it regularly stands after the noun; the noun may be with or without suffix in Syriac and Mandaic, always without in Modern Syriac, and apparently also in Babylonian Talmudic;[2] in Syriac when the noun has a suffix the possessive sometimes precedes: e. g.,

Syr. וזנא דילה ,ܕܝܠܗ ,ܙܢܐ 'his own girdle.'

מנגה דילה ,ܕܝܠܗ ,ܡܢܓܗ 'his own zeal.'

דילך מעמך ,ܕܝܠܟ ,ܡܥܡܟ 'thy own dwelling.'

Man. בויוא דילאן 'in our splendor.'

לבושאן דילאן 'our clothing.'

Bab. Tal. אפדנא דידי 'my mansion.'

דהבא דיליה 'his gold.'

Mod. Syr. ـــ ,ܒܒܐ *bâbâ deil* 'my father.'

In Phenician and Post-Biblical Hebrew it stands after the noun in place of the suffix; in Biblical Hebrew, in the few cases in which it occurs, after the noun with suffix: e. g.,

[1] In Ethiopic an objective suffix may be emphasized by ኪያ + suffix, cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 303; Praet. *Äth. Spr.* p. 25: e. g., ኪያኽ : ተማህለከ : ኣምላኽ : *kija-ka tašâhala-ka 'amlâk* 'thee God has blest.' With this is to be compared the use of Arabic إيّا *'ijjâ* in similar cases, e. g., رأيتك إياك *ra'ajtu-ka 'ijjâ-ka* 'I saw *thee*'; cf. Wright-De. G. *Arab. Gr.* II. p. 283 (top); and also the use of the Assyrian independent genitive and accusative forms, e. g., *ukallim-anni jâši* 'he showed *me*,' *kâša luqbi-ka* '*thee* will I tell' (cf. Del. p. 351). Morphologically the *-jâ* of *kija*, the *jâ* of *jâti*, *jâši*, and the Arabic *'ijjâ* are identical; cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 314 (§ 160 *b*, *d*).

[2] Cf. Marg. *Man. Bab. Tal.* p. 69.

Ph. בטערב שלהם *by-marob syllohom* 'through their protection.'
באורת שלא 'through his help.'
Mish. דְּבָר שֶׁלִּי 'my word.'
Bib. Heb. כַּרְמִי שֶׁלִּי 'my garden' (Ct. 1, 6).

In the Modern Arabic dialects the possessive pronouns are used in apposition to a noun with the definite article, the whole combination being practically equivalent to a noun with the suffix; بتاع in Egypt, and متاع in Syria and probably شيت are varied to agree in gender and number with the preceding noun; the forms in the other dialects are invariable; e. g.,

Egypt. الكتاب بتاعى *el-kitāb betā'i* 'my book.'
البندقيه بتاعتك *el-benduqie betā'etak* 'thy flint-lock.'
البيوت بتوعى *el-buiūt butū'i* 'my houses.'
Alg. الكتب متاعى *el-kutub metā'i* 'my books.'
القزازه متاعك *el-qizāze metā'ak* 'thy bottle.'
السيف ديالى *es-sēf diiāli* 'my sword.'
Bag. السيف مالى *es-sēf māli* 'my sword.'

In Assyrian the word *attū* with suffixes may, like the possessive pronouns, be used before or after the noun, which may or may not have the corresponding suffix, e. g.,

abū'a attū'a } 'my father.'
attū'a abū'a }
bita attūnu (acc.) 'our house.'
attūni ašābani 'our remaining.'

Similar is the use in the Assyrian of the Amarna letters of *an* (probably connected with demonstrative *annū*) + suffix, instead of a simple possessive suffix; the modified noun seems to stand in the construct; e. g.,

mārat anija 'my daughter.'

(*c*)

In Ethiopic sometimes, instead of a simple possessive suffix, the preposition ለ + suffix may be employed,[1] e. g.,

[1] Whether the preposition + suffix may also follow its noun does not appear from the examples given by Dill-Bez. p. 416. With this usage are to be compared the so-called mediate (*mittelbar*) suffixes in Tigriña, Tigre, and Amharic. These are composed of prepositions (in Amharic ለ, ላ; in Tigriña ለ; in Tigre ኣል, ኣት 'in', ብ) + suffix. They are employed, however, only with verbs: cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 116 f.; Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 152 f.; Littm. *Tz. Prov.* pp. 226–229.

ዕፀ : ጠዐዛ : *lôtū ma'azā* 'its odor.'
ወላቲኒ : ማይ : ፍሐሮ : *ua-lâti-nî mâį jaḥayĕr* 'and even its water is flowing.'

Nominal Apposition.

A noun may be modified by another noun standing in apposition in the same case; in Arabic a noun in apposition to a vocative in the nominative case form may stand in either nominative or accusative.[1] Both nouns may be common, or one may be a proper name.[2] Sometimes the first of two nouns in apposition is to be regarded as the modifier, but usually the second is subordinate to the first.

A common noun may be used in apposition to another common noun to denote class, quality, material or content. The appositives that denote class are the most common, but examples of all the others[3] are found in some of the languages. In Assyrian an appositive indicating material precedes its noun; when the first noun is plural the second noun is regularly put in the singular. e. g.,

Ass. *ēkallu šubat šarrûtišu* 'the palace, his royal abode.'
erinu ṣulûlu 'cedar roofing.'
ḫurâṣu iḫzu 'a golden setting.'
ālānīšu dannūti bīt niçirtīšu 'his strong cities, well guarded places.'
šarrâni âlik maḥriįa 'the kings my predecessors.'

Eth. ውሉደ : ረዐይት : *ųĕlûd ra'aįt* 'giant sons.'
ገሃነም : እሳት : *gahânam 'ĕsât* 'the fire of hell.'
ብእሲ : ንጉሠ : *bĕ'ĕsē nĕgûša* (acc.) 'a man, a king.'

Amh. ባሮቼ : ነቢያት : *bârôč-ê nabîjât* 'my servants the prophets.'
ሺህ : ድራም : ብር : *šĕh dĕrîm bĕr* 'a thousand dirhems of silver.'

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[1] A somewhat similar indecision with regard to the concord of an apposition to a vocative appears in Sanskrit and Greek, where such a noun may stand either in the vocative or the nominative: cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. p. 196 f.

[2] In Indo-European, apposition is mostly of the second variety, cf. Delb. *op. cit.* p. 195.

[3] Appositives of this character are found in Egyptian, but apparently not to any extent in Coptic, cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 113; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 78.

ማድጋ : ውኃ : *mādgā ṣēhā* 'a jug of water.'
ቍራሽ : እንጀራ : *quērāš 'ənjērā* 'a bit of bread.'

Arab. الرجل السوء *ar-rajulu 's-sauʾu* 'the bad man.'
صنم ذهب *ṣanamu" ḏahabu"* 'a golden image.'
رطل زيت *raṭlu" zaiṭu"* 'a pint of olive oil.'

Heb. אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה 'a widow woman.'
נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה 'a virgin maid.'
אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת 'true words.'
מְצִלְתַּיִם נְחשֶׁת 'brass cymbals.'
סְאָה סֹלֶת 'a *seah* of fine flour.'

Bib. Aram. גְּבָרִין גַּבְרֵי־חַיִל 'men, mighty men.'
Sam. שמשה מאב ביתה 'his servant, the head of his house.'
Syr. תְּלָתִין מְדִין חִטָּא לתלתין מדי חטא '30 measures of wheat.'
Bab. Tal. גברי נגדי 'men carpenters.'
תרי קבי תמרי 'two *kabs* of dates.'
Man. נובריא בילאיהון 'the men, their husbands.'
Mod. Syr. ܫ ܠܚܡ ܡܫܚܐ *ḥā ṭa'nā qamḥā* 'a load of meal.'
ܫܒܥ ܙܘܓ ܬܘܪܐ *šauʿā zōgā tōrē* 'seven yoke of oxen.'

When one of the two nouns is a proper noun, the modifying common noun usually stands second, but sometimes it precedes the proper noun, especially when it is a common epithet or title.[1] In Assyrian the same rule of concord holds good as in the preceding case. e. g.,

Ass. *Astartarikka hiratsu* 'A. his consort.'
Šamaš u Ištar ṣīt libbīšu 'S. and I., his own offspring.'
bēl ilāni Marduk 'Marduk, the lord of the gods.'
Eth. ሶዶም : ሞገር : *sōdōm hagar* 'the city of Sodom.'
ጢሮስ : ብሔር *ṭirōs bēḥēr* 'the land of Tyre.'
ሔዋን : ብእሲት : *ḥēwān bə'ēsīt-ū* 'Eve his wife.'
Amh. አጊጌቶ : ወሽቲ : *'ītēgēǰ-ītū ṿašti* 'Queen Vashti.'
አስቴር : ንግሥቲቶ : *'astēr nēgəst-ītu* 'Esther the queen.'
Arab. أخوك زيد *'aḫū-ka zaiḍu"* 'thy brother Zaid.'
عمر اخوك *'umaru 'aḫū-ka* 'Umar thy brother.'
يا محمد النبى *jā muḥammadu* { *'n-nabiiju* / *'n-nabiija* } 'oh Mohammed, the prophet.'

[1] Similarly common epithets often precede in Indo-European, e. g., Sanskrit *rājā varuṇaḥ* 'king Varuna,' M. H. Germ. *der herre Sifrit* 'the lord Siegfried.' Cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 198, 199.

Hebr. דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ 'David the king.'
הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד 'King David.'

Syr. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢܣܛܣܝܘܣ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'king Anastasius.'
ܐܢܣܛܣܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'Anastasius the king.'

When a preposition stands before the first of the two nouns it is, in all the languages except Amharic, ordinarily not repeated. Cases of repetition, however, occur in several of the languages. e. g.,

Eth. **ለእግዚአየ : ለአብርሃም** : *la-'ĕgzī'ĕja la-'abrĕhām* 'to my lord Abraham.'

Ta. **ምስ : ማርያም : ምስናሁ** : *mĕs mârjâm mĕs-ĕnō-'ū* 'with Mary his mother.'

Heb. אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הָבֶל 'his brother Abel (acc.).'
לִבְנוֹ לְיוֹסֵף 'to his son Joseph.'

Man. לאבוא . . . למאנא דמינה עתינציב 'his father, . . . the spirit by which he was begotten (acc.).'

In Amharic the matter is somewhat complicated. When both nouns are determined, the preposition is usually repeated; when only the first noun is determined, the preposition is sometimes repeated and sometimes not; when the first noun is indeterminate, the preposition is used almost always before this noun only: e. g.,

ለአስቴር : ለንግሥቲቱ : *la-'astêr la-nĕgĕśt-ītū* 'to Esther the queen.'

ያባትህ : የናዖድ : ወዳጅ : *jâbâtĕh ja-nā'ōd yadāj* 'the friend of thy father Naod.'

ለባሮቹ : ለነቢያት : *la-bārŏčū la-nabījāt* 'to his servants, the prophets.'

የንጉሥ : ቴዎድሮስ : *ja-nĕgūś tĕyōdĕrōs* 'of king Theodore.'

ወደ : አመንዝራ : ሴት : *yada 'amanzĕrā sĕt* 'to a harlot woman.'

Adverbial Qualification.

Circumstantial.

A noun or adjective is used in what may be called circumstantial or adverbial apposition to another noun to indicate the condition of that noun when the action of the sentence is performed. In Assyrian the appositive is represented by the adverbial derivative in -iš: in Arabic the indefinite accusative of the appositive is employed: in Ethiopic the appositive, which stood originally in the accusative as in Arabic, may stand in either nominative or accusative when the governing noun is a

nominative; a suffix referring to the governing noun is most commonly added to the appositive: in Tigriña the appositive takes a suffix as in Ethiopic, and stands thus, or is placed after the preposition ብ: in Amharic the suffix is employed with a few special words[1] used as appositives, sometimes with accusative determinant ን, otherwise the appositive stands absolutely: in the other languages the noun or adjective is regularly used without change of form: in Hebrew instead of the adjective רִיק, an adverbial form רֵיקָם is employed; the appositive adjective or noun usually agrees in gender and number with the governing noun; the adverbial forms are invariable; hence sometimes by analogy the noun or adjective is uninflected.[2] e. g.,

Ass. *šarru šalṭiš ittallak* 'the king went as a ruler.'
šarru ēdiš ipparšid 'the king fled alone.'

Arab. سار متوجها الى المدينة *sâra mutaṭajjiha*ⁿ *'ila 'l-madînati* 'he journeyed, going towards Medina.'
جاء زيد باكيا *jâ'a zajdu*ⁿ *bâkija*ⁿ 'Zaid came weeping.'
لقيت عمرا باكيا *laqajtu 'amra*ⁿ *bâkija*ⁿ 'I met Amru weeping.'

Eth. ወሖረ : ብእሲ : ትኩዘ : *ya-hōra bə̄ʾsī tə̄kūz-ū* 'and the man went away sad.'
ነቅሀ : ብእሲ : ደንጊፆ : *naqha bə̄ʾsī dəngūṣ-ū* 'the man awoke terrified.'
ረከብክዎሙ : ፍሡሓኒሆሙ : *rakabkə̄ẉōmū fəśūḥânī-hōmū* 'I found them joyful.'
ይትርፉ : አዳም : ወሔዋ : ሕዙናነ : *or* ሕዙናን : *jətrə̄fū 'adām ya-ḥə̄ywā ḥə̄zūnāna* or *ḥə̄zūnān* 'Adam and Eve shall remain behind sad.'
ርኢኩ : ኀፁነው : ሰማይ : ፍቱሓተ : *rə̄ʾikū ḫayāḥẏa samāj fətūḥâta* 'I saw the gates of heaven standing open.'

Ta. ጥራሑ : ኃደሞ : *tərāḥ-ū ḫādamō* 'he fled naked.'
ጥራዩ : ሰደድዎ : *tərāj-ū sadaḍô* 'they drove him forth naked.'
ብዕውሩ : ዝተወልዱ : *bə̄-ʿə̄wr-ū zə̄-tayaldē* 'who was born blind.'
ዙሉም : ሕዝቢ : እሱ : ብምሱእም : ይጽልዩ : አብደጌ : *kuəllōm ḥə̄zbī ʾallaṿ bə̄-mēlū-ʾōm jə̄ṣlə̄jū ʾabdagē* 'all the people were praying in a multitude before the door.'

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[1] Cf. Pract. *Amh. Spr.* pp. 346—348.

[2] Examples in which a noun is modified by the appositive not being always available, cases in which the appositive modifies a pronoun are added to show the construction.

ሰደደ : ሐና : ብእሱሩ : ዝየሱስ : *sadad-ō ḥannā bē-'ĕsūr-ū nē-jasūs* 'Hanna sent Jesus bound.'

Amh. ምድርም : ባዶ : ነበረች : *mēdr-ēm bādō nabbarač* 'and the earth was empty.'

ባዶውንም : ሰደዱት : *bādō-ū-n-ēm saddadū-t* 'and he sent him forth empty-handed.'

እራቁቶን : ከርሳቸው : ኦመለጠ : *'ĕrāqūt-ū-nkarsāčay 'amallaṭa* 'he fled from them naked.'

የመበለቶንም : በሬ : መያዣ : ወሰዱ : *ya-mabalat-ū-n-ēm barē maǰāžā ɥasadū* 'and the widow's ox they took as security.'

Heb. אֵרֵד אֶל־בְּנִי אָבֵל 'I will go down to my son as a mourner.'

עֲרוֹם הָלְכוּ 'naked they go about.'

כְּמוֹ אָדָם יָמוּתוּ 'they shall die as men.'

אֲנִי מְלֵאָה הָלַכְתִּי וְרֵיקָם הֱשִׁיבַנִי יְהוָה 'I went forth (with) full (hands) and JHVH brings me back empty (handed).'

לֹא תֵלְכוּ רֵיקָם 'ye shall not go forth empty-handed.'

אַלְמָנוֹת שִׁלַּחְתָּ רֵיקָם 'the widows thou hast sent away empty-handed.'

Syr. וְאָזַל הוּ לְגַוֵּהּ קַדְמָיָא 'and he went into it first.'

אִסְחָק אוֹלַד לְיַעֲקוֹב בַּר ... שְׁתִּין שְׁנִין 'Isaac begot Jacob when he was 60 years old.'

גֻּפְתָּח דְּרִיקָא קָם רֵישָׁא לְעַמֵּהּ 'Jephtah, the fugitive, rose as the chief of his people.'

A noun may also be modified by the adverbial ideas 'also', 'only, alone', 'indeed (simple emphasis)' which belong to the same general class of ideas as the preceding.

Also.

'Also' is expressed by the following words, viz.,

Eth.	-ኑ, -ዟ *-nī, -ĥī*
Amh.	ደግሞ : *dagmō*
Ta.	-ውን, ከንም : *-ụ̈n, ka'âm*
Arab.	ايضا *'ajḍa*ⁿ
Heb.	גַּם
Syr.	אַף ܐܦ (so Aramaic in general).
Mod. Syr.	ܐܦ *'ûp*

The Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Arabic forms stand after the modified noun, -ኑ, -ዟ, and -ውን being enclitic; in Ethiopic ወ may precede the modified noun in addition: the Hebrew and

Aramaic forms precede; in Hebrew, however, it is more common to place גם after the noun with a pronoun referring to the noun following it. e. g.,

Eth. የሱስሂ : *jasûs-hi* } 'Jesus also.'
ወየሱስሂ : *ya-jasûs-hi* }
ወበምድርኒ : *ya-ba-mĕdr-ni* 'and in the earth also.'
ወእንስሳሂ : *ya-'ĕnsĕsâ-hi* 'and the beasts also.'
Ta. ንሰንበትውን : *nĕ-sanbat-yĕn* 'of the Sabbath also.'
ቀራጺት : ክዓም : *qarâçât ka'âm* 'the publicans also.'
Arab. الكلب ايضا *al-kalbu 'ajdan* 'the dog also.'
هابيل ايضا *hâbîlu 'ajdan* 'Abel also.'
Heb. הָאִישׁ גַּם־הוּא 'the man also.'
הֲגַם שָׁאוּל בַּנְּבִיאִם 'is Saul also among the prophets?'
Syr. ܐܦ ܕܘܝܕ 'David also.'

Only.[1]

The idea 'only, alone' is expressed by the following words, viz.,

Eth. ባሕቲት : *bâḥtît*
Ta. ብሕት : *bĕḥt*
Amh. ብቻ : *bĕčă*
Arab. فقط *faqaṭ*, لا غير *lâ ġajru*
Eg. Arab. فقط, بس *faqaṭ, bess.*
Heb. אַךְ, רַק, לְבַד
Syr. בִּלְחוֹד حصمه
Mod. Syr. ܐܝܟܝ *'aḥčī*

All these words except the Arabic, Modern Syriac(?), and Hebrew רק, אך, take a suffix referring to the noun they modify, and follow their noun;[2] classical Arabic *faqaṭ*, which means literally 'and that's enough,' or 'and that's all,' and *lâ ġajru* 'not besides,'[3] regularly stand at the end of the sentence; in Egyptian Arabic the words may precede or follow their noun: Hebrew רק and אך precede the noun. e. g.,

Eth. ብእሲ : ባሕቲቱ : *bĕ'ĕsi bâḥtît-û* 'the man alone, only the man.'
ኖኅ : ባሕቲቱ : *nôḥ bâḥtît-û* 'only Noah.'

[1] In Assyrian the idea 'alone', and probably also 'only' is expressed by *ĕdîšu* + suffix, viz., *ĕdîšîšu*, cf. Del. HB. p. 20.

[2] Compare with these Coptic *ouaa* 'alone' + suffixes, Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* p. 84.

[3] With these are to be compared the Modern Persian وبس *va-bas* 'only (and enough),' and the Spanish *no mas* in such expressions as *dos libros no mas* 'two books only.'

Ta. ሕዝቢ : ብሕቶም : *ḥēzbî bēḥt-ôm* 'the people alone.'
Amh. ከይሁድ : ነገድ : ከብቻው : በቀር : *ka-ǰēhûd nagad ka-bččā-u baqar* 'except the tribe of Judah only.'[1]
ለካህናት : ብቻ : *la-kāhĕnāt bččā* 'to the priests alone.'
Cl. Arab. جاء يسوف فقط *jâ'a ǰusûfu faqaṭ* 'only Joseph came.'
Eg. Arab. فقط خمس قروش *faqaṭ ḫamas qurûš* } 'only five
خمس قروش فقط *ḫamas qurûš faqaṭ* } piasters.'
بس اربعه قروش *bess arbaa qurûš* 'only four piasters.'
Heb. יַעֲקֹב לְבַדּוֹ 'Jacob alone, only Jacob.'
אַדְמַת הַכֹּהֲנִים לְבַדָּם 'the land of the priests alone.'
רַק אַדְמַת הַכֹּהֲנִים 'only the land of the priests.'
אֲדֹנַי 'only Noah.'
Syr. ܟܳܗܢܳܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ 'only the priest.'

Simple Emphasis.

In some of the languages a special adverbial particle of pronominal origin is employed to emphasize the noun. Such particles are found in Assyrian, Ethiopic, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Mandaic,[2] viz.,

Ass. *-ma*
Eth. ma *-ma*, ማ : *kĕma*
Te. ት *tû*[3]
Syr. ܗܘ: Man. הו
Arab. ـ *la-*
Heb. לְ

Except in Arabic and Hebrew these particles regularly follow their noun; e. g.,

Ass. *šar Aššur-ma* 'king of Assyria.'
ina šatti-ma šiâti 'in that very year.'
ina girrija-ma 'on my campaign.'

[1] The preposition *ka* is here repeated before the apposition *bččā* (cf. p. 247).

[2] These particles are employed to emphasize not only nouns but all parts of speech. In Mandaic *hu* seems to be used chiefly with pronouns. With this use of *hû* in Aramaic is to be compared the so-called adverbial use of the demonstrative זה and הוא in Hebrew, chiefly with interrogative pronouns; these emphatic demonstratives are apparently not employed with nouns. Cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 463, 464.

Similar emphatic particles are found in most of the Philippine languages, e. g., Tagalog *ngâ*, Bisaya *man*, etc.

[3] Used chiefly with verbs, but also with other words, probably including nouns, tho no examples are given by Littmann. As an example of its use will serve እብካ : ት : *'ĕb-kā tû* 'in these indeed;' cf. *Te. Pron.* pp. 301—303.

Eth. ውስተ : መታክፈሁመ : *ውesta matâkfi-hû-ma* 'on his own shoulders.'

ሕያዋን : ክመ : *ḥəyâwān kəma* 'the living (not the dead).'

ውስተ : ከርሥ : ክመ : *ውesta karš kəma* 'merely into the belly.'

እክ : በኅብስት : ክመ : *'akkô ba-ḥəbəst kəma* 'not by bread alone.'

Syr. ܠܒܢܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܚܣܢܐ 'for she is like a *building*.'

ܠܒܝܫܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܚܣܢܐ 'to *evil*.'

The Arabic and Hebrew[1] particles precede the noun, e. g.,

Arab. الموت *la-'l-mautu* 'death itself.'

Heb. לְכֶלֶב חָי 'verily a dead dog' (Ecc. 9, 4).

In Syriac a somewhat similar emphasis is conferred by placing the personal pronoun of the third person before the noun or a noun with modifiers; the pronoun agrees with the noun in gender and number: e. g.,

ܗܘ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܚܣܢܐ 'he, Jeremiah.'

ܗܘ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܥܡܘܪܐ ܕܚܣܢܐ 'the law of the watchman.'

ܗܢܘܢ ܚܠܝܢ ܡܘܒܢܐ ܕܚܣܢܐ 'these blessed ones.'

ܗܕ ܚܕܐ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܕܚܣܢܐ 'this blessing.'

With this construction is to be compared the Biblical Aramaic

הוא צַלְמָא 'that image, with regard to that image' (Dan. 2, 32), and the cases in Mandaic in which the personal pronoun of the third person is used before a noun,[2] e. g.,

הינון מלאכיא 'they, the angels.'

הע רוחא 'she, the Ruha.'

Sentence Qualification.

A noun is often modified by a whole sentence. This sentence may be a relative clause with or without connecting relative pronoun;[3] or the sentence, with or without connecting relative

[1] For this particle in Hebrew, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr. II. Syntax*, p. 110, and the literature there referred to.

[2] It is also possible that these Mandaic pronouns are used here simply as demonstrative adjectives, just as they are in many cases after the noun; cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* pp. 336, 337.

[3] The relative pronoun is at times varied for gender and number, viz., Eth. ዘ *za-*, f. እንተ : *'ənta*; pl. እለ : *'əlla*: cf. Dill.-Bez. *Äth. Gr.* p. 295.

pronoun, may stand as a sort of *nomen rectum* after the construct state of the noun.

The first construction is found in all the languages. The relative pronoun regularly stands at the beginning of its clause except in Amharic and Tigre; in Amharic it always, in Tigre it usually stands immediately before the verb.[1] The relative clause regularly follows its noun in Assyrian, Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, though in Assyrian, Syriac, and Mandaic instances of preposition are sometimes found; in Ethiopic, Tigriña, and Tigre it may either precede or follow; in Amharic long relative clauses usually follow, while with short clauses preposition is the regular rule, tho even in this case the relative clause often follows when its antecedent has another modifier. In Arabic, and usually in Mehri, the relative pronoun is used only when the modified noun is definite.[2] In Mineo-Sabean a relative clause is extremely rare, its place being taken by a

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Ta. sg. ዘ *zə-* pl. ዘለ፡እለ፡ *zəlla 'əllə* (the demonstratives እዝ፡ *'əz-* and እት፡ *'ət* are also employed as relatives): cf. Praet. *Tig. Spr.* p. 165.

Arab. الذى *allaδī*, f. التى *allatī*; pl. m. الذين *allaδīna*, f. اللاتى *allātī* (other forms sg. and pl., and a dual occur; ذو, usually indeclinable, but also with a full series of forms, is used in some dialects) cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I. pp. 270—273.

Min. ذ *δ*, f. ذت, ان *δt, 'n*; pl. ال *'l*: cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* pp. 15, 16.

Meh. sg. *da, de, di* pl. *la, le, li*: cf. Jahn, *Meh. Gr.* p. 28.

In many languages, however, it has become an invariable particle, viz. Ass. *ša*: Te. ለ, ላ *la-, lā-*: Amh. ያ, ያም *ja-, jam-* (ያም before imperfect otherwise ያ): Mod. Arab. اللى *elle* (cf. Wahrm. *Prakt. Handb.* p. 181: for other dialectic forms cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* p. 325, § 109 c.): Heb. אשר (also Mo.), שׁ; the demonstratives זה, ז, ו are also used as relatives (cf. Ges. *Heb. Gr.* pp. 118, 467, 468): Phen. אש, ש: Aram. ד, ר.

In some languages the regular demonstratives are also employed as relatives, so, e. g., in Hebrew and Tigriña. In Classical Arabic and Hebrew the article is occasionally used as relative; cf. Wright-DeG. *Arab. Gr.* I p. 269; Ges. *Heb. Gr.* p. 468 (§ 138 i). It is not impossible that the Tigre relative and article are identical (ctr. p. 142, n. 2). For the forms of the relatives in general, cf. Brock. *Comp. Gr.* pp. 324—329 (§ 109).

[1] In compound verbal forms in Amharic and Tigre, the relative regularly stands with the auxiliary (cf. Praet. *Amh. Spr.* p. 253); Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 308 [L.'s statement as to Amharic is a mistake]).

[2] This is also the rule in Coptic, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 219—221.

clause standing as *nomen rectum* to an antecedent (cf. below).[1] e. g.,

Ass. *mātu ša akšudu* 'the land that I conquered.'
ša epuš-šunūti dunqu 'the favor that I showed them.'

Eth. መርዓት : ዘሞተ : ምታ : *mar'āt za-mōta mēt-ā* 'a bride whose husband is dead.'
ዘዘሉ : ይእጎዝ : እግዚአብሔር : *za-kuellō ïʾēẓ ʾegzïa-bḥēr* 'God who holds all things.'

Arab. المدينة التى ظهرت له *al-madīnatu allati ẓaharat lahu* 'the city which appeared to him.'

Meh. *ṭuzir di-shâṭ ḥabunije* 'the vizier who killed my children.'

Ta. ሰብ : ዝወጹ : እንካመቃበር : *sab zē-ṭaçê ʾënkâm-maqâbar* 'a man who came out of the graves.'

Te. ወለት :... ማርያ : ለትትበሀል : *ṭalat... mâriâ la-tïtbahal* 'a maiden who was called Mary.'
እና : ለእስትያ : ጽዋእ : *ʾanâ la-ʾësatëjâ çëṭâ* 'the cup which I will drink.'

Amh. የከበረች : ነገር : *ja-kabbarač nagar* 'a matter which is honorable.'
አንድ : ሰው-ም : ነበረ : የታመመ : *ʾand saṭ-ëm nabbara ja-tâmama* 'and there was a man who was sick.'
መዐዛው : ያማረ : ሽቶ : *maʿazâ-ṭ jâmâra šët-ô* 'spices whose odor is pleasant.'
አማኑኤል :... ትርጓሜው : እግዚአብሔር : ከኛ : ጋራ : የሆነ : *ʾamânû'ël ... tërguâmê-ṭ ʾegzïʾabḥër kañâ gārâ jahōna* 'Emanuel... whose interpretation is "God with us".'

Heb. הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּא הֵנָּה 'the man who came here.'

Bib.Aram. צַלְמָא דִּי הֲקִים מַלְכָּא 'the image that the king had erected.'

Syr. ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܩܒܠ ܗܘ 'the word of God which he had received.'
ܠܝܬ ܕܣܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ; ܠܝܬ ܕܣܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ 'there was no one who thought.'

Man. תאך דמותא דהוא 'that image which he saw.'
ואיתילא דיאיא עצמלא 'and brought me a garment which was beautiful.'

A relative clause has in many cases, especially if it is short,

[1] The relative pronoun in Minæo-Sabean is practically always a compound relative including its antecedent, cf. Homm. *Süd-arab. Chr.* p. 15.

become simply an adjective; this is particularly true in Ethiopic, Tigriña, Tigre, and Amharic;[1] when the noun depends on a preposition the preposition may stand before the relative clause, the relative pronoun being omitted in Amharic (cf. below). e. g.,

Eth. ዘየዐቢ : ብርሃን : *za-ya'abi bērhān* 'the great light (light that is great).'
በእንተ : ኃለፈት : ሌሊት : *ba-'ĕnta ḫalafat lēlīt* 'in the night which has passed.'

Ta. እንኳብ : እትመጽእ : ምዋት : *'ĕnkāb 'ĕt-maṣṣĕ' mĕ'ât* 'from the wrath to come.'

The relative clause may stand after the noun without relative pronoun[2] in Assyrian, Arabic, Mehri, Hebrew, Samaritan, and Modern Syriac, and less frequently in Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian, Syriac, and Mandaic. In Arabic no relative is employed when the noun is indefinite: in Mehri the relative is regularly omitted in this case, but also at times when the antecedent is definite: in Hebrew the use of the relative clause without relative pronoun is more common in poetry: in Modern Syriac this omission is very common in relative sentences whose subject is a noun with suffix, and whose predicate is an adjective; in such relative clauses the copula is also omitted. e. g.,

Ass. *bītu epušu* 'the house that I built.'

Arab. رجل يقال له زيد *rajulu*[n] *yuqālu lahu zaidu*[n] 'a man who was called Zaid.'

Meh. *rīšīt tetūj hābū* 'a snake that eats men.'

Heb. הַגֶּבֶר יַחֲסֶה־בּוֹ 'the man that trusts in him' (Ps. 34, 9).

Bib. Aram. צֶלֶם דִּי־דְהַב רוֹמֵהּ אַמִּין שִׁתִּין 'a golden image whose height was 60 cubits.'

Sam. בארעא לית לן 'in a land which is not theirs.'

Syr. אֲנָשָׁא אִיּוֹב שְׁמֵהּ 'a man whose name was Job.'

Man.[3] נאבראא ראם שומה 'a man whose name was Ram.'

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[1] Coptic forms similar adjectives, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 81, 219.

[2] The relative may be omitted in both Egyptian and Coptic, in the latter as in Arabic; cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 281; Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 219—221. Omission of the relative is also common in English.

[3] The omission of the relative is specially frequent in Mandaic in clauses which give the name of a person as here; cf. Nöld. *Man. Gr.* p. 460.

Mod. Syr. ܓܒܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܐܦܝܐ ܗܐ *hâ 'nâšâ pât-û šâpîrtâ* 'a man with a handsome face.'

In Amharic the relative particle ያ (the ም of የም is retained) introducing a preceding relative clause, is omitted like the sign of the genitive (cf. p. 228 above) whenever the modified noun is governed by a preposition or the sign of the genitive; e. g.,

ወደ ፡ ክበረ ፡ (for **የክ-**) **ሰው ፡** *yada kabbara* (for *ja-ka-*) *sau* 'towards a man who is honorable.'

ክበሮ ፡ የሚመቱ ፡ (for **የየሚ-**) **ደስታ ፡** *kabrô ja-mimatû* (for *ja-ja-mî-*) *dastâ* 'the joy of those who beat drums.'

ጎጠኦት ፡ በሚሰሩ ፡ (for **በየየሚ-**) **ረድኤት ፡ ላይ ፡** *ḫâṭi'at ba-misarû* (for *ba-ja-ja-mi-*) *rad'êt lâj* 'against the help of those who do iniquity.'

በተቀመጠበት ፡ (for **በየተ-**) **እጅ ፡** *ba-taqamma∫a-bat* (for *ba-ja-ja-ta-*) *'ij* 'in the hand of the one who sat upon him.'

In Amharic the relative clause is treated as a unit and may take the sign of determination (ዉ, ው-; or after ዐ, ት or ተ) and the accusative ን, just like the genitive phrase (cf. p. 229 above), e. g.,

ያረፈው ፡ አባትህ ፡ *jârra∫a-w 'abâtêh* 'your deceased (who has died) father.'

የተገደሉት ፡ ሰዎች ፡ *ja-tagaddalû-t sawôč* 'the who-were-killed men'.

ያዘዘውን ፡ ቍርባኑን ፡ *jâzzaza-w-ên qučrbân-û-n* 'the sacrifice (acc.) which he ordered.'

In Tigre a relative clause modifying a noun with article either stands after the noun or (rarely) is placed between the article and the noun, e. g.,

ሰእካን ፡ ላዲባ ፡ ከረዎ ፡ (or **ደባ ፡ ላከረዎ ፡**) *la-'akân la-dîb-â karaw-ô* (*dîb-â lâ-karaw-ô*) 'the place in which they laid him.'

ምስላ ፡ ሰኩዐኦት ፡ ሰዓለ ፡ ዐራት ፡ *mês-lâ* (article) *sakêb-'êtû la-'âlâ* (relative + auxil. verb) *'arât* 'with the which-he-was-lying-upon-it bed.'

Examples in which a sentence depending on a noun stands as *nomen rectum* after the construct state are found in Arabic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Mineo-Sabean. In the first three languages they are comparatively rare, being most frequent when the modified noun denotes a division of time, but in Mineo-Sabean this construction takes the place of the relative clause introduced by relative pronoun.[1] e. g.,

[1] Cf. D. H. Müller, *Der status constructus im Himyarischen*, ZDMG. 30, pp. 117—124.

Arab. الى يوم يبعثون *'ilā jaumi jub'athūna* 'till the day when they shall be raised up.'

زمن الحجاج امير *zamana 'l-ḥajāju 'amīru*ª 'at the time when Hajaj was emir.'

Eth. ልማደ : ይበልዑ : ኀቡረ : *lēmāda jēbalé'ū ḥēbūra* 'the custom of eating together.'

መዋዕለ : ነገሠ : ዳዊት : *mawā'la nagša dāwīt* 'the days when David reigned.'

Heb. בְּיָד תִּשְׁלָח 'by the hand (of him) thou wilt send' (Ex. 4, 13).

בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר יהוה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה 'at the time when JHVH spoke to Moses' (Ex. 6, 28).

Min. بن محفد بنى *bn mḥfd bnj* 'from the tower (that) he built.'

بعد حدثة حدثت *b'd ḥdtht ḥdtht* 'after the accident (that) happened.'

علم را *'lm r'* 'the token (that) he saw.'

In Hebrew a sentence in this construction is often introduced by a relative pronoun; in Arabic, sometimes by a subordinate conjunction. In Hebrew this is especially frequent after the noun מקום 'place.' e. g.,

Heb. כָּל־יְמֵי אֲשֶׁר הַנֶּגַע בּוֹ 'all the time that the plague is upon him' (Lev. 13, 46).

מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אסרי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲסוּרִים 'the place where the king's captives were imprisoned' (Gen. 39, 20).

Arab. وقت ان استتر *waqta 'an-i 'statara* 'at the time that he hid himself.'

Nominal Coordination.

Two on more coordinated nouns may in some languages be joined together without conjunction;[1] so in Assyrian, Amharic, Tigriña, Babylonian Talmudic, Modern Egyptian Arabic, and Modern Syriac: e. g.,

Ass. *šamê erṣiti*ᵐ 'of heaven and earth.'

biltu mandattu 'tribute and offering.'

Nabû Marduk 'Nebo and Marduk.'

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[1] Asyndeton is found also in Egyptian (cf. Erman, *Ägypt. Gr.* p. 113): in Indo-European it also occurs in a number of languages, viz., Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, and Russian; cf. Delbr. *Verg. Syn.* III. pp. 181—194. In Sanskrit two such nouns often form a compound (*dvandva*), cf. *op. cit.* pp. 190—192.

Amh. ጉግሣ፡አሉላን፡ *guĕgšā-n 'alūlā-n* (acc.) 'Guegsa and Alula.'

ቅጥር፡ሳንቃ፡ቍልፍ፡ *qĕṭr sânqâ quĕlf* 'wall, door, and bolt.'

Ta. ኦሪት፡ነቢያት፡ *'ôrît nabiyât* 'the law and the prophets.'

መንገዲ፡ሓላ፡ሕይወት፡ *mangadi 'ânat ḥĕiyat* 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

Bab.Tal. במסכתא בפוריא באושפיזיא 'with regard to the treatise, the couch, and the lodgings.'

Eg.Arab. رحنا پريس لندره برلين فڤنه استمبول اسكندريه *ruḥnā parîs lundera barlîn fi'enna istambûl, iskenderîje* 'we journeyed to Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, Alexandria.'

Mod.Syr. ܣܦܪ̈ܐ ܘܦܪ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ *sâperê perîšê* 'the Scribes and Pharisees.'

Ordinarily, however, they are joined together by a conjunction meaning 'and'. In all the languages except Amharic and Tigriña[1] the construction is simple, and consists in joining the different words together by some form of the conjunction *ya*. If there are three or more words so connected, the conjunction may be omitted before all but the last two; so in Ethiopic, Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, Babylonian Talmudic (here apparently the regular construction), and Mandaic, e. g.,

Ass. *šá šamê u erṣiti*m 'of heaven and earth.'

ardu u amtu 'manservant and maid.'

Nabû u Marduk 'Nebo and Marduk.'

Arab. ابوه وامه *'abûhu ya-'ummuhu* 'his father and his mother.'

كل شيء من الشاء والنعم والنخل والزرع *kullu šaj'i*n *mina 'š-šâ'i ya-'n-na'ami ya-'n-naḫli ya-'z-zar'i* 'all kinds of flocks and camels and palms and grains.'

Eth. ኅብስት፡ወወይን፡ *ḥĕbĕst ya-yain* 'bread and wine.'

ሶምሶን፡ወእቡሁ፡ወእሙ፡ *sômsôn ya-abûhû ya-'ĕmmû* 'Samson, his father and his mother.'

መንግሥት፡ኀይል፡ወስብሐት፡ *mangĕšt ḥayl ya-sĕbḥat* 'the kingdom, the power, and the glory.'

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[1] What the construction is in Tigre does not appear, as Littmann in his two articles on Tigre discusses only the pronouns and the verb.

Heb. הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ 'heaven and earth.'
צֹאן וּבָקָר וַעֲבָדִים וּשְׁפָחוֹת 'sheep, cattle, men-servants, and maid-servants.'
בְּמִקְנֶה בְּכֶסֶף וּבְזָהָב 'in cattle, silver and gold.'

Bib. Aram. חֶלְמָא וּפִשְׁרֵהּ 'the dream and its interpretation.'
מַתְּנָן וּנְבוּזְבָה וִיקָר שַׂגִּי 'gifts and a reward and great honor.'
מַלְכוּתָא וּרְבוּתָא וִיקָר וְתִקְרָא 'the kingdom, power, glory, and honor.'
לְחַנַנְיָה מִישָׁאֵל וַעֲזַרְיָה 'to Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah.'

Syr. ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ 'heaven and earth.'
ܐܪܥܐ ܓܦܢܐ ܘܙܝܬܐ 'the land, the vine and the olive.'

Bab. Tal. תרנגולא חמרא ושרגא 'a cock, an ass, and a candle.'

Man. מן קולאליא ופירוניא ושושלאתא 'from snares, punishments, and chains.'
בחירבא נורא ועשאתא 'with sword, fire, and burning.'

Mod. Syr. ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܚܡܐ *bahrā ua-šeḫūnā* 'light and warmth.'

Sometimes with groups of more than three nouns the conjunction is used in more than one case, tho not in all. This is due ordinarily to the fact that all the elements are not coordinate, but that some are more closely connected than others; it may in some cases be due to textual corruption. This phenomenon is probably found in most if not all of the languages. Examples are available in Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Mandaic, and Egyptian Arabic, e. g.,

Heb. לַבַּעַל לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ וְלַיָּרֵחַ וְלַמַּזָּלוֹת וּלְכֹל צְבָא הַשָּׁמָיִם 'to Baal, to the sun, moon, constellations, and all the host of heaven.'
חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קְרֹא מִקְרָא 'new moon and sabbath, the calling of an assembly.'
מֹר־וַאֲהָלוֹת קְצִיעוֹת 'myrrh, aloes, and cassia.'[1]
אֱלִיפַז הַתֵּימָנִי וּבִלְדַּד הַשּׁוּחִי צֹפַר הַנַּעֲמָתִי 'Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite.'

[1] Perhaps the first two are to be considered as more closely connected with one another than with the third element. This is indicated by the fact that in three of the four passages in which the word for 'aloes' occurs it is preceded by מר as here (Ps. 45, 9). It is not impossible, however, that the order of the words is wrong, and that the reading should be קציעות ואהלות מר (so Haupt).

Bib. Aram. מַלְכָּא וְרַבְרְבָנוֹהִי שַׁגְלָתֵה וּלְחֵנָתֵה 'the king and his councillors, his queens and his concubines.'

סָרְכֵי מַלְכוּתָא סְגָנַיָּא וְאַחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא הַתָּבְרַיָּא וּפַחֲוָתָא 'the ministers of the kingdom, the governors and the princes, the councillors and the satraps.'

לֵאלָהֵי דַּהֲבָא וְכַסְפָּא נְחָשָׁא פַּרְזְלָא אָעָא וְאַבְנָא 'to gods of gold and silver, of bronze, iron, wood and stone.'

מַלְכוּתָא חֲסְנָא וְתַקְפָּא וְיְקָרָא 'the kingdom, power and strength, and glory.'

בְּסַרְבָּלֵיהוֹן פְּטְשֵׁיהוֹן וְכִרְבָּלָתְהוֹן וּלְבוּשֵׁיהוֹן 'in their mantels (?), their cloaks (?), and their hats, (and their clothes)'[1] (Dan. 3, 21).

Man. מאנא מארא הלאצא ומצארא ופבארא ונגארא 'the instrument, the foot-block, the torture and the twisting, and the fettering and racking.'

היואניאתא ביריאתא ונוניא וציפאר נאדפא 'wild animals, cattle, and fish and birds.'

היידא ויוא ונהורא ועקארא 'magnificence, splendor, and light and honor.'

Eg. Arab. واحد قميص وواحد لباس واحد عريه وواحد طربوش *wāḥid qamīṣ we-wāḥid libās wāḥid 'irje we-wāḥid ṭarbūš* 'a shirt and a pair of drawers, a cloak and a fez.'

In Amharic and Tigriña, when a copulative conjunction is used to connect the nouns, the construction is somewhat more complicated than in the other languages. In Amharic —ና is employed like *wa* between the words to be connected: —ም is ordinarily added to a word which is to be connected with a preceding word, tho it is sometimes employed also with the first of two nouns; when the element to be connected by —ም consists of two or more words, the conjunction is not necessarily added to the first element, but may be taken by one of the others. When more than two words are to be connected they may be placed together without connective (cf. above), or one or more pairs may be connected by one or the other of the conjunctions —ና, —ም; these conjunctions may be used together in the same chain of coordinated nouns, but not to connect the same pair of words. e. g.,

[1] The last element is probably a gloss, explaining the unusual terms preceding.

ሰማይና : ምድር : *samāi-nā mēdr* 'heaven and earth.'

መፍረስ : መስበርም : *mafras masabar-m* 'destruction and devastation.'

መፍረስ : ታላቅ : መስበርም : *mafras tālāq masabar-m* 'destruction and great devastation.'

የጋለሞቶች : እናት : የምድርም : ርዙሳት : ሁሉ : *ja-gālamôtôč 'ĕnāt ja-mēdr-ĕm rĕkuēsat hūlū* 'the mother of harlots and of all wickedness of the earth.'

ኦሪትም : ነቢያትም : *'ōrīt-ĕm nabīiāt-ĕm* 'the law and the prophets.'

የሥጋ : መመኛት : የዓይንም : መመኛት : የሰውም : ትምክሕት : *ja-šegā mamañāt ja-'āin-ĕm mamañāt ja-sau-m tĕmkĕht* 'lust of the flesh and lust of the eye and pride of life.'

አልጋ : ማዕድ : ወንበርና : መቅረዝ : *'algā mā'd yanbar-nā maqraz* 'bed, table, chair, and candlestick.'

In Tigriña each element to be connected, including the first, is ordinarily followed by enclitic —ውን or —ን; in any one chain of nouns the connectives may be all the same, or both may be used. Sometimes —ውን or —ን[1] is used like Amharic —ም only after the element to be connected, especially if it consists of more than one word. e. g.,

አቦውን : እኖውን : *'abô-yĕn 'ĕnô-yĕn* 'father and mother.'

ደምን : ማይን : *dam-ĕn māi-n* 'blood and water.'

መንገደውን : ኦሰትውን : ሕይወትን : (ሕይወትውን) : *mangadi-yĕn 'ûnat-yĕn hĕiyat-ĕn* (or *hĕiyat-yĕn*) 'the way, the truth, and the life.'

ንይሁዳውን : ንንኖን : *nĕ-iĕhûdâ-yĕn nĕ-ḥauât-û-n*[2] 'to Judah and his brethren.'

ንቁልኣን : ንናኡውን : *nĕ-qual'â-n nĕnô-'û-yĕn*[2] 'to the child and its mother.'

የሱስ : ደቀ : መዛሙርቶውን : *iasûs daqa mazâmûrt-û-yĕn* 'Jesus and his disciples.'

Conclusion.

The various qualifications of the noun in Semitic, then, are expressed in general as follows.

[1] No example of —ን in this use is available, but the rule in all probability applies to it as well as to —ውን.

[2] The preposition on which the first noun depends is almost always repeated as here, cf. Pract. *Tig. Spr.* p. 340 f.

Both simple determination and simple indetermination are often without special means of expression. Generally speaking the Semitic languages have developed two ways of indicating simple determination, viz., by article and by possessive suffix. Simple indetermination is expressed by indefinite articles derived in some languages from an indefinite enclitic particle *ma*, but more frequently by the numeral 'one'.

Simple qualification is expressed by the descriptive adjective, which agrees with its noun in general in case, gender, number, and determination; sometimes the two are joined together in a construct chain.

The demonstrative pronouns used as adjectives express demonstrative qualification; they have rules of concord similar to those of the descriptive adjective, but tho they require their noun to be in the definite state, it is only in Hebrew that the demonstrative itself takes the definite article.

The interrogative 'which' is ordinarily expressed by an adjective; 'whose', by the genitive of 'who'; 'how much', in most cases by a word formed of a preposition meaning 'as, like' + the neuter interrogative 'what'.

Indefinite pronominal ideas are expressed sometimes by adjectives, sometimes by substantives followed by the genitive or a prepositional phrase, sometimes in other ways; at times they are expressed simply by the construction itself.

Numeral qualification is expressed by the cardinal and ordinal numerals. The cardinals may stand as adjectives or appositives, or they may take their noun in the genitive or accusative. The numbers from 'three' to 'ten' have what might be called a reversed concord of gender. The noun is sometimes singular, sometimes plural, the number depending in some cases on the numeral, in others on the noun. The ordinals may be expressed either by the ordinals proper, or by cardinals in the ordinal construction or after the noun in the genitive.

Case relation between two nouns may be expressed by the construct chain, by joining the two nouns by a preposition, by a combination of these two methods, or by using instead of a simple preposition, a combination of relative pronoun and preposition. The construct chain is the oldest method, the others become more common in the later development of the individual languages, in some of them completely replacing the construct chain.

Personal pronominal qualification is expressed by possessive pronominal suffixes added to the noun.

Appositives are of two kinds, viz., (a) a common noun denoting class, measure, content, etc., standing as appositive to another common noun; (b) a common noun used as an appositive to a proper.

Adverbial qualification is expressed by an appositive in accusative or nominative, or by certain adverbial and pronominal particles.

A noun may be modified by a relative clause either with or without relative pronoun, or it may stand in the construct before a following sentence which takes the place of a genitive.

Nouns may be coordinated by asyndeton, by using connectives between each two, or by using the connective only with certain pairs.

The most characteristically Semitic of these constructions are, viz., the use of the possessive suffix to express determination; the use of the article with both adjective and noun, and not once with the combination; the use of the article with noun modified by a demonstrative; the reversed concord of the cardinals from 'three' to 'ten'; the use of the cardinals in the genitive in the sense of ordinals; the construct chain; prepositional phrases derived from elliptical relative clauses; appositives denoting measure, content, and the like; the use of a whole sentence as a genitive after the construct of a noun. Generally speaking the more modern languages have, as was to be expected, given up many characteristic old Semitic constructions and adopted many new ones. To judge from the constructions treated in the present paper, the members of the Abyssinian group have departed farthest from the ancient Semitic norm, Amharic being the most extreme example of this phenomenon, while in Arabic and Hebrew, we have, all things considered, perhaps the truest picture of the syntactical conditions of the primitive Semitic speech.

Addenda.

References.

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gram. der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. II. Syntax (Lief. 1. u. 2, 1911) [Brock. *Syn.*]

The statements with regard to Modern Hebrew are made

on the authority of Dr. Aaron Ember of Johns Hopkins University.

Transliteration.

In the modern Abyssinian languages, the transliteration is not meant to give an absolutely accurate representation of the pronunciation, but is intended chiefly to show what characters are employed; it is the same as in Ethiopic for the characters which these languages have in common with Ethiopic, e. g., ሠ is transliterated *ś* (not *s* as pronounced), and the vowel written *ê* appears as *ê* (pronounced *iê* in Amharic).

Add the modern Aramaic dialect of Tur-Abdin to the list of languages appearing only in transliteration, cf. p. 138.

Determination.

The determinative construction with pleonastic suffix described on pp. 145—148[1] is found also in Tigre, at least when the determining word is a noun or verb; the preposition እገል፡ is used here just as ለ is in Ethiopic (cf. Littm. *Te. Pron.* p. 225, n. at end): e. g.,

ወልዱ፡እገላ፡ደኻራ፡ *walda-ū 'ĕgĕl-lā dakhārā* 'the son of the praised-one.'

እገል፡እማ፡ቲላ፡ *'ĕgĕl 'ĕmm-ā tĕl-ā* 'to her mother she spoke.'

In Ethiopic a suffix after a preposition is sometimes resumed by the same preposition, just as in Syriac [cf. pp. 146, 151], instead of by ለ, e. g.,

ቦቱ፡በንጽሕናሁ፡ *bŏtu ba-nĕçĕḥnā-hū* 'in (it in) his purity.'

On page 149 in the second paragraph, South Arabic is to be understood as meaning Mineo-Sabean, Mehri, of course, having no article.

Simple Qualification.

Sometimes an adjective is separated from its noun by other words, cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 201 f. [cf. p. 158 f.].

An adjective of praise or blame may precede its noun in Classical and Modern Egyptian Arabic; the Assyrian adjectives that precede the noun seem also to belong to this class, cf.

[1] In Coptic a pleonastic suffix is sometimes employed, as in Semitic to specially determine a dependent noun. When one of the few nouns which still take possessive suffixes is followed by a genitive, the noun usually takes a pleonastic suffix, cf. Steind. *Kopt. Gr.* pp. 40, 80.

Brock. *Syn.* p. 203 [cf. p. 159]. For cases in which the Assyrian adjective precedes its noun, see, besides p. 159, pp. 223 f., 240.

Certain classes of adjectives in Arabic, Classical and Modern Egyptian, and foreign adjectives in Modern Syriac are without inflection for gender and number, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 204, 208 [cf. pp. 160—164].

For cases in Classical Arabic in which the determination of noun + adjective is apparently indicated by the article with the adjective alone, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 208, 209 [cf. pp. 165, 167].

In Tigre the article is sometimes employed with both noun and adjective, sometimes only with the second of the two [cf. p. 166], e. g.,

ለእናስ : ለገመዥ : *la-'ĕnās la-gĕmûç* 'the poor man.'

ካልእ : ለሐርሶም : *kālĕ̄ la-ḥars-ōm* 'their second ploughing.'

In Biblical Aramaic as in Hebrew and Modern Arabic an adjective modifying a dual stands in the plural [cf. p. 164], e. g.,

וְשִׁנַּיִן דִּי־פַרְזֶל לַהּ רַבְרְבָן 'and it had great iron teeth' (Dan. 7, 7).

Demonstrative Qualification.

A demonstrative adjective in Mehri sometimes precedes its noun, e. g., *dime reheimet* 'this pretty girl' (cf. pp. 169, 180).

Indefinite Qualification.

In Mehri the word for 'all' seems to stand after the noun with or without suffix. In Tigre it stands with suffix before or after the noun. e. g.,

Meh. *ḥabanthe kall* 'all his daughters.'

hâbû kallhem 'all people.'

Te. ላሊ : ክሊ : *lālī kēlla* 'all night.'

ኩሉ : ዕሀይ : መዋቅል : *kūllū lōhaį maṷāqēl* 'all the hillocks there.'

In the dialect of Tlemsen *el-kull* may stand before the definite noun, as well as after it [cf. p. 185], e. g.,

الكل الناس *el-kull en-nās* 'all the people.'

With this construction is to be compared the Biblical Aramaic שְׁלָמָא כֻלָּא 'all hail' (Ez. 5, 7).

In Biblical Hebrew the pleonastic Mishnic construction [cf. p. 185] occurs in at least one passage, viz.,

כָּל־מַלְכֵי גוֹיִם כֻּלָּם 'all the kings of the Gentiles' (Is. 14, 18).

In Hebrew the idea of 'self' may be indicated by a personal pronoun in apposition to a preceding noun, e. g.,

לָכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֶם אוֹת 'therefore my Lord himself will give you a sign' (Is. 7, 14).

In Modern Hebrew the idea of 'various' is indicated by the participle שׁוֹנִים, e. g.,

דְּבָרִים שׁוֹנִים 'various things.'

Numeral Qualification.

In Modern Hebrew a noun modified by the cardinals from ten' (inclusive) upward, stands in the singular [cf. pp. 205, 206].

To examples of the omission of the article with ordinals (cf. p. 215), add,

Bibl. Aram. מַלְכוּ תְלִיתָיְא 'a third kingdom.'

Nominal Qualification.

In Tigre, as in Ethiopic, it is possible to insert a modifier of the *nomen rectum* between the *regens* and the *rectum* [cf. p. 221]. It is also possible for a construct governing a definite noun to take an article itself [cf. pp. 218, 219, 220]. e. g.,

እት : አፈት : ለመርዓት : ለሀሌት : እታ : ቤት : *'ĕt 'affĕt la* (article)-*mar'ât la*(relative)-*hallĕt 'ĕttâ bêt* 'at the door of the-in-which-the-bride-is house.'

ለስሌት : ለመልት : *la-selĕt la-ya'at* 'the placenta of the cow.'

In Amharic an adjective modifying a noun with preceding genitive may stand before the genitive or between genitive and noun (cf. p. 227), e. g.,

ታላቅ : የደንጊያ : ክምር : *tâlâq ya-dangîyâ kĕmr*] 'a great heap
የደንጊያ : ታላቅ : ክምር : *ya-dangîyâ tâlâq kĕmr*] of stone.'

In the Modern Arabic of Hadramaut a noun modified by a determinate genitive is not necessarily determinate, and may take the indefinite article, e. g.,

yaḥdah bit š-šêbah 'a daughter of the old man' (cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 236) [cf. the Mod. Syr. construction, p. 240].

In the genitive combination in Syriac, ܕ + suffix may be used instead of, or in addition to the pleonastic suffix on the *regens*; in this case the *rectum* has usually the added meaning of 'the well known,' 'already mentioned:' e. g.,

ܐܚܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܢܝܩܐ 'the brethren of the cloister itself.'

ܕܪܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ 'the court of the (already mentioned) temple.'

In addition to the ways of expressing nominal qualification already enumerated, viz., the construct chain, various kinds of prepositional phrases, and combinations of these constructions, a noun may be modified by another noun standing in the accusative. The accusative form is apparent only in Arabic, but there are a number of passages in Hebrew which are probably to be classed here, tho they are hardly to be distinguished from cases of apposition, e. g.,

Arab. البدر ليلة تمامه *al-badru lailata tamāmihi* 'the moon on the night of its fullness.'

جبتك خزا *jubbatuka ḫazza*ⁿ 'thy jocket of silk.'

راقود خلا *rāqūdu*ⁿ *ḫalla*ⁿ 'a vessel of vinegar.'

Heb. עַל־דֶּרֶךְ תִּמְנָתָה 'on the way to Timnath' (Gen. 38, 14).

הַכְּרוּבִים זָהָב 'the cherubim of gold' (1 Chr. 28, 18).

שְׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח 'three *seahs* of meal' (Gen. 18, 6).

Personal Pronominal Qualification.

In the Aramaic dialect of Tur Abdin a noun with suffix may take the article as in Tigre and Maltese, cf. Brock. *Syn.* p. 259 [cf. p. 239].

Nominal Apposition.

For examples illustrating the agreement of the appositive with its noun in case, especially in Arabic and Amharic, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 217, 219. For additional examples of the repetition of the preposition governing the modified noun, cf. Brock. *Syn.* pp. 220, 221. [cf. p. 247; to the languages there given are to be added Arabic, Tigre, and Syriac].

An appositive does not necessarily agree with its noun in determination, e. g.,

Arab. عن سليمان ... رجل من اهل مكة *'an sulaimāna ... rajuliⁿ min 'ahli makkata* 'from Suleiman ... a man of the people of Mecca.'

الى صراط مستقيم صراط الله *'ilā çirāṭiⁿ mustaqīmiⁿ çirāti 'llāhi* 'to a straight path, the path of God.'

Adverbial Qualification.

In addition to the adverbial ideas described above, a noun in Semitic is sometimes modified by an adverb of place, e. g.,

Arab. على تل عال هناك *'alā talliⁿ 'āliⁿ hunāka* 'on a high hill there.'

Das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus der Armenier.[1] By Otto Lichti, Ph. D., Ansonia, Conn.

Die vorliegende Handschrift ist der erste Teil der sogenannten *Handschrift Sachau* 60 der Handschriften-Abteilung der Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin. Durch die Freundlichkeit der Herren Direktoren Harnack und Stern genannter Bibliothek wurde es mir ermöglicht, die Handschrift zu kopieren und schließlich auch zu übersetzen. Inwiefern mir letzteres gelungen ist, mögen die geneigten Leser selbst entscheiden.

Unsere Handschrift ist ein Sendschreiben eines auch sonst in der syrischen Literatur bekannten Patriarchen Johannes, oder Jēschū', Barschūschan (Susanna), an den Catholicus der Armenier, mit einem Begleitschreiben des unterzeichneten Patriarchen, Ignatius von Antiochien, genannt Matthäus aus Mardin. Die Sachlage ist wohl die, daß Ignatius den Brief des Bar Schuschan mit einem Zusatz von sich selbst an den Catholicus geschickt hat.

Nach Wright (*A short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 225—227) wurde Johannes Barschuschan von den Bischöfen des Ostens zum Gegenpatriarchen des Hāyē, oder Athanasius VI, unter dem Namen Johann X, gewählt im Jahre 1058 (Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.* I. 437 ff., B. O. II. 141. 354). Er dankte jedoch bald ab, und zog sich zurück in ein Kloster und widmete sich dem Studium. Beim Tode des Athanasius wurde er wieder erwählt zum Patriarchen 1064 und wirkte nun in dieser Kapazität bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1073. Wie uns Bar-Hebraeus berichtet, hat Johannes Barschuschan mit dem Patriarchen von Alexandrien, Christodulus, längere Auseinandersetzungen wegen der Mischung von Salz und Öl mit dem eucharistischen Brote nach syrischer Weise gehabt. Er

[1] An investigation which was completed in May 1911, at Yale University.

scheint überhaupt ein sehr schreibseliger Mann gewesen zu sein, da er eine Unmasse von Schriften, alle kontroversioneller Natur, hinterließ.

Durch Herausgabe der Werke Ephraems und des Isaak von Antiochien suchte Johannes Barschuschan die syrische Nationalliteratur wieder zu beleben. Er trat selbst als Dichter auf und besang in ergreifender Weise das Schicksal der Stadt Melitene, das dieselbe im Jahre 1058 bei ihrer Erstürmung und Plünderung durch die Türken erlitt, in vier Gedichten (Bar Heb., *Chron. Syr.* p. 252).

Am Schlusse unseres Sendschreibens ist der Abdruck von dem Siegel eines Jakobitischen Patriarchen eingeklebt. Die Unterschrift lautet: Ignatius, Patriarch von Antiochien genannt Matthäus (der Rest ist verwischt), nach der Liste der 33. der Jakobitischen Patriarchen, Matthäus aus Mardin. Aus dieser Unterschrift, die ganz verschieden von der Überschrift ist, erhellt natürlich, daß wir zwei Briefe in einen zusammen geschweißt vor uns haben: einen von Johannnes bar Schuschan, den ersten Teil der Handschrift bildend, und einen von Ignatius von Antiochien.[1] So wie die Handschrift heute vorliegt, ist sie von einem Diakonus Abd-Elwâhid zu Mosul nach 1859 abgeschrieben worden, wie Prof. Sachau glaubt.

An dieser Stelle möchte ich auch meinem verehrten Lehrer, Prof. C. C. Torrey, für seine freundlichen Winke, womit er mich von Zeit zu Zeit bedachte und für seine Bereitwilligkeit, mir allezeit mit Rat und Tat beizustehen und über die schwierigsten Klippen hinwegzuhelfen, meinen herzlichsten Dank aussprechen.

Einleitung.

Wir haben zunächst die Überschrift, die nicht vom Verfasser des Briefes stammt, sondern jedenfalls von dem Abschreiber.

[1] Ignatius (Lazarus) war Maphrian zu Matthäi und wird im dritten Teil des Chronicon des Barhebräus angeführt als der 33. Maphrian der Chaldäer. Es war der Sohn des Presbyters Hasan und seit 1142 Mönch im Kloster Sergii. Gestorben ist er 1160 (v. *Jos. S. Assemanus Orientalische Bibliothek, in einem Auszug gebracht* von A. F. Pfeiffer, Erlangen 1776. p. 305). Dieser Ignatius ist ohne Zweifel identisch mit unserem Sender des Briefes von Barschuschan, der dazu seinen Kommentar gemacht hat. Die Titel Maphrian, Metropolit, Catholicus, sind wohl zu verschiedenen Zeiten identisch gewesen, obwohl der Maphrian ursprünglich ein untergeordneter Kleriker war (siehe dazu Pfeiffer).

Sie lautet: „Sendschreiben des hl. Patriarchen, Mar Johanan, Barschuschan, an den Katholikus der Armenier.“ Hierauf folgt der eigentliche Anfang des Briefes, welcher in den üblichen, biblischen (möchte man sagen) Einführungsworten besteht: „Johannes, ein Knecht Jesu Christ und durch die Gnade Gottes Oberhirte.“ Dem folgt ein ehrerbietiger Gruß: „Ein hl. Gruß an Eure Reinheit.“ Hierauf folgt ein inniges Gebet, worin der Patriarch seine Freude darüber ausdrückt, daß er mit dem Katholikus auf so freundschaftlichem Fuße steht. Hierauf folgt in farbenreicher Sprache eine Darstellung der herzlichen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Herren, gewürzt mit etlichen Schmeicheleien.

1b bringt dann eine Auseinandersetzung über die hl. Dreieinigkeit, die mit dem Schlagwort zusammengefaßt wird:

„Eins in Drei und Drei Eins.“ Dabei warnt der Verfasser fleißig vor Sabellianismus, Arianismus und Judaismus, welche alle drei die hl. Trinität leugnen, wie er sie versteht. Auf Paulus und das Nicänum, wie auf Gregor den Theologen begründet er seine Lehre. Er bediente sich dabei der sonderbarsten Bilder. Die Trinität wird erklärt, wie schon von andern vor und nach ihm, durch Bilder, die uns heute kindlich (um nicht kindisch sagen zu müssen) vorkommen, wie dies: Es sind drei Personen, wie z. B. Adam, Seth und Eva; oder die Sonne, ihr Licht und ihre Hitze; oder Verstand, Vernunft und Geist; oder die Pflanze, ihr Duft und ihre Farbe. (1b).

2a folgt dann ein Bekenntnis über die Menschwerdung Christi und über die Naturen in der Trinität und in Christo. Das Stichwort hier ist erstens ܒܝ ܩܢ ܚܕ ܟܝܢܐ „Eine Natur in drei Personen“, und zweitens: ܚܕ ܐܘ ܒܝ ܩܢ ܕܐܬܝܕܥ ܕܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܕܡܠܬܐ „Darüber daß bekannt werden soll eine Natur des Gotteslogos, welcher Fleisch wurde“, (*μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένου*). Nachdem Barschuschan den heidnischen Wahn des Sabellius abgewehrt und den Ketzer Arius abgefertigt hat, beruft er sich auf den Theologen Gregorius als Autorität für seine Glaubenslehre. Es gibt nur eine Gottheit, aber drei Personen (Qnomi) oder Hypostasen. Die nächsten Sätze bilden den Übergang zum eigentlichen Thema des Briefes — „den hassenswerten Gebräuchen“ der Armenier, das im großen und ganzen maßvoll behandelt wird.

3b wird zuerst die Benützung von Salz und Öl und dann

auch von Sauerteig in der Eucharistie (Abendmahl) behandelt. Diese Erläuterungen erstrecken sich bis 8^b. Barschuschan ist der Überzeugung, daß diese Dinge zur Seligkeit nützlich sind. Adam wurde von Wasser, Luft, Feuer, Erde und Geist gebildet, also von 5 Substanzen. Jesus muß daher in der Eucharistie auch vollkommen, als aus 5 Elementen bestehend, dargestellt werden unter Mehl, Wasser, Sauerteig, Salz und Öl. Jesus ist eine besondere Spezies (Art) zwischen Gott und Menschen, die mit seinem Tod am Kreuze wieder erloschen ist. Der Gegner seiner Dogmen gedenkt unser Autor fleißig. Nestorius und Theodor von Mopsueste werden der Gottlosigkeit bezichtigt, ebenso Leo und die Räubersynode, Chalcedon. Cyrill dagegen ist ihm ein rechtgläubiger Vater. Gregor Thaumaturgus ist er nicht abhold, obwohl dieser den Ausspruch tat: „Gott hat gelitten, aber ohne das Leiden zu empfinden, auf unsterbliche und leidensunfähige Weise."

8^b folgt dann eine Notiz über das Wasser, das wir im Weinbecher mischen.

9—10 wendet sich dann gegen die Unsitte des Taufens der Kreuze und Nakuschen, oder Schallbretter-Klingel weihen, wie andere übersetzen. 10 spricht vom Sündenbekenntnis, das bei den Armeniern nicht richtig geübt wird.

Sodann wird darüber gehandelt, ob man den Tag am Abend oder am Morgen beginnen sollte. Die Syrer, wie die Juden, rechnen vom Abend, deshalb fasten sie auch schon Donnerstags; die Armenier dagegen fasten nur Freitags, da sie den Tag am Morgen beginnen, was nach Barschuschan's Ansicht zu verwerfen ist. 11^b—13^a ist nach Ansicht von Ter-Minassiantz, (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 26: „Die Armenische Kirche", von E. Ter-Minassiantz p. 100, 4) das letzte Stück des Briefes des Patriarchen Barschuschan an den Catholicus; dem ich auch gerne beistimme, da, wie auch er bemerkt, die nun folgenden Beschuldigungen nicht unbeantwortet geblieben wären, wenn der Catholicus sie gelesen hätte, d. h. wenn sie im Briefe des Barschuschan gestanden hätten.

Es ist nämlich ein Brief eines armenischen Catholicus Georg vorhanden, der scheinbar eine Antwort ist auf unsern Brief. Dieser Brief ist in dem sogenannten „Buch der Briefe" (vgl. Girk Tchtoz, *Buch der Briefe*, S. 335—357) enthalten. Die Überschrift lautet: „Des Herrn Georg, des Oberaufsehers der

Armenier und des geistesbegnadeten Philosophen, Antwort auf den Brief des syrischen Patriarchen Johannes.“ Daß dieser Brief eine Antwort auf unsern Brief ist, hat Ter-Minassiantz bewiesen durch seine Parallelstellen aus beiden Briefen, von welchen ich hier nur zwei folgen lasse.

« *Johannes X. Barschuschan.* Ihr fragt wegen des Sauerteigs, den wir wie alle christlichen Völker gebrauchen (in der Eucharistie), was das bedeuten solle, und auch das Salz und das Öl ... So nehmen wir Wasser als Zeichen des ursprünglichen Wassers: Mehl als Zeichen des Staubes; Sauerteig als Zeichen der Luft; und Salz als Zeichen des Feuers.

β Georg, Catholicus der Armenier. Denn Ihr habt geschrieben wegen des Sauerteigs, des Salzes und des Öls (in der Eucharistie), und nach Schaffung Adams aus vier Materien sagt Ihr, daß Ihr den Leib Christi vollkommen macht, und nehmt als Zeichen des Wassers, Wasser; als Zeichen des Staubes (Erde) Mehl; als Zeichen der Luft, Sauerteig; und als Zeichen des Feuers, Salz.

11ᵇ—13ᵇ handelt „von dem Fest der Geburt Christi, welches die Armenier nicht so feiern, wie alle Völker der Welt.“ Der Verfasser versucht zu beweisen, daß die Sitte, das Fest der Geburt am 25. Dezember und Epiphanien am 6. Januar zu feiern, die einzig richtige ist, und daß die Armenier keine Argumente aufbringen können für ihre Sitte, die beiden Feste an einem Tag, am 6. Januar, zu feiern.

Wie oben bemerkt, hat hier wohl der Brief des Barschuschan geschlossen. Was nun noch folgt, ist jedenfalls Zusatz von Isaak von Antiochien, dessen Unterschrift unser Schreiben trägt. Außerdem ist es ja auch aus dem Schreiben selbst ersichtlich, wie auch schon T. M. bemerkt hat, daß der letzte Teil nicht von Barschuschan stammt. Da heißt es nämlich auf Blatt 20ᵃ: „Wie wir durch das Sendschreiben des Patriarchen Mar Johanan oben gezeigt haben“ (siehe S. 295, 15).

Wie auch schon T. M. bemerkte, wird nun die ganze Schreibweise anders. Barschuschan war ein gemäßigter Apologet, dagegen tadelt der nach Blatt 13 schreibende Verfasser, wo er nur etwas zu tadeln weiß; sucht scheinbar nach Mißbräuchen in der armenischen Kirche, um dagegen losziehen zu können. So ähnlich meint wenigstens Ter-Minassiantz. Ich kann mich der Ansicht nicht so ohne weiteres anschließen. Lassen doch

die Mißbräuche, die in den Schriften verschiedener Patriarchen, Lehrer und Väter gerügt werden, nicht den Schluß zu, daß die Unsitten wirklich nicht in der armenischen Kirche Eingang gefunden hatten. Daß ganz haarsträubende Dinge zu gewissen Zeiten, die nur durch obige Schriftstücke näher bestimmt werden können, in der armenischen Kirche verübt wurden, ist wohl Tatsache.

Für die Zusammenstellung der syrischen Dokumente dieser Art darf ich jedoch keinen Kredit beanspruchen, da sie von Professor Brockelmann gesammelt wurden, welcher sie mir vorletzten Winter (1910) nach Berlin schickte. Ich habe sie nur übersetzt und auf die freundliche Aufforderung von Professor Brockelmann hin nun veröffentlicht, was ich von Herzen gern getan, und Professor Brockelmann hiermit gebührend danken möchte.

So wirft Mar Ja'qob von Edessa († 708) den Armeniern vor, daß sie noch im alten Judentum stecken und animalische Opfer darbringen.[1] Wie sollte Mar Ja'qob auf diesen Gedanken gekommen sein, wenn die Armenier nicht wirklich blutige Opfer gebracht haben? „Jeder der erlöst ist mit dem Opfer des Sohnes Gottes, wird nicht einführen Opfer, damit er nicht verdammt werde von der Justitia" (v. p. 299, 1 f.). „Wer aber heute noch vorsätzlich Opfer bringt, der ist ein Jude" (v. p. 299, 17). „Am besten ist es für den, der heute noch Opfer bringt, daß er auch den Sohn verleugnet und hält sich gut mit den Juden". „Verflucht ist, wer nach diesem (Opfer Christi) noch Opfer bringt" (v. p. 300, 14 f., 17).

Ja'qob von Edessa wirft den Armeniern vor, daß sie von Anfang an sittenlos dahinlebten (v. p. 303). „Einige ihrer Lehrer sind einerseits Juden, andre andrerseits Phantasten. Deswegen folgen sie den Juden darin, daß sie Lamm, Ungesäuertes und reinen (nicht mit Wasser gemischten) Wein opfern . . ." (v. p. 303, 16 ff.).

Aus diesen Zitaten und den übrigen Zeugnissen dieser Patriarchen und Lehrer geht doch wohl hervor, daß die Beschuldigungen nicht so ohne Grund gewesen sein können, wenn man vielleicht als guter Armenier auch nichts davon weiß! Man kann doch kaum annehmen, daß diese sonst ehrenwerten Patriarchen und Lehrer sich in leeren Phrasen ergangen haben.

[1] Siehe Wright, *A Short History of Syriac* Literatur, p. 146, unten.

Ich meine, die von Professor Brockelmann mir überlassenen Zeugnisse beweisen aufs klarste, daß der Verfasser des zweiten Teiles unseres Briefes nicht ins Blaue geredet hat, und daß wirklich Tieropfer bei den christlichen Armeniern stattfanden, um die besagte Zeit.

Von 13[b] bis zum Schluße unseres Schreibens haben wir jedenfalls den Zusatz des unterzeichneten Ignatius von Antiochien, dem 133. Jakobitischen Patriarchen der Syrer vor uns, welcher den Brief des Barschuschan an den Catholicus der Armenier sandte mit seinen eignen Ansichten über die Mißbräuche in der armenischen Kirche. Ignatius ist viel schärfer als Barschuschan, doch ist auch er nicht so verdammungssüchtig, wie manche seiner würdigen Vorgänger, die ihre Adressaten als „dickköpfige und hartnäckige Leute" bezeichnen (siehe T. M. p. 118).

Von 13[a]—15[a] ist die Rede davon, „wie die Alten den Palmsonntag, das Passah und die Taufe nicht jedes Jahr, sondern alle 30 Jahre feierten."

Nun geht der Verfasser auf ausserkirchliche Sitten über, die er scharf tadelt. 15[b]—16[a] „darüber, daß der Priester den Bischof segnet, obgleich dieser doch höher steht, als jener." Es ist bei ihnen auch ein andrer häßlicher Gebrauch; d. i. „wenn ein Bischof und ein Priester sich treffen und der Priester vom Bischof gesegnet wird, so wendet sich sogleich der Priester, segnet den Bischof und legt die Hand auf seinen Kopf." Diese Sitte wird natürlich von Ignatius verworfen, denn nach den Kanones kann ein Bischof wohl einen Priester ordinieren, aber ein Bischof darf jedoch nur ordiniert werden, wenn ein Patriarch oder Metropolit mit zwei Bischöfen zugegen ist. Darf aber ein Priester nicht helfen, einen Bischof zu ordinieren, so hat er kein Recht, ihm die unheiligen Hände aufs würdige Haupt zu legen. Nach Ter-Minassiantz ist dieser Bericht recht eigentümlich; seines Wissens haben wir in der armenischen Literatur kein Zeugnis für die genannte Sitte. T. M. fragt, ob dieser Vorwurf vielleicht ein Irrtum sei? Ich glaube nicht. Jedenfalls hat diese Sitte bestanden, sonst würde Ignatius sie nicht so scharf angegriffen haben. Übrigens wird man auch über manche der übrigen, genannten Gebräuche unter den Armeniern kein Zeugnis finden; um so mehr aber bei den syrischen Patriarchen und Lehrern, wie Professor Brockelmanns Zeugnisse zur Genüge beweisen. Ter-Minassiantz wird

schwerlich zugestehen, daß in der armenischen Kirche auch Tieropfer gebracht wurden, und doch liegt das klar auf der Hand, wenn man die oben genannten Sätze liest (v. p. 273). Ein argumentum e silentio hat wenig Wert, einen Beweis zu liefern, oder Hypothesen aufzubauschen. Hierauf wird die Disziplin in der armenischen Kirche gerügt, die sehr disziplinlos gewesen sein muß. T. M. meint hierzu, „wenn man dem Verfasser Glauben schenken wollte, so müßte der Zustand der armenischen Kirche damals trostlos gewesen sein. Es ist zwar nicht zu leugnen, daß die noch zu nennenden Mißbräuche vorkamen (Also doch!), bedingt durch die unstäte und unruhige Lage des Landes und der armenischen Catholici; wir können aber doch den syrischen Schriftsteller von Übertreibungen nicht freisprechen." Wie steht's damit? Zuerst gibt T. M. zu, daß die Mißbräuche wirklich gang und gäbe waren, und dann meinte er, er könne doch den Verfasser nicht freisprechen von Übertreibungen. Also bestanden diese Unsitten doch! Und wenn man alles wüßte, dann wäre die Sachlage jedenfalls noch viel trauriger und trüber darzustellen, als dies schon so der Fall ist. Die Intriguen, die damals in der Kirche gespielt wurden, und auch heute noch gebraucht werden, würden jedenfalls noch ein viel schieferes Licht auf die Kirche werfen, wenn sie alle bekannt wären.

16ᵃ—17ᵃ bespricht zunächst die Zustände, die unter den Bischöfen herrschend waren: „Darüber, daß ihre Bischöfe durch Geld und Bestechung eingesetzt werden, und die Gemeinden von einander an sich reißen." Nicht besser sieht es in den Klöstern aus. Wer Abt sein will, bezahlt dem Ortsbeamten einfach den höchsten Preis, und er bekommt die Stelle. Kommt dann ein andrer und bietet dem Bürgermeister mehr, so wird ersterer verjagt, und der Herzugelaufene bekommt die Abtei. „In diesen Schilderungen liegt ein Körnchen Wahrheit, sie sind aber natürlich stark übertrieben, wie es eben in den polemischen Schriften gar nicht anders zu erwarten ist" (Ter-Min. p. 110).

17ᵃ wird dann die erbliche Succession der Catholici in Armenien getadelt, weil diese Sitte bei keinem andern Volk der Erde gefunden wird, außer bei den Arabern, deren Kalife auch erblich aufeinander folgen.

Ter-Minassiantz meint hierzu folgendes: Zur Zeit des Johannes Barschuschan (1064—1073) war erst der erste Pahlawani,

Wahram, der Sohn des Gregor Magistros, auf den Catholicusthron erhoben worden, und er regierte bis 1105, nach der gewöhnlichen Annahme, die freilich nicht ganz einwandfrei ist. Sicher ist dagegen, daß zur Zeit Johannes X. (Barschuschan) noch kein zweiter aus dem Geschlechte Gregors des Erleuchters (die Pahlawanier ließen sich von ihm ableiten) auf den Thron erhoben worden ist. Die Art und Weise aber, wie der Syrer diese Sitte tadelt zeigt uns, daß mindestens 2—3 auf einander gefolgt sein müssen aus demselben Geschlecht. Ist dem so, dann kann dies Stück erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts geschrieben worden sein.

So weit T. M. Ich möchte nur darauf erwidern, daß (1) Barschuschan hier gar nicht in Betracht kommt, da ja Ignatius von Antiochien dies geschrieben hat, wie T. M. auch schon früher zugestanden hat; und (2) hat jedenfalls Ignatius die Verhältnisse besser gekannt, als wir.

17[b] handelt von dem Mißbrauch, „daß Priester ordiniert werden, ohne daß sie eine Stelle haben." Von diesen wird auch Bestechung genommen.

18[a] handelt von dem Sündenbekenntnis der Armenier, siehe allda (p. 293).

19[a] wird die Heuchelei der Armenier gerügt, die hauptsächlich in Selbstgerechtigkeit besteht. Die Armenier beteiligen sich nicht am Abendmahl, wenn sie Mönche werden. Das Mönchtum wird auch scharf mitgenommen. „Vollkommene Mönche, bei ihnen ist unter tausend nicht einer zu finden ..." Das Patenamt bei der Taufsalbung wird von den Armeniern nicht gebührend beachtet, usw.

19[a]—20[b] wird noch einmal klar dargelegt, daß nur die Armenier unter allen Völkern das Weihnachtsfest und Epiphanien am 6. Januar feiern. Selbst wenn man früher das Weihnachtsfest am 6. Januar gefeiert hat, so haben die hl. Väter dieses Datum, wie so viele Dinge, geändert: z. B. durften die Bischöfe früher heiraten, wie auch „euer" Gregorius, jetzt nicht mehr, usw. 20[b]—23[a] wird die Bewahrung jüdischer Gesetze behandelt. Noch einmal kommt Weihnachten und Epiphanien aufs Tapet. Christus ist wirklich am 25. Dezember geboren und 30 Jahre später am 6. Januar getauft worden.

Damit schließt unser Schriftstück. Man sieht, daß um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Armenien und Syrien die Gemüter erregt waren. Bar Hebräus berichtet aus dieser Zeit

eine Rede Gregors, des Catholicus der Armenier, die ich folgen lasse. Assemani BO. II, S. 360[b]: „In jener Zeit verfaßte Gregor, der Catholicus der Armenier, eine Rede und schmähte darin die Syrer, weil sie mit einem Finger das Kreuz schlagen, und wegen des gesäuerten Brotes, und weil sie den Wein und den Honig und das Öl, nachdem eine Maus in dieselben gefallen war, doch segneten und dann aßen und tranken. Und diese Rede wurde dem Kloster der Armenier in Cilicien, welches Drasark hieß, übergeben. Als aber Barandreas hörte, daß die armenischen Mönche sie zu jeder Zeit lasen und die Syrer verspotteten, da wurde er von Eifer erfaßt, wechselte seine Gewänder und ging in das genannte Kloster der Armenier und ließ sich dort nieder, wie einer von ihnen, und verhöhnte die Armenier, daß sie sich auf jüdische Weise benähmen. Und er legte die Abhandlung in ihrer Bibliothek nieder. Nach einiger Zeit aber fanden sie den Traktat, und sie schickten ihn dem Catholicus und taten ihm kund die Hinterlistigkeit, die jener Syrer mit ihnen getrieben hatte. Der Catholicus aber ließ jene beiden Traktate verbrennen, den seinen so wohl, wie den des Barandreas"[1] usw. Man sieht daraus, daß wirklich Mißbräuche in beiden Kirchen Armeniens sowohl, wie auch Syriens bestanden.

Syrische Texte

A. *Sendschreiben des Barschuschān* (Cod. Berlin. Sachau 60)

fol. 1[a]

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§ I.

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܥܣܐ ܕܫܘܪܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪ ܒܪܚܕܒܫܒܐ

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[1] Siehe darüber Ter-Minnassiantz, p. 113 f., in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 26.

fol. 1b

fol. 2a

§ II.

[1] Randglosse: ✧ ...

§ III.

fol. 2b

fol. 3a

§ IV.

fol. 3b

[1] Ms. omits.

fol. 6a

fol. 7a

[1] Fehlt im Ms.

[illegible]

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[1] Ms. [illegible].

[2] Randglosse: [illegible].

§ V.

fol. 8a

§ VI.

fol. 8b

ﻟﻪ ﺣﺼﻞ ﺑﺎﻃﻞ ﻣﺜﻞ ﻫﺬﺍ ﻭﻫﻮ ﺍﺳﻤﻪ ﻫﺬﺍ
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ﺍﻟﺒﺎﺭﻯ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻤﺼﻮﺭ. ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﺧﻠﻖ ﺍﻟﺴﻤﺎﻭﺍﺕ
ﻭﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺑﻴﻨﻬﻤﺎ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻟﻠﺸﻰﺀ ﻛﻦ
ﻓﻴﻜﻮﻥ. ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﺫﻛﺮﺕ ﺃﻧﺖ ﻭﻟﻴﺲ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻭﻻ
ﺍﻟﺮﺏ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﺨﺎﻟﻖ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﺒﺎﺭﻯ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﻤﺼﻮﺭ. ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ
ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻟﻠﺸﻰﺀ ﻛﻦ ﻓﻴﻜﻮﻥ ﻭﻟﻴﺲ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﺮﺏ ﻭﻻ
ﺍﻟﺨﺎﻟﻖ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﺒﺎﺭﻯ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﻤﺼﻮﺭ. ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﺧﻠﻖ
ﺍﻟﺴﻤﺎﻭﺍﺕ ﻭﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺑﻴﻨﻬﻤﺎ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻟﻠﺸﻰﺀ
ﻛﻦ ﻓﻴﻜﻮﻥ ﻭﻟﻴﺲ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﺮﺏ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﺨﺎﻟﻖ ﻭﻻ
ﺍﻟﺒﺎﺭﻯ ﻭﻻ ﺍﻟﻤﺼﻮﺭ. ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﺧﻠﻖ ﺍﻟﺴﻤﺎﻭﺍﺕ
ﻭﺍﻷﺭﺽ ﻭﻣﺎ ﺑﻴﻨﻬﻤﺎ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻯ ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻟﻠﺸﻰﺀ ﻛﻦ

ھا ھسا. سلا ھم نحا ماھ. ورا ابحھا سھ حم سلا ارکھا ھند. ھھ ھھحھ ھلھھھ ماھ ماامحلا. ماھ لا حلھ ابلا. ھحا ھھھھا ورتھا. ھھھا ناھ حرھھا. ھا ھکھ انھ ھھتا ماتھھا کھھ ناھ حھزا. لا کھ ااھلا حلا ھھحھا اھ ھاحا ابحھحا حلھھا لا سلھا حلا سلھا ماھھ. ھھ لا ھھزا ھ ھھھھھھاناھ.[1] ھکھ حھزا ھ الا حھبحھا. لا کھھتھا ولا کھھھقھا ولا کحکھا راھا. ھھکھ حبھا کھاھا ھھقھ.

§ VIII.

ھلھ ھھا ناحا ھبحزھحھا.

ھلھ ب ھھا ناحا ھبحزھحھا. حبا[2] ھھ ھ ھسا. ھکھ ھھھھا حاسا. ھھھا ھ ھکھھ ھھ حھسا ھحابھا ھبحزھحھا. ھکھ حھھ ابھھ ھ ھھا ھبھا ابحھحا. اھ سھا ھھھ کھھ ھ ھکھھا ابھھا.[3] ھتبھھلبا ھ ھھھھا. ھھ ھ ااحب ھکھبھ حھھنا. ھھھ ھکبا ولا ھبھ حھھکھا. حھھ ابھ ھ حھ ھتھا. ناھ ھ بوھ حھکھ ناھا اھ ناھلا حبا. ھکھ حھزھھا. ولا ھبھ لھا. ھاھھکھا ھ لا ھھسا کھ حھا الھا اھ ھکسا. لا ل اکسھ ھکھاسھ. ولا ل لا اکسھ ھکھزسھ. ابھ ھا ب ناسبسھ حھبا. ابھاسھ ابھا ھ ناھا ھ ھھ ھکھ ھ زھا. اسا کھاکھ ھ ھب ابھسا اھ حھبھ ابلاحھب الا. اسا کھ ابھ سھ حھھحھب ابھلھھ الکھا اسھقا ماکھا ککھھا. ابھا ببھ اھ ھھ ناھا حکھھ ناحا الکھا اسھقا ماکھا حکھھا. ل اسھھ ھ زھا ابحزھحھا حھسبر. حککا ناناھ حھھا ابحھا ھ سھ حھھا نھھ سھھحبر. ھھھھ حککا لا ھ ھھسا. ھ ھ حھھزا حھھسا ھسھ حھھا اھ ھبھا ھب اھبھ. ھھلھزا سھ حھھا ھھ ابھھا. لھ حاسا ھ حبا ابا ھ ھبا ھبا ھ حکھکھا سھھھ ھسبر. ھھھ ناھلا ھسلھلھا. اسھ ابحاراا ھسلا ھھا ھھا ھبا ھ ھ ھ ھلھ

[1] Ms. ھلھھھ ھھھھ. [2] Ms. ابحا.

[3] Randglosse: .ابحا ھلا ب ابھھا ھھھحھا ابحھحا ھھا ھھحھ ھھ ھھھا ھ ھھھا ھ ھھھا. ھھ ھ ابھھھ. ھھ ھ ابھھھ. ھھ ھ ھھھھھ. ھھ ھ ھھھ. ابحزھحھا ھھھزسھ. ھھ ھھا ھھزھھھ. ھا ھھا ھ ھھھا ھ ھھھا ابحا.

ﻣﻠﻜﺎ ﺣﺎﺭﺍ ﺑﺤﺎ ﺑﻼ ﺣﺒﺐ[1] ﺣﻪ ﺍﻣﺮ ﻣﺤﻮﻯ ﺣﻤﻌﻄﺎ ﺑﺎﺣﺪ ﻣﺤﻪ

§ IX.

ﻣﻠﻜﺎ ﺣﺎﺭﺍ ﺑﺤﺎ ﻣﻌﺎ ﻣﺘﺘﺴﺎ ﺑﺎﺣﺴﺎ ﻣﻌﻤﺤﻠﺢ ﺍﻧﻤﻮ ﺣﻪ ﺍﻣﺮ ﺣﺒﺎ ﺣﻤﻌﻞ. ﺑﻪ ﺣﺮ ﻫﺰ. ﺑﻤﺤﻤﻢ ﺍﻭﺍ ﺣﻤﻤﻌﻞ. ﻫﻤﻌﻞ. ﺍﻩ ﻣﻊ ﻣﻌ ﺑﻤﻤﺤﺰﺍ ﻣﻤﻌﻤﺎ. ﺍﻩ ﻣﻊ ﺣﺒﺎ ﺍﻩ ﻣﻊ ﻣﺤﻞ. ﻣﻊ ﻣﻌ ﻣﻠﻪ ﻣﻠﺎ ﻣﺤﺒﺎ ﻣﺎﺣﻤﺎ. ﻣﻊ ﺣﺒﺎ ﺑﻊ ﻣﻤﺤﻠﺎ ﺑﻤﻌﻤﻠﻤﻌ ﺍﻩ ﻣﻌﻤﺎ. ﻣﻊ ﻣﺤﻞ ﺑﻊ. ﻣﺤﻞ ﺑﻤﺤﺒﺎ ﻣﻌﻤﻞ ﻣﻤﻤﻤ ﻣﻤﻌﻞ. ﻣﺒﻤﻌﺎ. ﻣﺤﻌﻞ ﻣﻊ ﻣﺤﺒﺎ ﻣﻌﻤﻞ ﻣﺒﻠﺎ ﺑﻤﻞ. ﺣﻤﻠﻤﺎ ﺑﻊ ﻣﻠﻞ ﻣﻌﻌﻤﺎ ﻣﻠﻤﺤﻞ. ﻣﺒﻊ ﺣﺒﺎ ﺑﺤﻤﻠﻞ ﺣﻤﻊ ﻣﻤﻊ ﺣﺒﻊ ﺑﺎﺭﺍ ﺑﺤﺎ. ﺣﻤﻠﺎ ﺑﻊ ﺣﻤﻊ ﺍﻣﺮ ﺣﺒﻊ ﺑﺎﺭﺍ ﺑﻤﻤﻤ ﻣﻤﻊ. ﻣﻪ ﺍﻣﺮ ﻳﺎﻣﺎ ﻣﻠﻪ ﻳﺎﻫﻤﻢ ﻣﺎ ﻣﻌﻤﻠﻤ ﺣﺒﺎ ﺑﺎﺭﺍ ﺑﻤﻤﻤﺎ ﻣﻪ ﺍﻣﺮ ﻣﻠﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ

حبط حمّة حاز. وحه معمكنب هممحز وحبا الحا. هلا سنب معمسلة. حبهوا وا الهمب ووا حصا حصوا ومعم. لم سنب لمحس. معه حده حا بحبه وحنمع. الهلا حمّة حمنع مبعم. حصا حم هموا وحنع استب. اس وامز مبعا مز اهنعم. حصوا حلهنه حصا بحبه. وده وا حم هموا. حلا بنعنا سمعط بنسوم وحلزوم حم هموا حلاسعس. وامط وا لما مع حلهنه بمسع لحلهنه وحنمع. هلا سنب. ووط معم معجزه بمسع ووا حمّ حسنزا. لحمحزه وحز ووا حمّة حمنع مبعم. هلا سنب معمس ابط. لمح وا مننعا معجعها معجبا مننب محمعقا. معلاسقب حنمعمها وحمحط. حه حمط بمط وحه وحنع مبعم حجب حححز. حاز اط بنكلا معمط. حلا ووجز ووا معمط لحمحمه حجّ حلحل. حم مممم محجب حد معمط اط وزممنا بنب حه حمط بمط مسمنا مبعما معمنا ناز وهوعما. ووجز لهم لاز حجّه حلحل حالاه مبعما. حجم عنسانه حمّة حمنع مبعم الملح حز. حهلا حبهوا وحنع استب. حمط هلا بمبط. ومعط مط وجمعهمهم معم. محمز لمح حمط هلكا بمبط. ومعط مه وجمنمهم معم حهلا حمنع استب حم معمط. مجه هموا الهلا حمط هلا حهوا بنكه وحنع استب. اس وإ صجزه لاجع هلا حهوا بنكه وحنع استب. مع وا حكلا بمعمحنه هموا. اس الهلا مسط وحه حاجع بحا. وجه ووجا حمجزا. بعمه حبا وا حمعمه مبعما. محجبع ووج حلاوجع حاز امبا احما وامه. حجبع امه. حبط حاجنه وامبهم مكحا معنب امسامهم حزمهمهمهمهمزمه حبم حما ووج. ومبا لمحلا هجلا حلا وا. وزه احزا معتا. بحمبع حاز بمحه ابجا بحزا مبعا. وجبع بنبط. مع لم مكما. الممحه خاز مبعا بحزا ووللا حجم حكمهاب اس بمعمط معما بسعه احزا معتا. حمحجبعا وامبا مبعا مكعنوم ومعمعموم. اس سكه بعزا معمكماه ناز. اس وإ الهلا ماجع مسط حجما بحبماه بحزمع ووللا لحما. وا وه حلحا حاز مبعا بحزا ووللا. بحجب حلا بم مبوم حهلا. وحبا وا بعمز الممحه حبا ماهكمب بحمع حمعط.

§ X.

ولما رأى الملك الصالح ما فعل الله بالكفار وأنجاه من شرهم وأهلكهم وأخذ
fol. 13b

ما كان لهم من المال والسلاح والخيل والجمال والأثاث والأمتعة والعبيد
والإماء والدواب والأغنام والبقر وغير ذلك من الأموال التي لا تحصى
كثرة ولا تحد عدة ولا تحصر جملة ولا تستقصى جزئيات ولا كليات
ولا يحيط بها إلا علام الغيوب ومقدر الأرزاق والأقوات ومدبر الأمور
والحركات والسكنات ومسبب الأسباب ومقلب القلوب والأبصار ومصرف
الليل والنهار ومكور الليل على النهار ومكور النهار على الليل ومخرج
الحي من الميت ومخرج الميت من الحي ومحيي الأرض بعد موتها ومميت
الأحياء بعد حياتها ومنزل الغيث من بعد ما قنطوا وناشر رحمته وهو
الولي الحميد ومبدئ الخلق ثم يعيده وهو أهون عليه وله المثل الأعلى في
السموات والأرض وهو العزيز الحكيم ومقدر الخير والشر والنفع والضر
والعطاء والمنع والإيجاد والإعدام والإبداء والإفناء والإحياء والإماتة
والبعث والنشور والحساب والميزان والجنة والنار والصراط والكتاب
والثواب والعقاب والوعد والوعيد والأمر والنهي والحلال والحرام
والحسن والقبيح والطاعة والمعصية والكفر والإيمان والهدى والضلال
والرشد والغي والسعادة والشقاوة والخير والشر والنفع والضر والعطاء
والمنع والإيجاد والإعدام والإبداء والإفناء والإحياء والإماتة والبعث
والنشور والحساب والميزان والجنة والنار والصراط والكتاب والثواب
والعقاب والوعد والوعيد والأمر والنهي والحلال والحرام والحسن والقبيح
والطاعة والمعصية والكفر والإيمان والهدى والضلال والرشد والغي
والسعادة والشقاوة والخير والشر والنفع والضر والعطاء والمنع والإيجاد
والإعدام والإبداء والإفناء والإحياء والإماتة والبعث والنشور والحساب
والميزان والجنة والنار والصراط والكتاب والثواب والعقاب والوعد
والوعيد والأمر والنهي والحلال والحرام والحسن والقبيح والطاعة
والمعصية والكفر والإيمان والهدى والضلال والرشد والغي والسعادة
والشقاوة والخير والشر والنفع والضر والعطاء والمنع والإيجاد والإعدام
والإبداء والإفناء والإحياء والإماتة والبعث والنشور والحساب والميزان
والجنة والنار والصراط والكتاب والثواب والعقاب والوعد والوعيد
والأمر والنهي والحلال والحرام والحسن والقبيح والطاعة والمعصية
والكفر والإيمان والهدى والضلال والرشد والغي والسعادة والشقاوة
والخير والشر والنفع والضر والعطاء والمنع والإيجاد والإعدام والإبداء
والإفناء والإحياء والإماتة والبعث والنشور والحساب والميزان والجنة
والنار والصراط والكتاب والثواب والعقاب والوعد والوعيد والأمر
والنهي والحلال والحرام والحسن والقبيح والطاعة والمعصية والكفر
والإيمان والهدى والضلال والرشد والغي والسعادة والشقاوة والخير

fol. 15b

§ XI.

Von der Bedeutung des Possessivsuffixes der 3. Person.

Es ist zu sagen, dass dieses Suffix verschiedene Bedeutungen hat. Es kann mit dem Nomen, zu dem es gehört, in Apposition stehen, wie wenn man sagt: Sein Haus, der König. Es kann aber auch mit dem Nomen, zu dem es gehört, in Apposition stehen, wie wenn man sagt: Sein Haus, der König. Es kann auch mit dem Nomen, zu dem es gehört, in Apposition stehen, wie wenn man sagt: Sein Haus, der König. Es kann auch mit dem Nomen, zu dem es gehört, in Apposition stehen, wie wenn man sagt: Sein Haus, der König.

[1] Ms. [illegible].

ܒܗܢܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ. ܐܠܐ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܚܫܘܝܐ ܕܐ ܒܗܢܐ.
ܚܟܡ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐ ܐܝ ܒܥܘܕ ܚܕܐ ܐܢ ܒܡܝ
ܚܡܝܩܐ. ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܡ ܐܚܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܡܐܗܢܐ ܐ ܡ ܐܝ.
ܐܘܕܐ ܚܥܘܕ ܒܝ ܩܢܝܢܐ. ܐ ܡܩܢܝܢܐ. ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܝ
ܕܐ ܒܗܢܐ ܗܠ ܒܡܩܐ ܡܥܩܦܐ ܚܫܘܝܐ. ܡ ܠ ܡܢܐ
ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܐܢܐ ܚܕܐ. ܚܠ ܐ ܡܟܐ ܒܢܝ ܚܡܩܐ
ܡܚܡܩܐ ܡܚ ܐܢܗܡ ܐܢ ܚܫܘܝ. ܚܡܩܐ ܚ
ܗܡܟܐ ܒܢܝ ܠܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ. ܐܕ ܒܗܢܐ ܗ ܡܥܢܐ. fol. 16ᵃ

§ XII.

ܚܠ ܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܥܝ ܐ ܚܡܐ. ܡܥܩܡ
ܒ ܚܠ ܒ ܐܝܡܥ ܡ ܡܢܚܐ ܐܢܐ.

ܐ ܐ ܚܕ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܡ ܚܟܡ. ܐܡܟ ܐܡܢܐ
ܡܢܚܐ ܚܠ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ. ܠ ܠ ܐ ܐ ܐܕܐ ܗܡܐ
ܐܐ. ܠ ܡܟܐ. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܟ ܐܢ ܐܕ ܡܐ ܒܝܐ
ܡܟܐ ܡܥܟܐ. ܐ ܒ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܠ ܐ ܐ.
ܐܕ ܐܕܐ ܡܟܐ ܐ ܡܥܟܐ ܐ/ ܡܢܚܐ. ܡܡ ܚܟܐ
ܡܐ ܠ ܐ. ܡܡܐ ܐܕ ܡܢܚܐ ܡܢܚܐ ܐ
ܠܐ ܐ ܚ ܐ. ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

§ XIV.

fol. 17 b

§ XV.

fol. 17 b

[1] ? ي الاعتصا

§ XVI.

حلا رلا ومحزمحا

fol. 18a

الا محمسمس حه اس لهما بحسم. الا بحلحم حلحه رتا بتلهما بهلحزه حححصا. ولا لهلحزه. مع زحا اس بحا حتلهحمحم ومحصا لحصا. لمد معسا مما ححمحم حلح حلحم بهحتز حه ولا هحتز. حلحلم بح ولا هقصح حه. ولحلا هر هلحم حلا حلحه. محب حمح ومحز حمحه سمحصا حسا بحلح بهمم. بحصا بحلح بحمم. ولم حه لحه. حهحز ححمح. ولم حه لحه بححلح رتا قصزا بتلهما بحزا. ولم لا هر لاس ومحصا ححمح. ول هحلم حلا حلحه. هس محمحم حه ولحسم حتحتمه ولحسلما fol. 18b محلحقم حتمحصحم.

اص بح هس بحسا لحما لحزلحمح ومحمحه لالهسم بلولسانه. حمم ولا محمحلح لحصا بح بسلا. ولحلا بحمحلا اس لحلحلا حرلسما ول حمحصا لحصا ول حسلا. ولحزلا بحسا. ل اس بح ومحسا ومحز لحصا ححلحمح سمحص. حلحلم لا محلحصلا اص حلهما بحلم حمح حه. اس حلا لم بح هسلا بحلا بحلحز لا اص محلسم محلحسم اس بحلحس حمح. حسا لم لحلحص حز لحسا بحزلسا حهس. اص لا مرسا اس ابحة ولا. اصلم. ومحسا ححمح سلهلا بالمحلا حمح ومحسا بحسلسا محلحسا حمح لحلحص حلا. ولالسا ححسزلا حمح بحسلسا بالحسلم. ومحسا بالزم. حمح لحلم ولحلا بحلحز حزبا بحم لاحصز. ولحلا ولحسلم مسا. ول اص. بحلا ول محلحسلا ولحسا بحلحز. لحصا لحصا حزبا مححلا بحسا لحصا ولحلا ححه ولحلا بحلحلم. حم هنا بتلهما بالم ولحلحلم. ومححم هلحم ولسم بحلحلحم. ومحلحمحلم. ومحسلحم لا محقلما اس حزلا مسلا. لحسا بحمم اس بحا بحمس ولحلم حتم ولحلحم ومحمم. ولم لا هر ومحلحلم حمحلما مسا. ول مع لهما بحلا ولحسا بحلحا مسا بحلم لا محلحلم. حم هسلا مع لحسلحمحلما. ولم اص هسلا مع لحسلحمحلما لا محتما مسحل. ولا محلحلم حزلا مسا. حتم محمس حلا محسلحم محتلا محزحسا. مححمم مححتم ول بحسا بحسا.

[1] Ms. لحسا.

§ XVII.

fol. 19a

Regula fundamentalis.

Est ita ut dixi initio huius libri, omnes propositiones quae in hoc libro demonstrantur, ex una regula fundamentali pendere. Quae regula, quia per totum librum usurpanda est, ita enuntiata sit, ut facile memoriae mandari possit.

§ XVIII.

Regula, qua numeri primi inter se inveniuntur.

Sint duo numeri quicunque dati, quos primos inter se esse oportet. Quaeritur, quomodo inveniri possint numeri primi inter se, qui datis illis duobus numeris proportionales sint.

XIX.

fol. 19b

Regula, qua numeri proportionales inveniuntur.

Est ita, ut duo numeri quicunque dati sint. Quaeritur, quomodo inveniri possint numeri proportionales, qui datis illis duobus numeris proportionales sint. Quae regula, quia per totum librum usurpanda est, ita enuntiata sit, ut facile memoriae mandari possit.

§ XX.

Regula trium numerorum.

Est regula trium numerorum proportionalium. Quaeritur, quomodo tres numeri proportionales inveniri possint, quorum duo dati sint. Quae regula, quia per totum librum usurpanda est, ita enuntiata sit, ut facile memoriae mandari possit.

ܘܪܚ ܒܫܡܥ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ. ܒܫܡܥ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܪܚ
ܐܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܢܬ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗ
ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ

ڪلڪه ماسمه ان مسمه. ماڪ حيا حما حاڙا اس مسا
حمما ڪحصح ٥٥٥. اس لحما بڙا بسسمع هوتا
اسمع. محڪه بح حمعڪسما ٱلمڪ من حڪا حمما
حتمع اسب. محصح ٥٥٥ حڪا حه حمما حتمع اسب.
محصح ٥٥٥ حه ڪاڙا حڪا حمما حلا عا. حتمعا مع
محصح ٥٥٥ حه ڪڪا حصه ڪسم. ٥٥٥ حڪا معڪلح
٥٥٥ مع حه ڪسم مسلم ٥٥٥ حمڙبح. معڪلهمع حڪه
fol. 21a ڪڪا حمما معڪا ماڪح ڪاڪا اس لحمه ٱرحا هڪما. حرعا
٥٥٥ حصح ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ حبسا حلا ٥ڙبح بما. ٥٥٥ حصح ٥٥٥
حبما حرحا حتب اسادسه ٥٥٥ ٱرحا. صعما اتمسه
ملحا احمه ٱلاحمه ٥٥٥ رحما. حه حرحا ٥٥ ٱلاسحه اتمع
حاحمحم مع اسا مسعا. ماحه حڪا معڪا حلا عنا ٥٥ ڪاڙا
حه ملسلا معمحلح. ڪحاڙا مع ٱڪا حتمعا مع صحصح
حصه حسم. ٥٥٥ حمحمحا محمحمعا معڪلح حه حڪڪا
حبما حمڙبح بما. محرعا معڪلح حبسا ٥٥٥ حمحمحا.
٥٥٥ حتمعا الاسحم بمعڪلح حاڙا بمڪلهمه. اما ٱلاڙبح
ماسمه. ملا ٱحا ٥٥ حاڙا مٱتسا ٱڪا ٥ٱبسا. ٥٥
بمڪلهمه معڪلح ٥٥٥. ٥٥٥٥ ٱتمع معحصح حلا ٥٥٥.
حبڙبح حڪه معڪسه حبسب احقا ٱحه ٱحا مسع ٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥ حمحمحمڪلهمه.ڪحڪمحسبا محاڪمحما محمحا.
ٱحصح معمحما. ٥٥٥ هقسه حلا ٥٥٥ حڪحبح. ماحسح
حتما سلسلا ماحصح حڪحه ٥٥٥ بمڪلا مع حڪحبح سحتما
مبحڪلا ٥٥٥٥ حمه ٱحا ٥٥مصمح ٥٥٥ حسمححا ٱرحا.
٥٥٥٥حما بقسا. ٥٥مصه حصسا ٱسبا ٱٱڪا ماسمه حمحما
ٱلمڪ حه من ٱلسه عه الحلحا ماسه ٱسبا. ماسمه
حمحما حتمع اسب ٱلسحه ٥٥٥ مع ٥٥٥ مٱ[1] حتمع
مبمر حر معمعا. محصه حه حبسا ٥٥٥ حمحما عا ٥٥٥٥.
حمحما ٥٥ ٱتمع اسب سعصه. ماڪمحا سلسلا حصه
حتمع مبمر حر معمعا ٱلمڪ من حمڪا ٥٥. محه حصحا
٥٥ حڙبح ٥٥٥ سٱعا حڪاڙا اٱا ٱسڪلا معمعا. ملا
ٱحصه ٱحا حصه محصه حبسا ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ معسڪحا ٱعنا.
fol. 22a اما ٱا حتمع مبمر حڪاڙا محبسبا محاڪمحلا. ٥٥٥ معسڪحا
ٱتمع ملا ٱسا معمعا حمححلا اسعا حبما ڪحما ٱڙبح
ٱتسلا. ٥٥٥٥ حڙبح مع حمه معنا ٥٥٥ ٱبصه. حڙبح ٥٥٥ حه

[1] Ms. ٥٥.

§ XXII.

fol. 22b

fol. 23a

[1] Ms. ...

[2] Irrtümliche Wiederholung im Ms.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܗܕܐ ܘܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܐܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܥܒܕ ܠܟ

ܕܡܐ ܥ ܟܠ ܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬ ܥ ܕܐܡܐ . . .
ܠ ܐܢ ܟܠ ܥܡ ܐܕ ܫܟ ܡܡܟܡܐ.
ܗܘ ܐܐ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܠ ...
ܡܝ ܗܘ ܡܫ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟܠ ...
ܐܟܟ ܟܠ ܡܫ ܟܠ ܟܠ ...
ܠ ܡܡܡ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܟܠ ...
ܡܡܡ ܟܠ ...
ܕܡ ܥ ܟܠ ...
ܡܡܟ ...
ܡܡ ...
ܟܠ ...
ܠ ...
ܡܡ ...
ܟܠ ...
ܡ ...
ܟ ...
ܟ ...
ܟ

ﻣﺴﻠﻢ ﺑﻌﺾ ﺩﺭﺟﺔ ﺑﻌﻀﻬﺎ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻌﺰﻭﺑﺔ ﻛﻪ . . .
ﺑﻪ ﻛﻢ ﺣﺒﺎ ﺑﻬﺎ ﻛﻢ ﻣﻊ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﺎ.
ﺍﻻ ﻓﻲ ﻣﺎﺋﺔ ﺇﺫﺍ ﻛﻼ ﻓﻠﻔﺎﺏ . . .
ﻣﻪ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺑﻬﻢ ﻛﻢ ﻣﻌﻪ ﻡ ﻓﻪ ﻛﻢ.
ﺳﺐ ﻻ ﺍﻛﺒﺮ[1] ﺇﺳﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﺎ ﺍﻻ ﺃﻣﻪ . . .
ﻫﻪ ﺇﺳ ﻧﻌﻤﻪ ﻛﻼ ﻣﻠﻔﻠﺎ ﺳﻜﻒ ﺳﻠﺘﺎ.
ﻣﻠﺎ ﺇﺇﺳ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺍﺳﺘﺎ ﻻ ﻣﻠﻤﻜﻼ . . .
ﻣﻪ ﻟﻼ ﻫﻪ ﻣﻪﻣ ﺣﺪﺍ ﺇﻛﻪ ﻛﻼ ﻣﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻤﻜﻼ ﻣﺎ ﺇﺳﺴ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺇﻻ ﺳﺒﺢ ﻛﻪ . . .
ﺣﺒﺎﻩ ﺇﺫﺍ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺣﺮﺣﺘﺎ ﺇﻻ ﺗﻤﻤﻲ ﻛﻪ.
ﺍﺳﺘﺎ ﻛﻤﺰﻩ ﻣﻪﻣ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺇﺳﺤ ﺇﺳﺎ . . .
ﻣﻠﻤﻪ ﻣﺎﺋﺔ ﺇﺳﺎ ﻣﻜﻤﻢ ﻛﻼ ﻣﻠﻔﺎﻩ.
ﺃﺳﺢ ﺇﻟﻠﻪ ﺇﻣﺎ ﻣﻠﻤﻪ ﻣﻪﻣ ﻛﻤﻠﻜﻤﻪﻣ . .
ﻣﻌﻤﺲ ﻣﻪﻣ ﻛﻪ ﻻﺎ ﺇﺇﺳ ﺇﺣﺘﺎ ﻣﻌﻢ.
ﺇﻛﻤﻔﻮ ﻛﻤﺰﺍ ﻣﻌﻪﻣ ﻧﻌﻤﻪ ﻛﻢ ﺳﺔﺍ . . .
ﺳﻢ ﻣﻪ ﺇﺳﺎ ﺇﻛﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻪ ﻛﻤﻠﺎ ﻣﻜﻪ.
ﻣﻜﻠﻲ ﻣﻪ ﺃﺑﺎ ﺇﺳﺤ ﺇﺳﺎ ﻛﻼ ﻣﺎ . . .
ﺇﻣﺎ ﻛﺒﺎ ﻟﻼ ﺇﺳﺤ ﺇﺳﺎ ﻣﻌﻢ
ﻻﺍ ﻣﻤﻜﻼ ﻛﻪ ﻡ ﻧﻌﻤﺘﺎ ﻣﻪ ﻛﻤﻜﺒﻪ:

2. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

ﻡ ﻛﻌﻤﺎ ﺇﻘﻜﻌﺎ ﻣﻠﻜﻤﺎ ﺍﻟﺘﺮ ﻛﻌﺼﺎ. ﻗﻢ ﺇﻘﺰ ﺃﻗﺘﻤﻪ

ﻛﻼ ﺃﺑﺎ ﺇﺇﺳ ﺇﺳﺎ ﻣﻌﻤﺎ ﻛﻼ ﺣﺒﺎ. ﺣﺒﺎ ﻣﻠﺴﻪ ﻛﻪ
ﻣﻠﻤﻜﻠﻤﻪ ﻛﻤﻠﺤﻤﻪ ﻛﻪ . . . ﻣﻌﻤﻪ ﺇﻣﺤﺮ ﻣﻜﺴﺎ ﻣﻌﻪﻣ
ﻛﻪ ﺣﺒﺴﺎ ﺇﻟﻤﻠﻼ. ﻣﺎﻫ[2] ﻣﻪﻩ ﻣﻜﻤﻤﺘﺎ. ﻣﻌﺎ ﺇﺎﻉ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﻪﻣ
ﺇﻣﻌﻪ ﻛﻤﺰﻩ ﻛﻼ ﻣﻌﺎ. ﺇﻻ ﻧﻠﻜﻠﻤﻪ ﻣﻜﻤﺘﺎ . . . ﻣﻼ ﺇﺇﺳ
ﻣﻌﻢ ﺃﻣﺎ. ﻡ ﻛﺎﺀ ﻫﻪ ﻡﻌﺎ. ﻛﻠﻼ ﻡ ﻫﻪ ﻡﻌﺎ. ﻣﻌﻪ
ﻛﻪ ﻛﻪﻩ ﺇﺇﻣﺎ . . ﻡ ﺇﺎﻻ ﻣﻌﻢ ﺃﻣﺎ. ﻛﻠﻜﻪ ﻛﻔﺐ ﺃﻣ
ﻓﺴﺎ . . . ﺃﺱ ﺇﻣﻌﻪ ﻓﻲ ﻣﻨﺎ ﻡ ﻧﻌﺎ ﺇﻛﻤﺎ ﻣﻪﺍ ﻛﻪ.
ﻣﻌﺎ ﻣﻌﻪ ﻛﻠﻨﺎ ﻡ ﺃﻣﻌﻪ ﺇﺃﻣﻌﻪﺍ. ﻻ ﻛﻲﺍ ﻣﻨﺎ
ﻧﻌﺎ ﻣﻼ ﻛﻠﻨﺎ ﺃﻣﻌﻪﺍ . . . ﻣﻌﻤ ﻟﻼﻣﻼ ﺇﺎﻛﻢ ﺃﻣﺎ
ﻣﻨﺎ ﻣﺴﻤﺎ ﻣﻼ ﺃﻣﺎ ﺃﻠﻤﻨﺎ ﻛﻪ ﻛﻤﺎﺍ ﺇﻧﺎ . . . ﻟﻪ
ﺇﻟﻤﻼ ﻣﻌﺎ ﺇﻣﺎ ﺇﻛﻲﺍ ﻛﺴﻢ ﻣﻠﻼ ﻣﻼ ﺇﻧﻤﺪ ﻛﻠﻨﺎ
ﻣﻌﺎ ﺳﺎ ﻛﻤﻤﺎﻛﺎ.

[1] Fol. 140 r. a. beginnt nun.

[2] Fol. 140 r. b. beginnt nun.

3. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

[1]

4. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 r. b.*)

[2]

5. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. a.*)

[3]

[4]

6. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. a.*)

[5]

[6]

[1] Überschrift ist in Rot geschrieben.
[2] Überschrift ist in Rot geschrieben.
[3] Fol. 140 v. a. beginnt hier.
[4] Ebenfalls rot. [5] Ebenfalls rot.
[6] Kod. [illegible].

حم ٥٥٥ ياحنه ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ الا ياسكم ٥٥٥١ ٥٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥.

7. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. a.*)

ياوسنس آخ[1]

٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥١ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥. ٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥١ ٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥[2] ٥٥٥٥٥.

8. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. b.*)

٥٥٥٥٥٥٥٥ آخ[3]

لا ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥. الا ٥٥ ٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥. ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥. ٥
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥[4] ٥٥٥ ٥٥. ٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥.
٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥ آخ ٥٥٥٥٥.
٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥. ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥. ٥٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥
٥٥٥ ٥٥٥. ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥.
٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥.

9. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 140 v. b.*)

٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥[5]

٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥. ٥٥ ٥٥
٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥. ٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥ ٥٥. ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥

10. (*Cod. Bibl. Medic. Palat. fol. 141 r.*)

[1]ܥܠ ܐܝܓܪܬܐ

ܠܐ ܢܫܚܠ ܡܢܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܒܥܐ ܕܢܫܡܥ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܡܡ ܒܗ
ܒܟܠ ܟܠ. ܡܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܝܬ
ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܟܠ. ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ
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Übersetzung

fol. 1a A. *Sendschreiben des Patriarchen, Johannes Barschuschan, an den Catholicus der Armenier über einige hassenswerte, den Kanones der Kirche widersprechende Gebräuche, welche unter den Armeniern aufgekommen waren.*

§ I.

Erstens, über den Glauben des orthodoxen Volkes der Syrer.

Johannes, ein Knecht Jesu Christi, durch die Gnade Gottes Oberhirte und Herr der Gemeinde, das heißt, durch das erlösende Blut Patriarch geworden, sendet Eurer Heiligkeit einen heiligen Gruß.

Gesegnet sei Gott, der Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, der uns allzeit labt mit seiner Liebe und uns offenbart den Glanz seiner Erkenntnis in unsern Herzen; welcher uns tröstet in unsern Nöten. Wie das Licht die Augen, so einigt Er uns mit Seiner geistlichen Liebe; und wie die Seele in den Gliedern, so verbindet Er uns mit Liebe. Gleich dem magnetischen Stein zieht er uns zum freudigen Verkehr mit Euch, daß wir, wie in Seele und Leib, so auch in wirklichen Worten, durch Papier und Tinte, mit Eurer Heiligkeit verbunden werden, und unsere Augen uns erleuchtet werden von Eurer Gelehrsamkeit, und erhöhet werde das Horn unsrer Armut
fol. 1b durch die Demut dessen, dem da sei Ehre und Preis jetzt und in Ewigkeit, Amen.

Es ist ein Gott, der überall und in uns allen ist, o geistlicher und heiliger Vater! und ein Herr, Jesus Christus, in welchem alles beschlossen ist, nach den Apostolischen Definitionen des göttlichen Paulus und der heiligen Väter des *Nicaenums*[1]; und ein Heiliger Geist, der überall ist. Einer und einer und einer, also drei[2]; nicht in allem; wohl in Namen und Hypostasen, in den Prosopen, in charakteristischen Eigenschaften der heiligen Personen; aber eins dem Wesen (*οὐσία*) nach. Nicht von gleichem Wesen in allem, damit nicht ein-

[1] Konzil von Nicäa (325).

[2] Wir haben hier jedenfalls eine Anspielung auf Gregor des Großen Wort: Wenn Gott und Gott und Gott ist, sagen sie (die Arianer und die Eunomianer), sind dann nicht drei Götter? Und verehren wir nicht eine göttliche Vielherrschaft? (Orat. XXXI. 13c, 14).

dringe bei uns der heidnische Wahn des Sabellius[1]), und wir am Ende gar tun nach Art der Juden. Auch nicht drei nach dem Schisma des Arius[2]; oder nach Stufe und Maß von groß, größer, am größten. Das Böse ist gleich frevelhaft, und Gedanke und Wille sind gottlos. Also ziemt es sich zu bekennen: fol. 2ª
Eins in drei, und drei sind Eins, wie Gregorius der Theologe lehrte.

Der Vater ist Vater ohne Anfang, das heißt ohne Zeugung. Der Sohn ist Sohn und nicht ohne Anfang; denn er ist vom Vater gezeugt worden. Der Heilige Geist ist ausgegangen vom Vater und mit dem Sohne. Ein Wesen, eine Gottheit, ein Reich, eine Obrigkeit, ein Wille, (und) eine Macht und eine Tätigkeit.[3] Nicht drei Substanzen, oder drei Götter, oder drei leitende Prinzipien, oder gar verschiedene und sich gegenüberstehende; sondern es ist ein Gott nach Natur und Wesen[4]; aber drei *Qnomi*, i. e. getrennte Eigenschaften der heiligen Persönlichkeiten; wie ja auch Adam und Seth und Eva, zum Beispiel; und die Sonne, ihr Licht und ihre Hitze; und Verstand und Vernunft und Geist[5]; und die Pflanze, ihr Duft und ihre Farbe usw.; obwohl es gibt nichts in den natürlichen Beispielen, das dem Herrn ähnlich wäre oder sich vergleichen

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[1] Sabellius (ca. 225).

[2] Arius (256—336).

[3] Eigentlich sagt Gregor so: Die Eigenschaften (Gottes) sind: des Vaters, daß er ohne Prinzip und Anfang ist und heißt Prinzip als das Ursächliche, als die Quelle, als das ewige Licht; des Sohnes, daß er zwar keineswegs ohne Prinzip, aber doch das schöpferische Prinzip des Weltalls ist. (Orat. XX. 8 p. 380.)

Bezüglich des Heiligen Geistes lehrte Gregor, indem er Johannes 1 : 9 auf die drei Hypostasen der Gottheit anwandte, und sagte: Es war Licht und Licht und Licht, aber ein Licht, nämlich ein Gott. Was auch dem David vorschwebte, wenn er sagt: In deinem Lichte sehen wir das Licht. Denn jetzt schauen und verkündigen wir es auch, indem wir aus dem Lichte, dem Vater, das Licht, den Sohn in dem Lichte, dem Heiligen Geist erkennen. (Ullmann, Gregorius von Nazianz; Orat. XXXI. 3 p. 557.)

[4] Gregors Definition hierzu ist folgende: *μίαν φύσιν ἐν τρισὶ θεότησι, συνημμένη, τελείαν, καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑφεστῶσαν, ἁπλῶς διαιρετὴν, καὶ οὐ διαιρετὴν θεότητι*, in welcher zugleich der Ausdruck ἀκάτοπτος durch die Worte *καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑφεστῶσαν* seine beste Erklärung findet. (Orat. XXXIII. 16 p. 614.)

[5] Einen ähnlichen Ausdruck finden wir in Gregors Reden: „Wir wollen eine und dieselbe Natur der Gottheit festhalten, welche in dem Hervorgehenden erkannt wird, wie unser Inneres in dem Verstande, der Vernunft und dem Geiste". (Orat. XXIII. 11 p. 431.)

ließe, unter den Söhnen der Engel, wie der Prophet David sagt.[1] Dies sind in kurzen Worten die charakteristischen Merkmale, wie die herrliche Trinität beschaffen ist.

§ II.

Einer aber von dieser heiligen Dreieinigkeit[2] kam vom Himmel herab, unverändert, nämlich der Sohn, der vom Vater gezeugt war im geistlichen Sinne. Er ward Mensch[3], gleich wie wir, um unsertwillen ohne Unterschied, da er seiner Natur nach Gott blieb und bewahrte so die Jungfrau jungfräulich, wenn er auch von ihr an sich nahm menschliches Fleisch. Er, der auch die Gestalt unserer Leiden annahm, nach den prophetischen und den apostolischen Zeugnissen, da er litt und gekreuzigt wurde, und starb in derselben Weise, wie er gezeugt worden war. Auch ist er auferstanden und aufgefahren in die Herrlichkeit zum Himmel; und mit diesem selben Leib wird er wiederkommen, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten, wie die Stimme des Engels den heiligen Aposteln verkündigte; wie dies ja in der Schrift der Acta Apostolorum geschrieben steht.[4]

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[1] Psalm 89:7 heißt es: „Denn wer in den Wolken ist mit Jehovah zu vergleichen? Wer ist Jehovah gleich unter den Söhnen der Starken?"

[2] Randglosse: „Darüber, daß eine Natur in 3 *Qnōmen* ist; eine Herrschaft; aber einer in dreien und die 3 sind eins."

[3] Über die Menschwerdung sagt Sahak III, nach Ter-Minassiantz p. 137: Er (Christus) stieg hinab in den Mutterleib der unverderbten Jungfrau, und von ihr menschlichen Leib und Seele und Verstand annehmend, mischte und vereinigte er sie mit dem Feuer seiner Gottheit UND MACHTE SIE VOLLKOMMEN ZU GOTT UND ZUR GÖTTLICHEN NATUR. Nicht, indem er ihn (den Leib) aufhob oder vernichtet und nicht, indem er ihn in Unleiblichkeit verwandelte, sondern er ließ den Leib in seinem Wesen, so daß die Apostel ihn betasten konnten; aber er machte ihn im Mutterleibe der Heiligen Jungfrau vollständig nach der Natur seiner Göttlichkeit, und er ließ den Leib nicht nach seinem Wesen bleiben in der Mischung und Vereinigung, in ihr schwach und kraftlos, wie manche in falscher Meinung glauben, sondern in unverständlicher und unaussprechlicher Eiligkeit verwandelte er ihn von den irdischem zum feurigen, von den menschlichen zum göttlichen, von dem geschaffenen zum schöpferischen . . ., von dem sündigen zum sündlosen, und von dem verderblichen zum unverderblichen . . . (Buch der Briefe, p. 421.)

[4] Acta 10:42.

§ III.

Darüber, daß bekannt werden soll eine Natur des göttlichen Logos, welcher Fleisch geworden ist. fol. 2b

Nicht zwei Naturen und Personen, nach dem Frevel des Nestorius,[1] des Theodorus,[2] und ihrer Konsorten; die nämlich Gott und Mensch vereinigen in einer zufälligen Union und zwei Naturen einführen; verehren das Geschöpf mit dem Schöpfer, und den Knecht mit dem Herrn; und achten den Menschen, Gott zu sein; machen also die Trinität zu einer Quarternität, und erneuern damit die jüdische und heidnische Religion. Noch bekennen wir eine Person des einen Christus mit zwei Naturen, zwei Willen und zwei Funktionen, wie die gottlose Schrift Leo's[3] lehrt, und die verbrecherische Synode von Chalcedon[4] bestimmte; noch akzeptieren wir eine Person und eine Natur in Wesensgleichheit und Vermischung, wie der ruchlose Eutyches[5] sagt und eine Schar fanatischer Gotteslästerer.

Aber es gibt nur einen Christus, einen eingebornen Sohn, einen Logos, der Fleisch geworden ist, eine zusammengesetzte Natur und Person (Qnōm), in welcher bewahrt wurde das Merkmal der natürlichen Verschiedenheit der Personen, die ungeteilt und unberechenbar, unvermischt, und unverflüchtigt waren; ebenso wie auch die Seele und dieser unser Menschenleib; wie der heilige Cyrill[6] lehrt, und ebenso alle die heiligen und rechtgläubigen Väter. Denn die Union des Logos[7] mit

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[1] Nestorius, † 451.
[2] Theodor von Mopsueste (350—428 o. 429).
[3] Papst Leo I. (440—461). [4] Konzil zu Chalcedon (451).
[5] Eutyches, † 458. [6] Cyrill † 444.
[7] Auch hier ist unser Autor wieder Gregor gefolgt, der an zwei verschiedenen Stellen ungefähr dasselbe sagt: „Der LOGOS Gottes, der ewige, unsichtbare, unbegreifliche, unkörperliche, das Grundwesen aus dem Grundwesen, das Licht aus dem Licht, die Quelle des Lebens und der Unsterblichkeit, der Abdruck der urbildlichen Schönheit, das feste Siegel, das unwandelbare Bild, die Begrenzung und das Wort des Vaters — ER läßt sich herab zu seinem eigenem Bilde, nimmt das Fleisch an sich um des Fleisches willen, das Gleiche durch das Gleiche reinigend, und wird Mensch in jeder Beziehung, ausgenommen die Sünde; er ward empfangen von einer Jungfrau, nachdem die Seele und der Körper derselben vorher gereinigt war durch den Geist; denn auch die Geburt mußte geehrt, die Jungfrauschaft aber höher geehrt werden; und so ging er Gott hervor mit dem Angenommenen: Eines aus zwei Entgegengesetzten, dem Fleische

dem Fleische der Heiligen Jungfrau ist nicht eine der Majestät und Macht, sodaß man an ihm zählet die Naturen und Personen, die Willen und Funktionen, sondern es ist eine persönliche und natürliche Verbindung, da ja auch Seele und Leib nicht vor der Vereinigung zwei und nicht nach der Vereinigung zwei waren; aber der Logos ist nicht Fleisch geworden, wenn man zwei Naturen an ihm bekennt nach der Verbindung. Denn nicht vier verehren wir, sagt der heilige Gregorius Thamaturgus[1]: Gott und den Sohn Gottes, den Heiligen Geist und den Menschen von der Heilgen Jungfrau; sondern wir verdammen jene, die so gottlos reden und den Menschen zu göttlicher Ehre erheben. Dies denn ist für uns Syrer die Definition des christlichen Glaubens.

fol. 3a O, du Heiliger Gottes! Wir schreiben in wenigen Worten an Eure große Weisheit, als an den Lehrer des geistlichen Israels, und unterbreiten Argument und Begründung Eurem theoretischen Wissen. Durch Eure, von dem Heiligen Geiste angehauchten, Schriften wurden wir erleuchtet, und wir bringen Euch von dem Eurigen dar. Von der Menge von Argumenten vieler Lehrer haben wir uns abgewandt. Weil aber, wie der Himmel mit Strahlen, und die Erde mit schönen Blumen, Euer verehrtes Schreiben mit Fragen, die nicht notwendig, sondern gewohnheitsmäßig sind, geschmückt ist, so bezahlen wir die Schuld in der brüderlichen Liebe, welche die Erfüllung des Gesetzes und der Propheten ist.

Aber ich bitte Eure Weisheit, wir dürfen nicht unsern Willen als Gesetz der Wahrheit gegenüberstellen und nicht Gegner werden in der Leidenschaft des Stolzes, und uns nicht einreden lassen, den halsstarrigen Juden ähnlich zu werden.

§ IV.

fol. 3b *Über den Sauerteig, Salz und Öl, welche wir in der Eucharistie verwenden.*

Ihr fragt, was das gesäuerte Brot[2] symbolisiere, welches wir, wie alle christlichen Nationen, machen; und das Salz und

und dem Geiste, von denen das Eine vergöttlichte, das Andere vergöttlicht wurde. O der neuen Verbindung, o der wunderbaren Vermischung!" (Orat. XXXVIII 13. p. 671; XLV. 9 p. 851.)

[1] Gregorius Thaumaturgus (210—270).

[2] Bei den Armeniern wird beim Abendmahl Ungesäuertes (Brot) genossen. Man gebraucht meistens kleine, runde Cakes, mit der Figur

Öl, welches wir beim Opfer verwenden d. h. in der Eucharistie; und die andern Fragen, welche unten angegeben sind.

Wir sagen also zu Eurer mathematischen Weisheit, daß, wie das Alte das Neue symbolisiert; ich meine, wie das Volk der Juden die christlichen Völker; der Sabbat den Sonntag; die Beschneidung die Taufe; süßes Brot das gesäuerte; das Passahlamm Christum, und der Rest des Gesetzes Mosis; und wie auch der erste irdische Adam, welcher von Erde ist, den zweiten Adam symbolisiert, welcher der Herr vom Himmel ist, sagt Paulus[1]; aus diesem Grund ist der Logos Fleisch geworden, d. h. Mensch, wie Adam, damit er im Leibe Adams rettete den Adam, der gesündigt hatte. Und weil Adam aus vier Substanzen oder Elementen (ich meine: Erde, Wasser, Feuer und Luft) und einer vernünftigen Seele bestand, so, daß seine ursprünglichen Bestandteile fünf waren, so auch Christus, der ein Mensch war wie Adam, wurde notwendigerweise und wahrhaftiglich erfunden als einer, der aus fünf Bestandteilen zusammengesetzt war, wie Adam; damit Christus nichts fehlte von dem, was Adam hatte. Wenn jeder Leib aus vier Substanzen besteht, wie ist es dann möglich, daß Adam aus vier Substanzen vollkommen war? Da er doch an der vernünftigen Seele allein anderen Wesen, den lebendigen und den nicht lebendigen, überlegen war. Also bringt die Kirche den Leib und das Blut Christi dar zum Gedächtnis seines Todes, wie er im Obergemach zeigte, und seinen Jüngern offenbarte.[2] Wohl und geziemend also nehmen wir Sauerteig, Salz und Öl in Mehl und Wasser, damit nicht der Leib Christi der Vollendung ermangele, und wir Mangel hätten am Heil Christi; denn Wasser und Mehl bilden noch nicht den Leib Christi in der Vollständigkeit. Auch nicht die beiden Elemente, Staub und Wasser, konnten oder können den Leib Adams dar-

Christi aufgestempelt, die vom Priester am frühen Morgen gebacken werden. Dafür ist ein kleiner Ofen an die Kirche angebaut. Wenn der Bischof die Eucharistie feiert, backt die Cakes einer der Diakonen.

Der Wein, der beim Abendmahl gebraucht wird, ist der persische Schiraz-Wein, der reiner, vergorener Traubensaft (nicht mit Wasser gemischt) ist.

Die Eucharistie wird nicht am Nachmittag oder Abend gefeiert, sondern am Vormittag; außer am Weihnachts- und Ostersonntagsabend und am Gründonnerstag Nachmittag.

[1] I Kor. 15 : 47; Röm. 5 : 12 f.

[2] Mat. 26 : 26.

stellen. Denn sie sind defekt, aber am Leibe Christi ist kein Mangel. Adam wurde von vier Substanzen (Elementen) geschaffen, d. h. so wurde er hergestellt am Anfang seiner Schöpfung. Auch der Messias ist von vier Elementen gebildet worden im Schoß der Jungfrau als Neuschöpfung Adams. Also ungesäuertes Brot ist mangelhaft, aber gesäuertes Brot von Salz, Sauerteig und Öl ist vollkommen. Weil nun auch die heiligen Lehrer dies befahlen, und die Apostel lehrten dasselbe alle Völker, uns befreiend von der Ausübung des jüdischen Gesetzes und von dem Fluch, der auf ihnen (lag), deshalb nehmen wir Wasser als Symbol vom ursprünglichen Wasser; Mehl als Symbol für Staub; Sauerteig für Luft; Salz für Feuer. Öl wiederum ist ein Typus der Liebe Gottes, in welcher Er den ersten Menschen gemacht hat. Endlich sagt auch der heilige Ephräm,[1] und der heilige Cyrill, in der Erklärung der Schöpfung: Sauerteig bedeutet den Glauben an die heilige Dreieinigkeit; denn wie der Sauerteig schnell die ganze Masse des Teiges bringt zu seinem eigenen Wohlgeruch und Geschmack, und sie würzt, so zieht auch Christus, durch den von ihm angenommenen Leib, in welchem er Schmerzen, Kreuz und den Tod erlitt, jedermann zum Glauben an sich, seinen Vater und den Heiligen Geist; wie er sagt: „Ich aber, wenn ich erhöht worden bin von der Erde, will ich sie alle zu mir ziehen."[2] Daß aber Sauerteig Christus bedeutet, siehe im Evangelium heißt es: „Welche Hausfrau", usw.[3] Also ziemt es sich, Sauerteig zu nehmen in Eucharistie. Salz wiederum ist das Symbol der Liebe Gottes zu uns. Denn es steht geschrieben:[4] „Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt, daß Er seinen eingeborenen Sohn an seiner Statt dahingegeben hat".[5] „Ihr seid das Salz der Erde" sagt Christus zu seinen Jüngern.[6] „Jedes Opfer soll mit Salz gesalzen werden", befahl Gott Mose im Levitikus[7], und Markus, der Evangelist, in seinem Evangelium[8]. Also ist es notwendig, daß im Leib Christi, dem

[1] Ephräm Syrus (306—373 o. 379).
[2] Joh. 12 : 32.
[3] Matt. 13 : 33, usw.
[4] Joh. 3 : 16.
[5] Sonderbar ist das an seiner Statt. Ich weiß nicht, in welchem Texte das zu finden wäre.
[6] Matt. 5 : 13.
[7] Lev. 2 : 13.
[8] Mk. 9 : 50.

lebendigen und lebengebenden Opfer, das Salz, das Vorbild seiner Liebe, hineingesetzt sei; mehr als bei den unvernünftigen Opfern vom Gesetz Mosis, welche überhaupt nicht die Opfernden sühnen (entsündigen) konnten. So sind auch diejenigen töricht, die ein Opfer ohne Salz darbringen, und fern sind ihre Opfergaben von der Liebe Christi und von dem Vorbild der heiligen Apostel. Denn nicht soll man unschmackhaft, ohne Salz essen, sagt Hiob.[1] Ich aber sage: Kein gekochtes Essen ohne Salz ist angenehm, ebenso kein Wein ohne Wasser; ebensowenig ist ein Opfer ohne Salz annehmbar; nicht im alten Gesetz Mosis, welche die heilige Eucharistie symbolisiert, und auch nicht in diesem neuen (Gesetz), das Christus seiner Kirche überliefert hat. Denn sie erlaubt nicht, daß wir verlassen irgend etwas von dem, was er bestimmt hat, — es sei denn, daß derjenige, der opfert, Jude sei und kein Christ. Denn in den Bestimmungen der heidnischen Weisen und Philosophen gebraucht man hier den Terminus: *„definita affirmativa* (προσδιοριστικὰ καταφατικά) universell einschließend".[2] Denn *kull* und *lā kull* sind große Definitiones, allgemein und einander entgegengesetzt, gerade wie auch *had* und *lā had* partiell sind. Also sagt Christus unser Herr zu seinen Jüngern: „Sagt und lehrt *alles*, was ich euch befohlen habe".[3] Da er nun „alles" sagt, so schließt er damit all die Kanones und Gebote ein. Dies ist alles, was er sagte über das Opfer, das gebracht wird. Es gibt also keine geschmacklosere Opfergabe (Oblate), als die, woran kein erfrischendes Salz ist. Diese Worte nun — wenig anstatt viel — über diesen Gegenstand mögen genug sein.

Über Olivenöl.

Wir gebrauchen Olivenöl auf den Oblaten als Symbol der Barmherzigkeit Gottes zu uns Sündern; denn so meint (tut) es auch das alttestamentliche Gesetz mit den ungesäuerten Broten, welche mit Öl bestrichen wurden, und mit den Leuchtern und den Lichtern.[4] Ebenso war das Olivenblatt, welches die Taube[5] dem gerechten Noah zur Abendzeit brachte, ein Zeichen des Endes der Flut. Die Kinder[6], welche ihm fol. 6a

[1] Hiob 6 : 6.
[2] Nämlich in der Terminologie der Logik.
[3] Matt. 28 : 19.
[4] Ex. 29 : 2.
[5] Gen. 8 : 3.
[6] Matt. 21 : 15.

zugejauchzt haben mit Ölzweigen, symbolisierten die Barmherzigkeit Gottes und das Heil, das er selbst brachte von der Flut der Sünde. Auch der Samariter[1], welcher sich des unter die Räuber Gefallenen erbarmte, als dieser hinabging von Jerusalem nach Jericho, ist Christus, welcher die Menschen rettete mit seinem Blute. Mit Wein und Öl verband er seine Wunden und heilte ihn.[2] Aber auch der Menschensohn wurde gesalbt für uns, von seiner Mutter[3] und den andern Weibern, dreimal; da der Evangelist Lukas[4] bezeugt über eine, und die andern Evangelisten (bezeugen) über eine andere, welche ihn salbte.[5] Also dürfen wir auch Öl darbringen beim lebendigen Opfer, dem Abendmahl Christi; wie auch Salz ein Symbol der Liebe und Barmherzigkeit Gottes für die Menschheit ist. Aber wenn einem Priester an Glauben mangelt, und er dabei unbarmherzig ist, so ist er kein Priester. Auch der Laie, der eins von diesen Dingen nicht hat, ist kein Christ. Also Glaube, Liebe und Barmherzigkeit sind die Erfüllung des Christentums; und Sauerteig, Salz und Öl sind die Vollendung des Leibes Christi denen, welchen das Evangelium Christi nicht fol. verborgen ist. Wer aber eins von diesen entbehrt, des Herz 7[a] ist mit Unwissenheit verfinstert.

Über das alttestamentliche Ungesäuerte, welches unser Herr aß und abschaffte und mit einem neuen Sauerteig begann.

Über das ungesäuerte Brot, welches Christus am Abend der Eucharistie[6] aß; wie Ihr gewiß glaubt, O, du Heiliger Gottes. Daß er am Abend davon gegessen und es in jenem Moment abgeschafft hat: „Geht, den Ort uns zu bereiten, damit ich mit euch das Passahlamm esse, ehe ich leide,“[7] sagt Christus zu seinen Jüngern. Und nachdem sie gegangen waren und zubereitet hatten, kam Jesus und legte sich zu Tische; und als er gegessen hatte Lamm und ungesäuertes Brot und die bitteren Kräuter, wie das Gesetz Mosis befiehlt, sagte er: „Seht, es ist vollbracht“;[8] und damit besiegelte er vollständig

[1] Luk. 10 : 33. [2] Luk. 10 : 34.

[3] Joh. 12 : 3? Daß Maria, die Mutter Jesu, ihn salbte, nimmt unser Autor jedenfalls aus obiger Stelle, wo Jesus im Hause der Martha ist, und es nun heißt: Da nahm Maria ein Pfund Salbe von echter, sehr kostbarer Narde und salbte die Füße Jesu und trocknete sie mit ihren Haaren.

[4] Luk. 4 : 37—38. [5] Mk. 17 : 3; Matt. 26 : 7 f.

[6] Matt. 26 : 26. [7] Luk. 22 : 8. [8] Luk. 22 : 16, 37.

das alte Bündnis. Darauf nahm er das Brot in seine Hände, und nachdem er gedankt hatte, brach er es, aß, und gab seinen Jüngern auch zu essen. Siehe, er nennt es „Brot" (*laḥmā*), nicht „Ungesäuertes" (*paṭṭīrā*); denn wie es geschrieben steht, also ziemt uns zu glauben, damit wir ohne Falsch erscheinen. „Brot", sagen die Heiligen, die Evangelisten, die Apostel und Paulus, nicht „Ungesäuertes."[1] Brot (*Ḥammīā*) wird nicht Ungesäuertes genannt, und das Ungesäuerte nicht Brot. Ich habe nicht ausgeschrieben das Zeugnis der heiligen Lehrer, um die Sache nicht zu sehr in die Länge zu ziehen. Wenn Ihr aber sagt, daß unser Herr Ungesäuertes gegessen und das A. T. erfüllt hat, und daß er dann, Ungesäuertes essend, mit dem N. T. angefangen hat, so geht das nicht an. Ungesäuertes im A. T. und ebenso im N. T.? Wo ist also das Neue in Christo? Da er aber „*alles*" sagte, so ließ er nichts ohne es in dem Wort einzuschließen. Wie entkommt dies Ungesäuerte, welches in Christo nicht erneuert worden ist? Das alttestamentliche Lamm ist abgeschafft worden darin,[2] daß wir fortan keine Tiere mehr opfern, nachdem das Lamm Gottes selbst abgeschafft hat alle Opfer mit seinem Opfer, welches für die Welt ist. Wenn Moses abgeschafft ist mit Christo, und die Torah mit dem Evangelium, und der Sabbat mit dem heiligen Sonntag, so ist notwendigerweise auch Ungesäuertes abgeschafft worden. Wenn Ungesäuertes besteht, und das Lamm noch Berechtigung[3] hat, so ist also bis jetzt der Gesalbte Gottes noch nicht getötet worden, und redet Paulus falsch, wenn er sagt: „Unser Passahlamm ist Christus, geschlachtet und geopfert für uns."[4] Wenn jetzt noch das jüdische Ungesäuerte besteht, so ist unser A. T. nicht erneuert worden, und der erste Adam ist noch in seiner Sünde. Und wahr würde das schriftliche Wort der Juden, Töter Gottes, daß bis jetzt Christus noch nicht gekommen ist. Für Christen ziemt es sich, einem zu folgen: entweder Mose mit Opferlamm und alttestamentlichem Ungesäuerten, oder Paulus mit Brot und Wein im N. T. Wenn Ihr nun sagen solltet: Woher hatten sie gesäuertes

[1] Vgl. auch die Argumente p. 116 ff.

[2] Randglosse: „Diese wurden erneuert, Und Verheißung auf Verheißung wurde uns gegeben. ‚Abgeschafft' steht geschrieben an der Stelle wo: ‚Erneuert ist das Alte'."

[3] Dies deutet doch wohl auf Lammopfer hin.

[4] Kor. 5 : 7.

Brot damals in Jerusalem? Wegen Zeit, Ruf und Personen. Einerseits, die Zeit; da ihre Herrschaft ein Ende hatte, und sie nicht mehr Autorität hatten, ihre Feste frei zu feiern, wie vormals. Andrerseits. Ruf und die Personen; daß Herodes und Pilatus und die andren Tetrarche, welche in Jerusalem regierten, und in Judäa und in Galiläa, wie sagt der Evangelist Lukas, ließen nicht zu, daß sie ihre Feste feierten, wie ihnen befohlen war, weder mit Anbetung, noch mit dem Opfer, noch mit Ungesäuertem. Die Römer und die fremden Völker, die da wohnten, aßen nicht Ungesäuertes, da das Volk der Juden verachtet war. Für sieben Tage war ihnen befohlen, Ungesäuertes zu essen,[1] zum Gedächtnis des Auszugs aus der Knechtschaft Ägyptens. Wir aber, die wir von dem Ägypten der Sünde, dem eisernen Feuerofen, durch Christum befreit worden sind zur Freiheit des neuen Lebens, warum sollten wir's denn noch nötig haben, zum ungläubigen Ungesäuerten der Juden zurückzukehren: von der Jugend, welche wir in Christo erhalten haben, zum Greisenalter des Mosaismus, den wir verlassen haben? Denn Paulus sagt den Galatern, die sich wollten beschneiden lassen nach der Taufe: Siehe, ich Paulus sage euch: ‚Wenn ihr beschnitten werdet, wird euch Christus nichts nützen'.[2] Also auch jeder, der Ungesäuertes ißt und den Sabbat hält, usw., des Dienst und Hoffnung ist nichtig in bezug auf Christum. Dies bis hierher, genügt vollständig.

§ V.

fol. 8*

Über das Wasser, das wir im Kelch mischen.

Über das Wasser, das wir im Kelch des Blutes mischen. Also lehrte uns Christus, und der Apostel Johannes,[3] der Theologe, daß aus des Herrn Seite Blut und Wasser floß. Blut bedeutet sein Leben, Wasser aber seinen Tod. Wenn wir also durch seinen Tod erlöst worden sind, und die gläubige Gemeinde das Gedächtnis seines Todes in der Eucharistie feiert, wie er auch sagte: „Dies tut zum Gedächtnis meines Todes",[4] dann verleugnen diejenigen, welche nur reinen Wein machen und auf dem Altar darbringen, seine Leiden und seinen stellvertretenden Tod, da sie ja nur sein Leben predigen. Denn die Heiden Harans und die Juden allenthalben opfern reinen

[1] Dtn. 16 : 3. [2] Gal. 5 : 2. [3] Joh. 19 : 34.
[4] Meines Todes steht nicht dabei.

Wein bei ihren Opfern, welche ausgeschlossen sind vom christlichen Glauben. Auch sind sie ausgeschlossen vom wahren Leben, welches die Christen haben durch seinen Tod. Also ziemt es sich, Wein und Wasser zu opfern im Geist des Glaubens nach dem Apostel. Denn der heilige Mar Ephräm sagt:[1] „Wasser schreit ‚Gott ist getötet worden' und Blut verkündet, daß er lebt in seiner Natur". Dies Wenige über diese Sache genügt uns.

§ VI.

Wegen der Taufe von Kreuzen und Nakuschen.[2]

Wegen der Taufe von Kreuzen und Nakuschen, welche ihr vollzieht. Die Apostel lehrten solches nicht, die Lehrer taten es auch nicht, und in der Schrift steht es auch nicht; in den Kanones wird es auch nicht genannt. „Geht und lehrt alle Völker" sagt Christus,[3] „und taufet sie auf den Namen des Vaters, des Sohnes, und des Heiligen Geistes". Das ist die wahre Regel des (rechtgläubigen) orthodoxen Glaubens, welchen uns die Apostel und die heiligen Väter überlieferten. Und darin unterscheiden sich die Gläubigen von den Ungläubigen und die Kinder von den Fremden. „Ihr aber, die ihr auf Christum getauft seid, habt Christum angezogen", sagt Paulus.[4] Also Kreuze und Schallbretter, oder Steine und Holz, haben Christum in der heiligen Taufe angezogen? das ist der Wahrheit fremd und verdammungswürdig. „Wer nämlich nicht geboren ist aus Wasser und Geist", sagt Christus, „geht nicht ein ins Himmelreich".[5] Also sind Kreuze und Klingeln, welche sie taufen, Kinder des Himmelreichs![6] Das ist eine heidnische Lehre! Wir aber werden angenommen an Kindesstatt durch die heilige Taufe, durch welche wir rufen: Abba, unser Vater. Also sind nach ihnen Kreuz, Steine und Holz, und der Rest der Dinge, die sie taufen, Kinder des himmlischen Vaters. Das ist dem Glauben der wahren Christen ganz fremd. Durch die Taufe werden wir Brüder Christi in fol. 8b

[1] Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Tom. I. p. 13 f.

[2] Das Nakuscha ist ein dickes Brett mit Löchern, das mit einem Schlegel geschlagen wird um die Leute zum Gebet zu rufen. (Miss. Herald, 1848 Dez. p. 416.)

[3] Mat. 28 : 19. [4] Gal. 3 : 27. [5] Joh. 3 : 5.

[6] Auch wieder so eine rabbinische Schlußfolgerung. Welche Spiegelfechterei doch die Polemik erzeugt!

der Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes. Also jedes Kreuz, Schallbrett, Stein soll ein Bruder Christi in der Gemeinschaft des Heiligen Geistes sein. Das wird verworfen vom göttlichen Gesetz. Denn ein Kreuz Christi ist vollkommen und erfüllt alles. Wenn es aber mangelhaft ist, daß es vollendet werden sollte von einem andern, so ist es nicht ein Kreuz. Ein Kreuz gibt dem andern nichts, da nicht einmal ein Bischof dem andern was gibt, oder ein Priester dem andern, wegen der gleichen Gnade des Amtes und der Gleichheit des Priestertums. Denn wie der eine Leib, der ans Kreuz geschlagen wurde bei Jerusalem, alle geistlichen Opfer vollständig heiligte, so auch das *eine* Kreuz, welches mit seinem Zeichen lebendig
fol. macht, alle Kreuze irgendwelcher Art heiligt, ohne daß sie
9a der Taufe bedürfen. Demnach ist es heidnisch, Steine und Holz und tote Dinge mit heiligem Chrisam[1] zu taufen, welcher dem Christus gehört, wie geschrieben steht. Soviel darüber!

§ VII.

Über das Bekenntnis der Sünde, d. h., *ḫosdovānūtūn.*[2]

Ist es nicht schön, sogar sehr lieblich? Aber nur wenn es nach seiner Ordnung vollführt wird. Johannes der Täufer zeigte dies, wo er die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer taufte zur Buße.[3] „Bringet", sagte er, „würdige Früchte der Buße", usw. Denn wenn ein Mensch sündigt und sich bekehren, und aufstehen und fallen, und bauen und wieder einreißen, und sich vom Kot der Sünde baden und wieder zurückkehren sollte, so ist in ihm die Eigenschaft des Schweines, sagt die Heilige Schrift, und des Hundes, „der sich zu seinem Auswurf wendet".[4] Wenn einer sich gereinigt hat von einem Toten und geht wieder zu ihm zurück, was nützt das?[5] Der Prophet David sündigte und bekehrte sich, und die Art seiner Buße zeigt er

[1] Die Salbung mit Chrisam (heiligem Öl) bedeutet, daß der Getaufte teil hat an der Salbung des gottmenschlichen Hauptes und zum auserwählten, priesterlichen Volke Gottes berufen ist. Diese Salbung soll gegen Verderbnis der Sünde schützen und Bewahrung der Taufgnade wirken.

[2] Armenisch für die Beichte.

[3] Mat. 3 : 8.

[4] 2 Petri 2 : 22: „Der Hund kehrte um zu seinem eigenen Gespei, und die gewaschene Sau zum Wälzen im Kot".

[5] Sirach 31 (34): 30.

durch den Ernst des Gebetes, welches er darbrachte.[1]. Simon Petrus verleugnete und bekehrte sich und ward wieder angenommen.[2] Und es heißt nicht, daß er nochmals sündigte. So die Zöllner und Huren und der Räuber,[3] der sich am Kreuze bekehrte, siehe das sind Vorbilder und Exempla für den, der sich in Wahrheit bekehrt. Verlaß dich nicht auf die Vergebung,[4] sagt die Schrift, welche nur im Wort ist, damit du nicht Sünde auf Sünde häufst. Also ist die Beichte nicht schön, welche nicht aus der Wahrheit, sondern aus der Falschheit ist. Diese ziemt sich weder den Priestern, noch den Diakonen, noch den Laien. Dies genügt uns soweit. fol. 10b

§ VIII.

Über den Abend des Mittwoch und Freitag.

Wegen des Abends vom Mittwoch und Freitag. Das ist eine törichte, in der Schrift nicht vorgeschriebene, Gewohnheit. Denn alle Tage sind gleich geachtet in Berechnung und Herrlichkeit der Schöpfung, und keiner von ihnen ist herrlicher, als der heilige Sonntag. Wenn auch Heiden ihn verehren wegen des Zeichens der Sonne[5], so doch die Christen ob des Glaubens. Denn an ihm war alles im Anfang geschaffen, und an ihm war alles erneuert in der Vollendung, da er auferstand aus dem Grabe.[6] Daß einer faste an diesen Abenden, oder esse, ist Sache der Gewohnheit, nichts mehr, und nicht der klugen Berechnung. Denn Speise erhebt uns nicht zu Gott, sagt der Apostel. Wir profitieren nichts, wenn wir essen, und verlieren nichts, wenn wir nicht essen.[7] Darüber nun, daß wir daran festhalten, daß der Anfang des Tages vom Abend und nicht vom Morgen ist. Es ist zu ersehen aus dem, das

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[1] 2 Sam. 12 : 16.

[2] Mat. 26 : 70. [3] Luk. 23 : 42.

[4] Sir. 34 : 23; Röm. 6 : 2 f.

[5] Randglosse: „Die Magier aber achten, der Sonntag sei genannt nach der Sonne, welche über die ganze Schöpfung ist; der Montag nach dem Mond; der Dienstag nach dem Mars; der Mittwoch nach Merkur; der Donnerstag nach Jupiter; der Freitag nach Venus; und der Samstag nach Saturn. Diese Notiz ist von fremden Weisen."

[6] Luk. 24 : 1 ff.

[7] Paulus sagt etwas anders: „Speise aber empfiehlt uns Gott nicht; weder sind wir, wenn wir nicht essen, geringer, noch sind wir, wenn wir essen, vorzüglicher". (1 Kor. 8 : 8).

Christus sagte denen, die ein Zeichen forderten: „Wie Jonas drei Tage und drei Nächte im Bauch des Fisches war, so wird auch der Menschensohn drei Tage und drei Nächte im Busen der Erde sein“.[1] Wenn du rechnest vom Morgen nach dem Freitag, in deinem Zählen, so geht deine Berechnung aus auf den Montag, welcher auf den Sonntag folgt. In dieser Nacht ist aber Christus nicht auferstanden. Denn er ist auferstanden in der frühesten Morgendämmerung des Sonntags, sagt der heilige Mar Ephräm.[2] Der Sonntag wird der (Tag) der Auferstehung genannt. Sehr richtig rechnest du deine Zahlen von der Zeit, da unser Herr seinen Leib brach im Obergemach; so geht die Rechnung richtig und genau aus. Wie durch ein Geheimnis und Wunder ist unser Herr gestorben von der Zeit, als er seinen Jüngern seinen Leib verteilte. So haben uns die heiligen Väter überliefert. Also geht der Abend dem Morgen voraus, und die Nacht dem Tage. Unsere Rechnung ist genau, daß wir vom Abend ab wachen und am Mittwoch und Freitag fasten. Aber man muß den Unterschied kennen zwischen Tag und Tageszeit. Denn Tageszeit sagt man (natürlich) vom Aufgang der Sonne bis zu ihrem Untergang; Tag aber ist Nacht- und Tageszeit zusammen, oder 24 Stunden, und mit den Zunahmen und Abnahmen der vier Jahreszeiten. Dies ist das Argument über den Abend des Mittwoch und
fol. 11[b] Freitag; während es viele Wahrheiten gibt, für den, der über dies und andere Dinge schreibt.

§ IX.

Über das Fest der Geburt, welches sie nicht feiern wie alle Völker der ganzen Erde.[3]

Über das heilige Weihnachtsfest und Epiphanien, welches Ihr an einem Tage feiert, nach alter Gewohnheit. Wisse,

[1] Mat. 12 : 40.

[2] Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Tom 1. p. 13 ff.

[3] Das Weihnachtsfest. Dionysius Barsalibi sagt über das armenische Weihnachtsfest: „In den orientalischen Ländern und im Norden feierte man dieses Fest bis auf die Zeiten des Königs Arkadius und des Mar Johannes am 6. Januar und nannte es Geburtstagsfest, das ist auch Epiphanias, wie der heilige Theolog in der Rede über die Geburt es nannte. Doch wird aber in den römischen Provinzen und in ganz Italien und in Palästina von der Zeit der Apostel bis auf den heutigen Tag am 25. Dezember das Geburtsfest gefeiert. Und jene Ordnung und jene genaue

Herr, daß alles, worüber Ungewißheit ist, entweder von der Natur der Sache, oder von der Gewohnheit, oder von der Schrift festgestellt wird. 1. Von der Natur: die Empfängnis, Geburt und Erziehung; 2. von der Gewohnheit: die Lehre der Grammatik, oder Zimmermannskunst, oder Schmiedekunst; 3. von der Schrift, endlich: die Beschreibung der Geburt Jesu Christi, usw. Zu der Natur und der Gewohnheit gesellt sich einerseits die durch die Sinnen gewonnene Erkenntnis; aber dem Wort der Schrift ist andrerseits der Glaube erforderlich. So war es Sitte der Nationen vormals einerseits am 25. Dezember das Fest der Geburt zu feiern, andrerseits am 6. Januar das Fest der Erscheinung unseres Herrn. Nicht zufällig oder in Unwissenheit ist dieser Gebrauch festgestellt worden, in der Kirche der Römer und Griechen, der Ägypter und unsrer Syrer, usw.; sondern die frühern Gelehrten haben es erstens vom Gesetz der Natur abgeleitet, daß die Geburt des Menschen zuerst geschieht, und er dann getauft wird. Von der Schrift dann lernten sie dieses, daß zuerst Christus am 25. Dezember geboren wurde, aber getauft am 6. Januar. Denn der Evangelist Lukas sagt wirklich also: „Aber im sechsten Monat erschien der Engel Gabriel",[1] usw. Der sechste Monat verkündet aber die Empfängnis des Johannis; denn also sagte der Engel zur heiligen Jungfrau Maria, Gebärerin Gottes, als sie wegen der Empfängnis zweifelte: „Siehe, Elisabeth deine Verwandte ist auch schwanger, im Alter, und dies ist der sechste Monat für sie", usw.[2] Denn die Empfängnis Johannis geschah

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Sitte beobachten das ganze Morgenland und der Norden, mit Ausnahme der Armenier, jener dickköpfigen und hartnäckigen Leute, die nicht zur Wahrheit überredet werden; so daß sie nach der alten Sitte am 6. Januar die beiden Feste begehen". (Assemani, BO, II, S. 163 f.)

Dazu hat ein Unbekannter die Armenier in Schutz nehmend an den Rand geschrieben: „Am 6. Januar ist der Herr geboren, an demselben Tage, an welchen wir Epiphanien feiern. Deshalb begingen die Alten an einem und demselben Tage das Fest der Geburt und der Epiphanien. Denn an dem Tage, an dem er geboren wurde, wurde er auch getauft. Darum feiern die Armenier noch heute die beiden Feste an einem Tage." (Assemani, Bibl. Orient. II, S. 164.)

Die Armenier feierten nach alter Sitte, Geburt und Epiphanien am selben Tage. Der Vortrag ist der Verkündigung und Empfängnis gewidmet, die Nachtfeier der Geburt, der Haupttag der Taufe. (v. Usener: *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* I, 208 ff.)

[1] Luk. 1 : 26. [2] Luk. 1 : 36.

im Monat Oktober (Tišrin), am elften; nachdem Zacharias, seinem Vater, die frohe Botschaft überbracht worden war, nach dem Sonnenjahre berechnet, am 23. September, an welchem Tage wir und die Griechen das Fest der Verkündigung des Zacharias feiern; und wenn du zählst und rechnest von da ab bis zum 25. März, wo wir die Verkündigung der Gottesgebärerin feiern, so wirst du sechs Monate finden. (Nach dem Monde berechnet aber ist es der Zehnte im Monat Nisan). Rechnest du nun von hier bis zum 25. Dezember, so erhältst du neun Monate. In dieser Zeit war die Geburt unseres Heilandes. Er erschien am 25. Dezember; nach dem Monde berechnet aber am 6. Januar; wie der heilige Mar Ephräm sagt: „Am Zehnten seine Empfängnis, am Sechsten seine Geburt". Nach dem Monde berechnet, nämlich, weil die Juden in der Berechnung ihrer Monate und Feste sich des Mondes bedienten. Und wie es sechs Monate waren von der Empfängnis des Johannis bis zur Empfängnis unseres Heilandes, ebenso auch von der Geburt Johannis, am 24. Juni, bis zur Geburt unseres Herrn, welche geschah am 25. Dezember, findest du sechs Monate. Wiederum aber die Heiden, und die Magier, und die Chaldäer, die den Tierkreis messen, und sich der Gesetze der Sterne bedienen, feierten an diesem Tage, am 25. Dezember ein großes Fest, das Sonnenfest, weil da die Sonne wieder umkehrt zum Aufstieg auf die höchste Stufe. So war's ja auch prophezeit von der großen Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, welche an diesem herrlichen und heiligen Tag erschienen ist und gebracht hat das Geheimnis der Erlösung, und wiederum erhoben hat den Menschen auf die höchste Stufe und an seine frühere Stelle. Also, unser Herr wurde sicherlich am 25. Dezember geboren; nach dem Mond am Sechsten des Januar; im Jahr 309 nach griechischer Zeitrechnung, und im 41. Jahre des Augustus Caesar. Getauft wurde er im Jahr 339, nach dem griechischen Kalender, und im 15. Jahre des Kaisers Tiberias, am 6. Januar, nach der Sonne; und nach dem Monde fand seine Geburt ebenfalls am 6. Januar statt, wie auch für seine Geburt der Sechste bestimmt war im Monde des Januar. Aus diesem Grund also, nämlich der Berechnung nach dem Monde, da sie vorhanden war zur Zeit der Geburt, welche mit der Zeit der Taufe übereinstimmte, so entstand diese Gewohnheit in den Tagen unserer Vorfahren, und man feierte die zwei Feste zusammen, wie Ihr

sie feiert, bis zur Zeit des Königs Arkadius[1] und des Mar Johannes Chrysostomos,[2] welche zur selben Zeit lebten. Auf einmal nun wurde ein große Untersuchung darüber veranstaltet. Die heiligen Väter urteilten richtig, daß zuerst das Fest der heiligen Geburt, und dann das der Erscheinung sein sollte. Von damals bis heute wurden die heiligen Feste der Geburt und der Erscheinung festgestellt, jedes für sich, nach der schönen Sitte, welche die heiligen Väter bestimmten durch den Einfluß des Heiligen Geistes, welcher sie lehrte und weise machte, nach der Macht der Wahrheit und der Genauigkeit des Geheimnisses; wie ja auch bestimmt war die Zeit der Geburt unseres Heilandes, und die göttliche Erscheinung. Dies ist das Argument für das heilige Fest der Geburt und der Erscheinung (Weihnachten und Epiphanien),[3] welche wir feiern jedes für sich. Diese schöne Sitte ist wohl begründet und in der katholischen Kirche aller Völker akzeptiert.

§ X.

Darüber, daß die Väter viel Passendes an der kirchlichen Ordnung veränderten und in der Kirche ohne Verweis zur Geltung brachten. fol. 13b

Darüber, daß sie früher nicht feierten das Fest Palmarum, und nicht das Osterfest in jedem Jahr, und die Taufe nur alle 30 Jahre; während das Fest Palmarum zu keiner Zeit gefeiert wurde. Deshalb verfaßte der heilige Gregorius, der Theologe, keine festliche Predigt darüber (Palmarum), wie er tat über Weihnachten und Epiphanien. Nicht einmal die heilige Charwoche und das Osterfest hielten sie zuerst, außer alle 30 Jahre einmal. Auf einmal verordneten es die Väter jedes Jahr am Ende des Fastens: das war sehr schön; ebenso das heilige Fasten von 40 Tagen, jedermann, wann er wollte, und in welcher Zeit er's gerade wünschte. Die Sache der Mehrheit siegt; und siehe, alle christlichen Völker feiern das

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[1] Römischer Kaiser (383—408 A. D.).

[2] Chrysostomos (345. 347—407).

[3] Epiphanien wird zuerst von Clemens von Alexandrien genannt als das jährliche Gedächtnisfest der Geburt und Taufe Christi, welches am 6. Januar gefeiert wurde. Im Occident wurde es später ein Fest für verschiedene Ereignisse — Anbetung der Magier, Hochzeit zu Kana, Speisung der 5000 usw.

heilige Fest der Geburt, und sie gießen Wasser in den Abendmahlswein, indem sie den Kelch der Danksagung mischen; auch nehmen sie Wein und Salz in der Eucharistie. Eins von diesen tun jene nicht, mit vielen andern Dingen. Nicht nur feiern sie das Fest nicht an seinem Tage, sondern sie feiern es am Sonntag. Es ziemt sich aber gar nicht, daß an ihm noch ein Fest gefeiert werde, außer dem Gedächtnis der Auferstehung. Deswegen ist dieser Tag groß und namhaft, heilig und herrlich. Wenn aber an diesem Tag ein anderes Fest veranstaltet wird, so werde es gefeiert nach der Ordnung der Auferstehung: Dienst und Gedächtnis der Auferstehung sollen nicht aufhören an ihm. Wegen der großartigen und herrlichen Auferstehung ist es, daß wir ihn beobachten und feierlich und lobpreisend verehren. Also auch in diesem Stück sind sie nicht treu, daß sie das Fest am Sonntag feiern. Wenn wir aber die heilige Feier am Schluß des Mittwoch und Freitag anfangen, so haben wir dafür kräftige Beweise und wahrhaftige Zeugnisse. Erstens, daß das erste Volk, welches Gott kannte und sowohl nach der Ordnung, wie nach den Gesetzen wandelte, war das Volk der Kinder Israel. Vom Munde Gottes wurde ihnen anbefohlen durch Mose, daß sie am Abend anfangen sollten, ihr Fest zu feiern und ihre Sabbate zu halten, und so tun sie bis zum heutigen Tag. Zweitens aber, da der Sonntag der Tag der Auferstehung ist, und um 9 Uhr am Sabbat beginnt der Sonntag. Und das Licht, welches über Jerusalem herabfloß, zeugt und bestätigt es. Wiederum drittens, daß am Charfreitag der Kreuzigung, in der Nacht, in welcher der Freitag dämmert, alle Völker sehr früh aufstehen und Gebet und Andenken der heilbringenden Passion begehen; nicht in der Nacht, die den Freitag beschließt; weil die Nacht vor dem Sabbat die der Verkündigung heißt, wie die darauffolgende, vor dem Sonntag, die der Auferstehung. Also wahr ist es, daß wir vom Abend den nächstfolgenden Tag bestimmen. Viertens aber, daß alle Völker am Abend vor dem Fest, oder dem Sonntag anfangen, das Fest zu feiern und den Tag des Festes zu ehren. Also bestätigen wir, daß wir am Abend vor dem Freitag anfangen, den Tag der erlösenden Passion mit Fasten und Gebet zu feiern. Ebenso auch der König oder der Regent, wenn es gerade passiert, daß er in ein Dorf oder in eine Stadt einzieht, da ziehen die Leute aus ihm entgegen in feierlicher Prozession, mit Pomp und Pracht, und ehren so seinen Einzug.

Wenn er aber aufbricht, geht er ganz schlicht, nur wenige bemerken seine Abreise. Also tun wir wohl, daß wir zuerst den Einzug feiern, mehr als den Abschied. So wie wir auch die Geburt unseres Herrn sehr ehren und vorher fasten; sei es nun, daß man 40 Tage fastet, oder 30, oder zwei Wochen, oder 25 Tage; worüber eine Menge von Kanones, Lieder und Hymnen verfaßt sind, auch Predigten, und Homilien und Weissagungen, mehr als über den Tag der Himmelfahrt. Denn jener ist die Ankunft Gottes bei uns im Fleische; dieser ist der Abschied. Fünftens endlich, daß jeder vollkommene Tag aus Nachtzeit und Tageszeit besteht, und in 24 Stunden beendigt wird. Wir feiern also den heiligen Tag Freitag in der ganzen Nacht- und Tageszeit von 24 Stunden; von Sonnenuntergang vor dem Freitag bis zum folgenden Sonnenuntergang vor dem Sabbat. Doch gibt es noch viele Gründe dafür, daß der Tag oder das Fest bei seinem Eingang mehr als bei seinem Ausgang gefeiert wird. Also haben wir Recht darin, daß wir fol. 15b die Feier des Freitags bei seinem Eintritt beginnen.

§ XL

Darüber, daß ein Priester den Bischof segnet, obwohl der höher steht als jener.

Es ist bei ihnen eine andere häßliche Sitte, nämlich, wenn ein Bischof zufällig einem Priester begegnet, sobald der Priester vom Bischof gesegnet worden ist, segnet der Priester wiederum den Bischof und legt die Hand auf sein Haupt. Sag mir: Woher hat der Priester die Autorität, daß er dem Bischof etwas geben sollte? Und wenn ein Priester noch mangelhaft und bedürftig ist, daß er von einem Priester den Segen und Handauflegung empfange, wie denn weiht er Priester und Diakonen, und heiligt den Myron und den Altar und die Kirche? Das ist eine häßliche Sitte, und ganz fremd der priesterlichen Ordnung. Der Bischof mag wohl den Priester segnen, sagen die Kanones; aber es ziemt sich nicht, daß er vom Priester gesegnet wird; aber noch mehr: Nicht einmal von seinem bischöflichen Genossen, sondern nur von Patriarchen, welcher größer ist als er; weil ein Bischof einen andern Bischof nicht ordinieren kann; nicht einmal ein Patriarch kann allein ihn ordinieren, wenn nicht ein andrer Bischof, oder zwei mit ihm sein sollten, wie es in den Kanones befohlen ist. Ein

Bischof wird von drei Bischöfen ordiniert, oder von zweien, mit welchen entweder ein Patriarch, oder Metropolit sein soll. Ein Bischof kann viele Priester und Diakonen allein ordinieren, wenn kein andrer Bischof in seiner Nähe ist. Deswegen ist er befugt, Priester und Diakone usw. zu segnen und die Hände auf sie zu legen. Der Priester hat aber keine Befugnis, den
fol. 16a Bischof zu segnen. Das ist häßlich und verkehrt.

§ XII.

Darüber, daß ihre Bischöfe durch Geld und Bestechungen[1] *eingesetzt werden und einer überbietet den andern, und sie jagen einander von der Herde weg.*

Wiederum haben sie was anderes, welches am aller schimpflichsten ist. Wenn ein Sprengel eines Bischofs bedarf und derjenige, der kandidiert, nicht viel Geld gibt, so wird er nicht erwählt. Derjenige, welcher Geld hat, wenn er auch schlecht ist in seinem Lebenswandel, wird berufen und erwählt eher, als der, welcher fromm und tugendhaft ist, aber kein Geld gibt. Nachdem jemand berufen und erwählt und zum Sprengel gegangen, legt man jedes Jahr eine beliebige Summe Tribut auf ihn; und nachdem er ein Jahr oder zwei oder ein wenig mehr in dem Sprengel gestanden ist, kommt ein anderer, und wenn er ihn 10 oder 20 Denare überbietet, wird der erste vertrieben und der andere eingesetzt. Und ebenso wird dieser über ein Weilchen vertrieben; ein andrer kommt, jagt ihn fort und nimmt seinen Sprengel. Und so geschieht es, ohne Hindernis, daß ein Sprengel eine Menge Bischöfe hat; und wenn einer den Sprengel erhält, da überlaufen die anderen andere Sprengel, damit sie andern ebenso tun.

§ XIII.

fol. 17a *Auch die Aufsicht der Klöster und Konvente ist ebenso beschaffen.*

Irgendein Mönch geht und gibt dem Ortsvorsteher Geld, ob der Machthaber ein Heide oder ein Christ ist, und reißt an sich das Archimandritenamt, das heißt, die Aufsicht des

[1] Noch im 15. Jahrhundert wurden die Bischofsstühle an den Höchstbietenden verkauft. Die Kleriker erpreßten Geld vom Volk, um die

Klosters, was es auch sei, und ist fortan Herr des Platzes und Machthaber in allem. Er kauft und verkauft, baut und zerstört, und er macht zu seinem Erben, wen er will. Er unterwirft seine Mitbrüder wie Sklaven, so daß sie überhaupt keine Autorität mit ihm haben in der Leitung des Klosters. Aber jeden Tag wird jedem für seinen Bedarf Speise gegeben, einfach und kärglich. Der Abt behält, wen er will, und jagt fort, wen er will. Und die Brüder selbst, weil sie im Kloster nichts gelten, laufen beständig von einem Ort zum andern und wechseln von einem Kloster zum andern. Wenn aber über ein Weilchen ein andrer kommt, und dem Herrn des Ortes mehr Geld gibt, wirft er den vorigen hinaus und nimmt seine Stelle. Und so stecken sie in dieser Verwirrung ohne Ende.

§ XIV.

Über den Thron des Katholikats, welchen sie durch erbliche Nachfolge einander übertragen, ebenso den erhabenen Thron ihres Pontifikats. fol. 17b

Ich aber sage, daß das Katholikat im Irrtum ist, insofern einer dem andern überliefert haben soll durch erbliche Nachfolge; nämlich, daß sie vom Geschlecht des heiligen Gregorius abstammen, welcher sie selbst belehrt habe durch leibliche Verwandtschaft. Dies findet man bei keinem christlichen Volke mehr, und steht vielmehr in Widerspruch zu den apostolischen Kanones,[1] welche befehlen, daß kein Bischof Autorität besitzt, seinen Stuhl einem andern zu vermachen, außer dem, der erwählt ist vom Heiligen Geist und von der Heiligen Synode gebilligt worden ist. Diese Sitte haben nur die Araber, daß bei ihnen ein Herrscher, nämlich ein Kalife, durch erbliche Nachfolge eingesetzt wird, von denen, die von der Familie des Muḥammed stammen sollen. Bei Christen findet sich dies überhaupt nicht bei irgendeiner Nation. Sonst wäre es ganz in Ordnung, daß die Jerusalemiten beständig einen von der

Gelder dafür aufzubringen. Darüber erfahren wir auch von Matthäus von Urhai, der die Zustände der armenischen Kirche am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts als schlecht bezeichnet und auch speziell von der Bestechung und von den Unwürdigen redet. (Kronik Etschmiadzin, 1898, S. 229.)

[1] In den apostolischen Kanones war es nämlich verboten, daß ein Bischof seinen Stuhl irgend jemand vermachen kann.

Familie des Jakobus, des Bruders unseres Herrn, als Oberhaupt einsetzte (jener Jakobus war dort der erste Patriarch); oder von der Familie des Matthäus, welcher ihnen das Evangelium verkündigte und auch ganz Palästina. Und ebenso den Antiochenern und Aramäern geziemt einer von der Familie des Petrus; den Ephesern, von Johannes; den Edessenern, von Addai; den Bewohnern von Indien, von Thomas; und den übrigen Völkern, welche das Evangelium gelehrt wurden, von der Familie dessen, der sie zuerst belehrte. Das ist gar nicht möglich, noch ist es abzuleiten vom apostolischen Gebrauch.

§ XV.

Über Priester, welche ordiniert werden, ohne daß sie eine Stelle haben.

Ebenso, wenn sie einen Priester einsetzen, nehmen sie von ihm große Bestechung und entlassen ihn, daß er umherirre und diene, wo er will. Sie ordinieren ihn also nicht über ein bestimmtes Heiligtum, wie es in den Kanones befohlen ist; auch ist seine Stelle ganz unbekannt.

§ XVI.

fol. 18a *Über die Art des Bekenntnisses bei ihnen, welche nicht schön ist.*

Wiederum aber bezüglich des Bekenntnisses, dessen sie sich nicht bedienen, wie es ordnungsgemäß ist. Aber es stehen da niedergeschrieben alle Arten der Sünde, welche in der Welt getan und auch nicht getan werden. Wenn jemand seine Sünden bekennen und sich bekehren will, so sitzt der Priester da und verliest ihm alle, die er je getan und auch nie getan hat, ja sogar solche, wovon er nie gehört und welche nie in seinen Sinn gekommen wären; und dabei kämpft mit ihm der böse Gedanke von diesen Dingen, welche er hörte, welche nun existierten und geschrieben standen, und die er auch lernte zu tun. Wiederum aber auch der Priester, der solch schändliche Arten von Sünden verliest, der überhaupt auch niemanden hat, der sie anhört, so kommen sie in seinen Sinn und Schaden ihm viel, indem sie seinen Sinn verstören, und beständig halten sie sich auf in seinen Gedanken.

Wiederum hat ihr Bekenntnis und ihre Lehre viel Ähnliches

mit der Häresie der Novatianer,[1] welche nicht annehmen die Bekehrung von der Sünde. Und wenn irgendein Kleriker in Hurerei, im Betrug, oder in Begierde und Wollust des Leibes gefallen ist, wenn er, wie David und Manasse,[2] Buße tut durchs ganze Leben, wird er doch nie wieder aufgenommen in das Amt, worin er einst stand. Wie (sagen sie) ein gläsernes Gefäß, wenn es zerbrochen ist, nicht wieder zusammengefügt und ineinander gepaßt wird, wie es einmal war, so ist's mit dem Menschen, der seinen Leib verunreinigt hat, er kann nicht wieder sein, was er war. So sagen sie. Es widerlegt sie die Sünderin, welche angenommen wurde, begleitete beständig den, der alles heiligt, und im Evangelium gerühmt wurde als Predigerin des Evangeliums.[3] Und der Zöllner, welcher gerechtfertigt wurde, ward ein Apostel, und stieg auf und wurde erhöht zum Rang der Zwölfe, und schrieb das heilige Evangelium. Wiederum auch David, nach seiner unreinen Begierde, und seinem Ehebruch und verbrecherischen Mordtat, wurde durch die Buße erhöht zur höchsten Stufe der Prophetie, und er wurde genannt: Herz Gottes und Vater Christi. Und so auch die anderen Sünder, welche sich bekehrten und angenommen wurden, die wieder aufstiegen und ihren Rang und ihren Dienst einnahmen.

Aber eine Menge von ihnen erlauben nicht, daß solche (bekehrte Sünder) am Mysterion Christi teilnehmen. Also kommt es vor, daß einer eine Zeit von 20, 30, 40 und 50 Jahren bleibt, ohne überhaupt je teilzunehmen am heiligen Kelch. Auch von der Ordnung der Priester und Mönche, bleiben ebenso manche jahrelang, ohne daß sie teilnehmen: dazu viele der Bischöfe. Wiederum gibt es viele Bischöfe, welche kein Opfer bringen, oder teilnehmen an den heiligen Sakramenten; jedoch ordiniert man Priester, Kirchen und Altäre weiht man ein, man tauft, und segnet und auch das übrige. Diese große Dummheit ist doch wunderbar. Wer nicht wert ist, Gaben zu opfern, wie sollte der würdig sein, einen Priester zu ordinieren, daß er opfern kann? Oder einen Altar (einzuweihen), worauf das sühnende Opfer dargebracht und vollendet wird?

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[1] Novatian (c. 200—255).
[2] Manasse 2 Chr. 33 : 13.
[3] Matt. 26 : 13.

§ XVII.

Über die Heuchelei.

fol. 19a

Wiederum ist bei ihnen ein Anderes, daß all ihr Verkehr, ihr Lebenswandel und ihre Tätigkeit mit Gepränge und Ostentation, nicht in Wahrheit und Aufrichtigkeit ist. Äußerlich und vor den Leuten zeigen sie sich gerecht, Abstinenzler, Naziräer, keusch und heilig; aber inwendig ist ihre Lebensweise liederlich. Über sie ist vollbracht die Beschuldigung, die im heiligen Evangelium steht.

§ XVIII.

Darüber, daß sie nicht teilnehmen am heiligen Abendmahl, wenn sie (Mönche) werden, wie wir tun.

Diese scheinbaren Mönche, in ihren Gewändern, sind eigentlich keine Mönche; man hält nicht einmal geistlichen Gesang und Gebet über sie. Aber jeder einzelne, wenn es ihm paßt, legt das Mönchsgewand an, und ißt Fleisch zu jeder Zeit ohne Hindernis oder Maß. Aber vollkommene Mönche, nicht einer unter tausend ist bei ihnen zu finden: der den Talar genommen hätte mit Gebeten und geistlichen Lobgesängen nach der Ordnung der Tonsur.

§ XIX.

fol. 19b

Darüber, daß sie nicht achten auf das Patenamt bei der heiligen Taufsalbung.

Über die Sache des Patenamtes bei der heiligen Taufe Vieles verwirren sie und achten nicht die Ehre des heiligen Myron. Wer (den) Täufling annimmt, nimmt ihn im heiligen Vertrag als seinen Sohn, oder seinen Bruder, usw. Sie wahren überhaupt nicht die Ordnung. Jedermann nimmt von der Taufe weg den Sohn seines Bruders, oder den Sohn seiner Schwester, und die übrigen seiner Verwandten.

§ XX.

Über das Fest der Geburt.

Über das Fest der heiligen Geburt, welches sie nicht gleichwie jedermann feiern, sondern dabei ihre eigentümliche Sitte halten, apart von allen Völkern, welche den Gekreuzigten

verehren. Sie waren nicht die ersten, die das Evangelium akzeptierten, daß sie nun wünschen, ihr Eigenes aufzurichten, und die Gewohnheit, welche sie empfingen von den Aposteln, preiszugeben. Sie waren im Gegenteil die allerletzten, die an das Evangelium glaubten, durch den heiligen Gregorius im Jahre 863 des Alexander. Nachdem sie Christen geworden waren, kamen viele Synoden zustande in der Welt; und alles was sie beschlossen und überlieferten, wurde angenommen und angeordnet in der Kirche der Syrer, Griechen, Römer, Ägypter Nubier, Äthiopier und Inder, der fernen Länder; wie auch bei den Anbaren, welche im Innern des Landes und ihre Nachbarn sind; und bei den Alanen, welche im Norden von diesen wohnen; bei den Chazaren und Russen (welche Skythen sind), und bei den Ungarn, Bulgaren und Balkern, und den übrigen Völkern und Nationen, welche glaubten an die evangelische Botschaft. All diese feiern das Fest der Geburt (Weihnachtsfest) am selben Tag, am 25. Dezember, und Epiphanien am selben Tage, am 6. Januar. Wie kommt es nun, daß jene (die Armenier) so verschieden sind von allen anderen? Nur sie feiern die Geburt und Erscheinung am selben Tag; und wenn sie behaupten, daß das eine alte Sitte ist, so auch die Altvordern gepflegt haben, so behaupten wir: viele von den früheren Gebräuchen sind von den Vätern und Lehrern geändert worden, wie wir oben zeigten im Briefe des Patriarchen, des Mar Johannes.[1] Vieles ist abgeschafft worden, und vieles wurde erneuert. So hat man abgeschafft, daß man sich taufen läßt 30 Jahre alt. Auch dies, daß Bischöfe Weiber und Kinder hatten, als sie in der Welt (Laien) waren; späterhin schickten sie die Frauen weg und wurden Bischöfe, wie auch euer Gregor und viele. Und dies, daß sie dienende Frauen ordinierten, welche salbten die Frauen, welche mit uns waren. Und vieles wie dieses hat man auch erneuert. Zum Beispiel das, daß sie junge Kinder taufen; und das, daß sie jedes Jahr die Passion und Ostern (Passah) feiern; und dies, daß alle Menschen, welche das heilige Kreuz verehren, fasten sollen 40 Tage zusammen vor Ostern; da früher jeder 40 Tage fastete, wann es ihm beliebte im Jahr. Sie erneuerten auch Palmarum, welches überhaupt nicht mehr gefeiert wurde, und das Laub- fol. 20a

[1] Hier steht also ausdrücklich, daß nicht das ganze Schreiben von Joh. Barschuschan ist. Siehe Vorwort, p. 2.

fol. 20b hüttenfest auf dem Berg Tabor. Auch das heilige Weihnachtsfest ordneten sie in seiner Zeit, mit vielem Examinieren, und Forschen von vielen, und Berechnungen, welche mit größter Genauigkeit und mit Erlaubnis des heiligen Geistes ausgeführt wurden.

§ XXI.

Über die Wahrung des jüdischen Gesetzes.

Darüber, daß die ersten Christen viele Gebräuche der jüdischen Gesetzesbeobachtung hielten, welche die heiligen Apostel und ihre Jünger aufhoben und entfernten sich von ihnen; obwohl sie die Sitte dieses Festes, nach Berechnung des Mondes, festhielten nach Ordnung der Juden, welche Mondmonate haben. Sie akzeptieren durch Tradition, daß unser Herr geboren wurde am Sechsten im Monat Januar; und ebenso getauft wurde am Sechsten des Monats Januar. Und sie feierten das Fest jedes Jahr am Sechsten des Monats. Am Abend zwar feierten sie das Fest in Bethlehem; und gleich darauf brachen sie auf von Bethlehem und stiegen hinab zum Jordan, und die ganze Nacht quälten sie sich mit Kälte und Regen und Schnee, wie fol. es im Winter an der Tagesordnung ist. Am Morgen feierten 21a sie dann Tauffest am Jordan. So taten sie bis zur Zeit des Mar Johannes Goldmund (Chrysostomus), in den Tagen des Königs Arkadius, des Vaters Theodosius, des Jüngeren. Zu der Zeit wurden einige in Jerusalem vom Heiligen Geiste getrieben, daß sie eine Untersuchung und ein Diktum über die Geschichte der Feste verlangten, welche nicht geziemend vervollkommt seien; da man erstens das Fest der Geburt am Abend in Bethlehem feierte, und dann in aller Eile und Erschöpfung aufbrach in derselben Nacht, bis zum Jordanfluß (ging), und am Morgen Tauffest feierte, ebenso in Eile; dann eilte man zurück nach Jerusalem, um das Fest des Stephanus zu feiern, da, wo er gesteinigt und begraben wurde; weil man nach den herrlichen Festen der Geburt und Taufe das des Stephanus feierte. Und sie forschten nach, und stellten Untersuchungen an, über die Sache. Sie schickten daher Schreiben an die Patriarchen, welche damals in Rom, Konstantinopel, Alexandrien, Antiochien und den übrigen berühmten Orten standen; und überall hatte man deswegen Synoden, und die Sache wurde genau untersucht und sorgfältig darüber nach-

geforscht von allen Weisen und Gelehrten, welche damals lebten und sich darauf verstanden, die Zeiten und die Geschichte zu berechnen. Und sie gingen zurück in der Berechnung der Monate und Jahre und fanden, daß das Jahr, in welchem unser Herr geboren wurde, das 309. Jahr der Griechen ist; und sie fanden, daß der Anfang des Monats Kânûn II. (Januar) am 20. Tag des Kânûn I. (Dezember) nach der Sonnenrechnung fiel; also am 25. in diesem (Sonnen-) Monat waren es sechs Tage im Monde, welcher als Mond des Januar gerechnet wurde. Sie bestätigten genau, daß am 25. Dezember nach der Sonne unser Herr geboren wurde in diesem Jahr. Am selben Tage nun feierten die Heiden das große Sonnenfest, weil gerade zu der Zeit, am 24. und 25. im Monat, die Jahreswende ist. Ich sage im Dezember, März, Juni und September. Die Wende des Kânûn, weil die Sonne gen Süden sinkt bis zum Rande des niedrigsten Grades, und dann vom 25. fängt sie wieder an, zu steigen. Da machen sie ein großes Freudenfest, genannt Fest der Sonne, welche bildlich vorstellt und symbolisiert die große Sonne der Gerechtigkeit, welche bereit war an diesem Tag zu erscheinen. Die Christen gingen zu diesem Fest der Heiden und verunreinigten sich bei ihren Opfern. Daraufhin ordneten die Väter an und bestimmten alle zusammen einmütig, daß am 25. Dezember, nach der Sonne, das heilige Fest der Geburt gefeiert werde, und abgeschafft werde die Berechnung nach dem Monde, da sie steigt und fällt, und ungenau ist; nämlich darin, daß die Summe der zwölf Mond-Monate etliche Tage weniger ist als die der zwölf Sonnenmonate des Jahres; weil der Mond immer wechselnd ab- und zunimmt, und nicht wie die Sonne beständig ist, welche überhaupt nicht wechselt, weder ab- noch zunimmt, damit sie die große Sonne, Christum, symbolisiere; welcher, obwohl er Fleisch an sich nahm und Mensch wurde und sich selbst entäußerte, dennoch sich nie veränderte, oder ab- oder zugenommen hätte. Soviel über die heilige Geburt. fol. 22a

§ XXII.

Wiederum untersuchten und berechneten auch die heiligen Väter, daß unser Herr im 30. Jahr getauft wurde, welches das 339. der Griechen ist, und im 15. Jahr des Kaisers Tiberius, welcher die Stadt Tiberias am galiläischen Meer baute, wo der Jordan fol. 22b

entspringt; darin hat er bildlich prophezeit über die feste Stadt der heiligen Taufe, welche zu jener Zeit gebaut und befestigt wurde am geistlichen Jordanflusse. Und sie fanden durch genaue Berechnung, daß in diesem Jahr der Anfang des Mond-Monats Januar mit dem des Sonnenmonats zusammen fällt, i. e., der Sechste nach dem Mond war gleich mit dem Sechsten nach dem Sonnenmonat. Da ordneten sie an, daß Epiphanien an dem Tag sein sollte, welcher der Sechste im Sonnenmonat Januar ist, und abgeschafft sei die Berechnung nach dem Monde (Mondkalender). Nachdem also festgelegt wurde, wie es sich gehört, genau und unübertrefflich, die Chronologie dieser heiligen Feste von den heiligen Vätern und den Patriarchen, welche versammelt waren mit Übereinstimmung des Heiligen Geistes, da schrieben sie und sandten nach Jerusalem und all den anderen Gegenden diese Bestimmungen, welche von ihnen unter der Mitwirkung des Heiligen Geistes verfaßt worden waren. Seitdem ist diese schöne Ordnung gefeiert worden in allen Kirchen aller Nationen und Zungen,
fol. 23* ebenso auch das |heilige Fest, Palmarum; damals wurde es festgesetzt, und angeordnet unter Mitwirkung des Heiligen Geistes.

Seit jener Zeit haben sich die Christen nie wieder des Mondkalenders bedient, um ein Fest zu bestimmen; das Osterfest ausgenommen, welches ohne Zweifel mit dem Passah der Juden übereinstimmen sollte; i. e. der 14. Tag im Monat Nisan, der Tag, an welchem man feierte das Gedächtnis des Auszugs aus Ägypten, und des Würgengels, welcher schonend vorbeifuhr, und an den Türen vorüberging, wo man ein Lamm geopfert hatte. Und man erinnert sich dieser Dinge am heiligen Sabbat des Passion, weil an ihm, am Passah der Juden und am 14. Tage, an welchem das Lamm geopfert wurde, wurde geopfert das heilige Lamm Gottes am Querbalken des Kreuzes.

Es geschah aber im Sonnenmonat am 25. März, an dem Tage, an welchem seine Empfängnis verkündigt worden war, da gab er seinen Geist auf. Und auch bei Römern und Griechen wird diese Geschichte aufbewahrt und niedergeschrieben im Kodex der Feste.

Unterschrift:

Ignatius, Patriarch von Antiochien, genannt Matthäus, im Jahr 1111 nach der Liste der 133. der Jakobitischen Patriarchen, Matthäus aus Mardin.

B. *Zusätze aus verschiedenen Quellen.*

1.

Wiederum eine Rede des Lehrers Mar Ja'qob über Wasser.

Die Lämmer verehren das lebendige Lamm Gottes, welches ein Opfer war, das sie von Opfern befreit. Gott hat vollendet das Sakrament (der Opfer) mit dem Opfer seines Sohnes, welches die Opfer und auch die Libationen der Völker symbolisierten. Nachdem er ein großes Opfer geworden ist für die Sünder, wird ein andres Opfer, von seiner Zeit bis jetzt, nicht angenommen.

Die heutige Kirche ist doch nicht jüdisch, daß sie Opfer brächte, außer das Opfer des Leibes und Blutes des Sohnes Gottes, wie sie belehrt wurde vom Eingebornen, der seinen Leib brach. Und nicht wird wiederum ein anderes Opfer verlangt außer diesem. Die Sakramente sind vollkommen, und nicht sind wiederum heute Opfer (nötig), da der Sohn Gottes geopfert wurde auf dem Altar, am Querbalken (Kreuz). Wer aber ein anderes Opfer vertritt, ist nicht vom Herrn, da heute nicht mehr animalische Opfer gebracht werden sollen. Wenn nun ein Mensch sich verirrt und ein Opfer bringt wie der Jude, so verleugnet er also all die Passion des Eingeborenen.

Jeder, der erlöst ist mit dem Opfer des Sohnes Gottes, wird nicht einführen Opfer, damit er nicht verurteilt werde von der Gerechtigkeit (justitia). Kein Mensch opfert heute ein Lamm für seine Übertretung, da Gott selbst abgeschafft hat die Opfer mit seinem Opfer. Christus zuerst opferte sich selbst auf Golgatha, und hat weggetan die Opfer und sühnte die Sünden der Opfernden. Wenn man nun opfert nach dem Tode des Sohnes Gottes, so ist das Verleugnung der Leiden des Sohnes. Fliehe fort vom Opfer, welches dich von Gott entfremdet, entledigt dich auch vom Zeichen der Taufe, wäscht von dir das Öl, mit welchem du gezeichnet bist, und vermengt dich mit den Juden, welche den Sohn getötet haben. Wenn du opferst, hast du Teil mit den Juden, die den Sohn gekreuzigt haben und brachten Opfer, welche ihn nicht anerkennen.

Der Jude wartet bis jetzt, daß der Messias komme, und bringt Opfer, um mit einem Bilde darzustellen, wie er kommt.

Wer aber heute noch Opfer bringt mit Vorsatz, der ist ein Jude und verläßt die Ordnung des Eingebornen. Wenn nun ein Priester Salz nimmt, um es zu segnen, damit er das Opfer essen kann vor der Zeit der Opferung, so wisse solcher Priester, daß er sich unter die Kreuziger mischt, der Elende; und auch das Priestertum des Sohnes Gottes wird von ihm genommen. Wer die Haut und auch das Fett des Lammes nimmt, verkauft damit den Sohn Gottes und mißbraucht seine Erlaubnis. Und der Elende schließt sich damit dem Gesetz des Judentums an; und der Herr des vermischten Opfers, sein Teil ist mit dem Satan. Der Sohn Gottes hat abgeschafft die Opfer, damit sie nie wieder gebracht werden; wer denn erkühnt sich, sie heute noch zu bringen? Wenn jemand wagt, ein Opfer zu bringen und verachtet das Gebot, so entfremdet er sich allen Geheimnissen des Eingebornen. Siehe zu, du Kluger, wenn ein Mensch irrt und bringt Opfer, daß du nicht issest von dem Geopferten und dich verunreinigst. Wenn du ein Opfer siehst, halte dich fern von seiner Verunreinigung, bekreuzige dich mit dem schimmernden Kreuze, und rühre es nicht an. Fern sei es dir, O Kirche, daß heute noch ein anderes Opfer in dir geschehe, außer dem Leibe und dem Blute des Sohnes auf deinem Altar. Das ist das Opfer, welches Jesus für dich bestimmte, als er dich erlöste. Siehe zu, daß du kein andres Opfer darbringst außer diesem. Er opferte sich auf Golgatha für die Sünder; wer also ein anderes Opfer bringt, wird nicht angenommen. Aber die Juden leugnen, daß der Sohn Gott sei. Deswegen bringen sie Opfer, da sie ihn nicht kennen. Die Gemeinde des Sohnes verwirft Opfer, da sie nicht in ihr sein sollen; da sie aufblickt zum Herrn, welcher ein Opfer wurde, damit er die Opfer abschaffte. Und sein Leib und sein Blut opfert er allezeit auf ihrem Altar, wie er sie auch lehrte als er seinen Leib brach und ihn seinen Jüngern gab. Am besten ist es für den, der heute Opfer bringt, daß er auch den Sohn verleugnet und hält sich gut mit den Juden. Es gibt nur ein Opfer, womit die ganze Welt gesühnt wurde. Verflucht ist der, der nach diesem ein Opfer bringt. Die Gemeinde verwirft den, der heute Opfer bringt, und nimmt ihn nicht auf, da er ihren Diensten fremd ist.

2.

Von einer Anzahl von Lehrern und rechtgläubigen Vätern.
1. Mar Ephräm.

Ein jeder, der heutzutage Opfer bringt für einen Verstorbenen; der Verstorbene wird damit verdammt, und die, welche es essen, werden dadurch verunreinigt. Der Priester, welcher Salz segnet und gibt es dem Opfernden, damit er es esse, und verlangt von ihm den Zehnten, ist ein zweiter Kaiphas, welcher unsern Herrn ans Kreuz schlug, damit die Zehnten nicht abgeschafft würden. — Jeder, der heute ein Lamm opfert, nach jenem ersten, hat keinen Anteil mehr an dem ersten, und leugnet den, welcher gekreuzigt wurde. Wer heute ein (geopfertes) Lamm ißt, schafft ab jenes Passahlamm. Wie ein toter Leib leer ist von der Seele, welche in ihm wohnte, so ist auch ungesäuertes Brot frei von dem Innewohnen des Heiligen Geistes. Nicht im toten Leibe ist die Seele, und im ungesäuerten Brot ist nicht der Heilige Geist. — Es ist den Genießenden besser, sie essen ein totes und ersticktes Lamm, als wie ein Lamm, in welchem die Leugnung der Juden versteckt ist. — Es ist besser, er esse todbringendes Gift, welches den Körper allein tötet, als daß er opfere Ungesäuertes und reinen Wein als eine Opfergabe.

3.

Mar Ishaq.

Ein totes Opfer ist nicht lebendig machend für diejenigen, die in Christo schlafen. Ochsen und Schafe, die am Todestage für die Toten geopfert werden, gereichen denen, die sie essen, zur Verdammnis, und den Verstorbenen bringen sie Qualen. — Ein totes Opfer macht nicht lebendig die, die in Sünden gestorben sind. Mit dem Blute der Tiere werden heute die Verstorbenen nicht erlöst. — Und mit dem Priester, welcher Salz segnet, sollst du nicht im Gebet stehen, damit nicht die Engel dich schelten, wenn sie ihn in Gehenna stürzen.

4.

Von dem Lehrer Mar Ja'qob.

Schlechter als ein Heide ist, wer heute ein Lamm opfert; oder Ungesäuertes als Hostie anfaucht am Opferheiligtum.

Jeder, der heute ein Lamm oder Ungesäuertes darbringt, verleugnet den Vater, welcher seinen Sohn opferte, damit er ein Opfer sei.

5.

Der feurige Ignatius.

Wir beobachten die Nacht des Mittwoch, weil in ihr unser Herr den Aposteln offenbarte betreffs seines Leidens, und sie gerieten in Aufregung vor Kummer. Wir beobachten die Nacht des Freitags, weil in ihr unser Herr von den Juden gefangen genommen wurde, und auf die Wange geschlagen von dem Knecht des Hohenpriesters; und sie fesselten ihn an die Säule. Wir geben frei die Nacht des Samstags, weil in ihr Erleichterung wurde allen Seelen der Verstorbenen, die im Totenreich waren, als unser Herr zu ihnen hinabstieg.

6.

Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

Nicht kann ein Christ die Nacht des Mittwoch und Freitag aufgeben, ohne verdammt zu werden mit denen, die unsern Herrn fesselten in der Nacht des Freitags und ihn Pilatus überlieferten. Und die, welche die Nacht des Samstags wachen, werden verdammt mit denen, welche die Beine der Räuber brachen, damit der Sabbat nicht geschändet würde, und sie vom Gesetz verdammt würden.

7.

Johannes sagt:

Solange die Welt tot war, opferte man Ungesäuertes, weil Ungesäuertes tot ist. Seitdem aber Christus gekommen ist, welcher das Leben ist, opfern wir gesäuert Brot, welches Leben ist, zum Beweis der Wiederkunft Christi.

8.

Dionysius sagt:

Es findet sich durchaus nicht, daß eins von den Sakramenten des Priestertums vollkommen wäre, außer wenn die göttliche

Eucharistie hinzu kommt. Und keine Priester sind mit Gott verbunden, wenn die Opfergabe nicht geopfert wird, durch welche die Ordination eigentlich vollzogen wird. An diesen Dingen also haben die Armenier keinen Anteil. Es findet sich nicht, daß seit der Kreuzigung unseres Herrn Ungesäuertes, oder ein Lamm geopfert wurde als Opfergabe; und jeder, der sie opfert, ist noch ein Jude und wartet auf das Kommen des Messias. Ein Christ, welcher 40 Tage vorbeigehen läßt, ohne Teilnahme der Eucharistie ohne Grund, ist nach seinem Tode nicht würdig, daß für ihn gebracht werde eine Opfergabe, da er im Leben sich selbst ausgeschlossen hat von der Gemeinschaft der Sakramente. Und wiederum sagt er: Nicht soll teilnehmen lassen ein Priester jemanden ohne Bekenntnis, ob er treu ist im Glauben, oder nicht.

9.

Mar Severus.

Hab Acht, o Christ, daß nicht dein Heil mit den Juden ist. Wenn du für einen Verstorbenen die Fäulnis der toten Tiere issest, bedenke, mein Lieber, was Basilius der Große tat, mit dem Manne, der Fleisch essen ließ für seinen toten Sohn. Auch den Priester, der von jenem Ochsenfleisch aß, setzte er vom Priestertum herab, und legte auf ihn ein siebenjähriges Fasten; und auf den Gläubigen, der das Opfer brachte, ein dreijähriges; und auf jeden, der davon gegessen hatte, ein einjähres Fasten. Also, es soll überhaupt nicht geschehen, daß ein Christ für einen Verstorbenen Fleisch ißt.

10.

Rabbula von Edessa.

Nicht sollen die Geistlichen, nämlich die Priester und Diakonen und Gläubigen, beim Gedächtnis der Verstorbenen Fleisch essen, noch Wein trinken. Sonst, anstatt einer trauernden Seele, welche Gnade sucht für den Verstorbenen, lachen sie, scherzen und zürnen Gott. Anstatt, daß das Herz fleht, besitzen sie ein hartes und geiziges Herz, und werden Genossen der Juden, welche unsern Herrn gekreuzigt haben, damit er ihre Opfer nicht abschaffte. Denn die Juden, wie die Heiden,

nennen den Gedächtnisritus ihrer Toten „Opfer"; wir aber „Wachen", weil beim Wachen kein Fleisch ist, sondern Speise, welche den Christen ziemt, wobei keine Fäulnis der toten Tiere ist. Und wie die Christen von den Juden und Heiden getrennt sind durch den Glauben, so ziemt es sich, daß bei ihren Gedächtnisfesten man sich trennt von ihnen; weil die Heiden und Juden Opfer, die Christen aber Vigilien und Opfergaben haben.

11.

Ja'qob von Edessa.

Das Volk der Armenier vom Anfang der Welt lebt ohne Gesetz. Von ihnen kommt weder ein Lehrer, noch ein Einsiedler, noch ein Gelehrter. Daher kommt es auch, daß fremde Lehrer über sie die Macht gehabt und sie vom Glauben der Wahrheit abgebracht haben. Einige ihrer Lehrer sind einerseits Juden, einige, andrerseits, Phantasten. Deswegen folgen sie den Juden darin, daß sie Lamm und Ungesäuertes und reinen Wein opfern und Salz segnen; wodurch sie Gott für unrein erklären — als ob er Unreines geschaffen hätte! da er doch sagt: „Nichts, das zum Munde eingeht, verunreinigt den Menschen." Den Chalcedoniern folgen sie darin, daß sie mit ihren Fingern das Kreuz machen und bekennen zwei Naturen, ohne es zu wissen. Und den Nestorianern folgen sie darin, daß sie den ganzen Vorderarm von rechts nach links vorübergehen lassen. Den Arabern folgen sie darin, daß sie drei Kniebeugungen machen gegen Süden, wenn sie opfern, oder beschneiden; und andere Dinge noch schlimmer als diese tun sie. Und den Heiden folgen sie darin, daß sie jedenfalls, wenn jemand stirbt, Opfer für ihn darbringen; und sie beleidigen hauptsächlich darin Gott, weil es nicht dem Gläubigen von Gott erlaubt ist, für einen Toten zu opfern am Todestage, oder Fleisch zu essen am Tag seines Gedächtnisfestes. Deswegen ist dies ein heidnischer Brauch und der heiligen Kirche fremd.

12.

Mar Johannes.

In diesen acht Tagen der Passion unseres Herrn ist es nicht recht, für den Christen, daß er Ungesäuertes esse, (damit er

nicht mit den Juden verdammt werde), es sei denn aus Notwendigkeit der Reise; weil, gerade wie das Essen von Gesäuertem quält die Juden am Sabbat des Ungesäuerten, welches die Juden am Tage der Passion machen, so betrübt es den Heiligen Geist und die Engel, (wenn wir Ungesäuertes essen). Denn nicht eine kleine Feindschaft ist zwischen uns und den Juden. Gott, unsern Herrn, haben sie gekreuzigt. Also jeder Gläubige, der eins der jüdischen Gesetze hält, oder an ihren Bräuchen teilnimmt (ausgenommen dies, das er in den Schriften der heiligen Propheten liest), wird bestraft von unserm Herrn. Nie wieder soll der Gläubige sich nähern den jüdischen Gebräuchen, ob klein oder groß, weil sie Gott getötet haben.

13.

Gregorius, welcher die Armenier belehrte.

Nachdem er Katholikus durch Leontius, Patriarch von Rom, geworden war, lehrte er viele Völker. Da nahm er Priester und Diakone von Sebaste in Kappadokien und ging in alle Gegenden und lehrte bis nach Tārūn und allen Städten der Armenier; und er kam nach Amid und Nisibis und Persien und Chorasan, bis zu den Grenzen der Alanen; und wenn immer er predigte, weissagte er über das Volk der Armenier, indem er sagte: „Nach kurzer Zeit werden zu ihnen kommen fremde Lehrer, die der Glaubenswahrheit abhold sind, und werden sie abwendig machen von der Predigt der Apostel; und, wegen ihrer Herzenshärtigkeit, da sie sich von der Wahrheit nicht überzeugen lassen, wird es zum letzten schlimmer mit ihnen als zum ersten". Und siehe da, seine Weissagung war aus der Wahrheit; weil er je 40 Tage fastete, wie auch Moses und Elias, und auf ihm war die Gabe der Weissagung. Zu seiner Zeit wurde auch Konstantin gläubig, der siegreiche König, und eins wurde der Glaube an Christum allerorts. Deshalb rühmten sich die Armenier des Gregorius, welcher sie belehrt hatte, weil er von Eusebius in Caesarea gelehrt worden war; und die Handauflegung, welche er empfing von Leontius, dem Patriarchen, geschah in Rom. Der Sohn Gregors, Arystus, war auf der Synode der 318 Väter (Nicäa). Und er nahm von ihr die Kanones und die Glaubenssätze und kam, sie seinem Vater zu zeigen, und er freute sich über den wahren Glauben. Es steht aber nicht geschrieben, daß Gregor Lamm,

oder Ungesäuertes opferte, denn es kam keine Häresie in den wahren Glauben hinein; und an vielen Orten verbot er den Kongregationen seines Volkes, den Freitag und Mittwoch frei zu geben, bis am Abend; und nicht hielten sie die Nacht des Donnerstag und des Samstag, wie sie die Armenier halten in ihrem Wahnsinn, indem er vielen von den Kongregationen des Volkes verbot, sich in der Nacht des Mittwoch und Freitag mit Fisch und Wein zu verunreinigen. Dies tat er allezeit.

Wenn in einem Lamm oder im Ungesäuerten die Kraft läge, Sünden zu vergeben und dem Übel der Welt zu widerstehen, wozu wäre dann Christus gekommen? Aber weil er sah, daß die Sünde sich mehrte, und Geiz an den Priestern klebte und die Opfer und Opferspenden nutzlos geopfert wurden, da verließ er seine himmlische Wohnung, stieg herab, sein Geschöpf zu erlösen; und anstatt eines Lammes, opferte er sich selbst, anstatt Ungesäuertem nahm er in seine heiligen Hände gesäuertes Brot und stellte dar seinen Leib; nahm Wein und Wasser und mischte sie, machte sie zu seinem lebendigen Blut, und gab sie als Leben für die Welt. Er schaffte ab das Passahlamm, Ungesäuertes, und den ganzen Gestank der Opfer.

The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book Three. — Edited, with critical notes, by LeRoy Carr Barret, M. A., Ph. D., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

Prefatory. — This third book of the Kashmirian AV. is edited in the same manner as were the first and second books (see this Journal vol. 26 p. 197 and vol. 30 p. 187). The same freedom has been maintained in regard to the form of presenting the material, but as heretofore the transliteration is considered first in importance. An effort has been made to reduce commentary to the smallest limits; and this may have produced an appearance of assurance regarding the emended text offered, but it is rather more appearance than reality. The text as constituted is a product of textual criticism solely, and only rarely has a purely conjectural reading been suggested or a venture made towards the higher criticism. Mutilated passages might sometimes be made intelligible by free guesswork, but even moderate assurance about a reading can be felt only if similar phraseology can be cited from other Vedic Texts.

Inasmuch as this is really preliminary publication it seems proper to put it in print now rather than hold it back on account of some unsolved difficulties. A revision and republication which would have some finality may properly be undertaken when the whole, or at least half, shall have been published in this manner. The fourth book will follow this one as soon as possible.

The transliteration is given in lines which correspond to the lines of the ms.; the division of words is of course mine, based on the edited text. The abbreviations are the usual ones; except that Ç. is used to refer to the AV. of the Çâunikîya School, and ms. (*sic*) is used for manuscript. The signs of punctuation used in the ms. are fairly represented by the vertical bar (= colon) and the "z" (= period): in the trans-

literation the Roman period stands for a *virāma*: daggers are used to indicate a corrupt reading as they are used in editions of classical texts.

Introduction.

Of the ms. — This third book in the Kashmir ms. begins f. 49 a, l. 2 and ends f. 61 a, l. 3, — 12 folios: only one letter is illegible owing to peeling of the bark, on the last line of f. 52 a, and unclear signs are only four I think. It may be noted here that in this ms. a ligature which seems clearly ttr appears very frequently but not always for tr: and one ligature seems regularly to serve for nn and °r n°. In this part of the ms. most of the pages have 18 or 19 lines of script.

Punctuation and numbering. — There are no stanza numbers, and only the most irregular punctuation to indicate the ends of stanzas or hemistichs: sometimes a visarga or anusvāra gives the hint. Except when a stanza is entirely rewritten I have not ordinarily mentioned corrections of punctuation. There are no accents marked in this book.

The grouping of the hymns in anuvākas is maintained in this book, eight anuvākas with five hymns in each; and all are correctly numbered except the first which is marked a 5, the 5 belonging to the fifth hymn which is not numbered. All the hymns save four are numbered correctly: for no. 5 and no. 11 the end is indicated but no number given, for no. 28 and no. 38 the end is not indicated.

Colophons, glosses, &c. — There are a few things of this sort that may well be recorded here. In the left margin opposite hymn 10 stands rakṣāmantrāḥ; in the left margin opposite hymn 34 stands somaṁ rājānam açervacana (*sic*); cf. f. 63 b. In the text before hymn 11 stands atha rakṣāmantram; then after the six stanzas which appear also as Ç. 3. 23 there stands RV. 10. 87. 1 entire followed by the pratika of RV. 10. 87. 25 (its last stanza) and the direction japet sarvam; finally stands iti rakṣāmantram. This seems to be a clear case of intrusion of sūtra into our text. And I incline to think that a bit of commentary has gotten in between stt. 10 and 11 of hymn 25, taken in possibly from a bottom margin. In hymn 34 between stt. 1 and 2 there stand 3 pādas which seem to be pratikas, and not constituent pādas of a stanza. In hymn 31 only the pratika of st. 1 is given followed by ity

ekā to indicate previous occurrence in this ms.: the same practice is noted in Book 4. There are some corrections inserted between the lines and some in the margins: most of them are helpful, but self-evident.

Extent of the book. — This book contains 40 hymns of which 3 are prose; parts of 3 others are or seem to be prose. The normal number of stanzas in a hymn is 6, as it is in Ç. 3; 26 hymns have 6 stanzas each, and not one has less I believe. Assuming the correctness of the verse divisions as edited below we have the following table:

26	hymns	have	6	stanzas	each	=	156	stanzas
5	"	"	7	"	"	=	35	"
4	"	"	8	"	"	=	32	"
2	"	"	9	"	"	=	18	"
1	hymn	has	10	stanzas		=	10	"
1	"	"	11	"		=	11	"
1	"	"	12	"		=	12	"
40	hymns	have				=	274	stanzas.

New and old material. — Estimating by stanzas which are new in structure we have just over 80 new stanzas; estimating by pādas which are not in the *Concordance* the total is slightly less, because some few pādas which do appear in the *Concordance* are parts of stanzas which may properly be called new. There are 14 hymns which may be called new, though some of them contain stanzas already known.

Of the 31 hymns in Ç. 3 sixteeen appear here in fairly close agreement: this is the practically the same proportion of correspondence that was found in Paipp. Books 1 and 2. There are here also 2 hymns each of Ç. 2 and 7, and 3 hymns each of Ç. 4 and 19, and a few scattering stanzas or pādas of Ç. 5, 6, and 9. Of other Vedic texts there are only a few scattered stanzas of RV., VS., KS., Kāuçika: one hymn here is partly parallel to some mantras of MS., and one appears in a form which is closer to the form given in TS. that to the form given in Ç.

ATHARVA-VEDA PAIPPALÂDA-ÇÂKHÂ
BOOK THREE.

1. [f. 49 a l. 2.]
Ç. 3. 4.

oṁ namo gaṇādhipataye z z oṁ ā tvā gni rāṣṭraṁ saha varcasodhi
ṣ prāg viçāṁ patir ekarāṭ tvaṁ vi rājā sarvās tvā rājan pradiço hvaya-
ntūpasadyo namasyo bhaveha tvāṁ viço vṛṇutāṁ rājyāya tvām imāḥ pra-
diçaṣ pañca devīḥ varṣma rāṣṭrasya kakudhi çrayasvāto vasūni vi bhajā-
my agrāḥ açchi tvā yattu bhuvanasya jātāgnir dūto va jarase dadhāti jāyā-
ṣ putrāḥ sumanaso bhavantu bahuṁ baliṁ prati paçyāma ugrā z z
açnā tvāgre mitrāvaruṇobhā viçve devā marutas tvā hvayantu | sajātā-
nāṁ madhyameṣṭheha ma syā sve kṣettre savite vi rāja | ā pa drava paramasyāṁ
parāvataç çive te dyāvāpṛthivī babhūtāṁ | ud ayaṁ rājā varuṇas tathā-
ha sa tvāyam ahvat svenam ehi | indro idaṁ manuṣya prehi saṁ hi yajñiyā-
s tvā varuṇena saṁvidānaḥ sa tvāyam ahvat sve sadhasthe sa devān yakṣa-
t sāu kalpayād diçaḥ | pathyā revatīr bahudhā virūpāḥ sarvā
s saṅgatya varivas te akran. tās tvā sarvās saṁvidānā hvayantu daça-
mīm ugras sumanā vaçeta | yadi jareṇa haviṣā da tvā gamayā-
masi | atrā ta indraṣ kevalīr viço balihṛtas karat. z ɪ z

Read: ā tvā gan rāṣṭraṁ saha varcasodhiḥ prāg viçāṁ patir ekarāṭ tvaṁ vi rāja | sarvās tvā rājan pradiço hvayantūpasadyo namasyo bhaveha z 1 z tvāṁ viço vṛṇatāṁ rājyāya tvām imāḥ pradiçaṣ pañca devīḥ | varṣman rāṣṭrasya kakudi çrayasvāto vasūni vi bhajāsy ugraḥ z 2 z accha tvā yantu bhuvanasya

jātā agnir dūto 'va jarase dadhāti | jāyāṣ putrāḥ sumanaso bhavantu bahuṁ baliṁ prati paçyāsā ugraḥ z 3 z açvinā tvāgre mitrāvaruṇobhā viçve devā marutas tvā hvayantu | sajātānāṁ madhyameṣṭhā iha sa syāḥ sve kṣetre savitéva vi rāja z 4 z ā pra drava paramasyāḥ parāvataç çive te dyāvāprthivī babhūtām | tad ayaṁ rājā varuṇas tathāha sa tvāyam ahvat ↑svenam ehi z 5 z indra idaṁ manuṣyaḥ prehi saṁ hy ajñāsthā varuṇena saṁvidānaḥ | sa tvāyam ahvat sve sadhasthe sa devān yakṣat sa u kalpayād diçaḥ z 6 z pathyā revatīr bahudhā virūpāḥ sarvās saṅgatya varīyas te akran | tās tvā sarvās saṁvidānā hvayantu daçamīm ugras sumanā vaçeha z 7 z yad ajareṇa haviṣādhi tvā gamayāmasi | atrā ta indraś kevalir viço balihṛtaś karat z 8 z 1 z

With the last stanza cf. RV. 10. 173. 6 and Ç. 7. 94.

In st. 3b jarasi would suit the verb better and might be read. Pāda 4c appears in several forms; cf. no. 33. 5. A possible reading for st. 5d is * sa enaṁ lokam ehi. The reading of st. 6a here is better than that of Ç. but it is entirely possible that our ms. gives no real variant; in 6d viçaḥ as in Ç. would be better. The emendations in st. 8 are tentative.

2. [f. 49 a, l. 17.]

C. 3. 7.

hariṇasya rahuṣyado dhi çīrṣaṇi bheṣajaṁ su kṣettriyaṁ viṣāṇa-
yād viṣucīman anīnaçat. | anu tvā hariṇo vṛṣā padbhiç catu-
[f. 49 b.] **rbhir akramīt. viṣāṇe vi çva çuṣpitaṁ yadi kiñ cit kṣettriyaṁ hṛdi | a-**
do yad avarocate catuṣpakṣam iva çchati | tena te sarvaṁ kṣettriyam aṅgebhyo nā-
çayāmasi | ud agātāṁ bhagavatī vicṛtāu nāma tārake | vi kṣettriyaṁ
tvābhy ānaçe | vedāhaṁ tasmin bheṣajaṁ kṣettriyaṁ nāçayāmi te | apa-
vāse nakṣattrāṇā apā statatoṣasāṁ apassat sarvam āmayad apa kṣe-
ttriyam akramīt. āpa id vā u bheṣajīr āpo amīvacātanīḥ āpo viçvasya bheṣajīs tās tvā muñcantu kṣettriyāt. z 2 z

Read: hariṇasya raghuṣyado 'dhi çirṣaṇi bheṣajam | sa kṣetriyaṁ viṣāṇayā viṣūcīnam anīnaçat z 1 z anu tvā hariṇo

vṛṣā padbhiç caturbhir akramīt | viṣāṇe vi ṣya guṣpitaḥ yat kiñ cit kṣetriyaḥ hṛdi z 2 z ado yad avarocate catuṣpakṣam iva chadiḥ | tena te sarvaṁ kṣetriyam āṅgebhyo nāçayāmasi z 3 z ud agātāṁ bhagavatī vicṛtāu nāma tārake | vi kṣetriyasya muñcatām adhamaṁ pāçam uttamam z 4 z yad asuteṣ kriyamāṇāyāṣ kṣetriyaṁ tvābhy anaçe | vedāhaṁ tasmin bheṣajaṁ kṣetriyaṁ nāçayāmi te z 5 z apavāse nakṣatrāṇām apavāsa oṣadhīnām | apāsmat sarvam āmayad apa kṣetriyam akramīt z 6 z āpa id vā u bheṣajīr āpo amīvacātanīḥ | āpo viçvasya bheṣajīs tās tvā muñcantu kṣetriyāt z 7 z 2 z

From Ç. I have supplied the end of st. 4 and the first hemistich of st. 5; the words supplied would occupy one line of our ms.

3. [f. 49 b, l. 7.]

Ç. 3. 6.

pumān puṁsaṣ parijāto açvatthaḥ khadirād adhi | sa hattu çatṝn māmakān yāñç cāhaṁ dveṣmi ye ca māṁ |

In pāda c read hantu çatrūn, in d mām.

tān açvattha niṣṇīhi çatṝn mayi bādha todhata | indreṇa vṛttraghnā me mayād agninā varuṇena ca |

In pāda a read niç çṛṇīhi, in b çatrūn and dodhataḥ; and I think we should read me bādha in b where Ç. has vaibādha, tho mayi baddha seems to be possible. At the end of c vṛtraghnā medī as in Ç. is the only remedy that suggests itself.

yathāçvattha niṣṇāsi pūrvāñ jātān utāparān. evā pṛdanyatas tvam abhi tiṣṭha sahasva tā |

In pāda b read niç çṛṇāsi; in c pṛtanyatas; and at the end of d read ca. This stanza is not in Ç.

yathāçvattha vi bhinaçchaṅta haty arṇave | evā me çattro cittāni viçvag bhidhi mahasva tā z

In pādas ab we may read vi bhinatsy antar mahaty; this is close to our ms. and certainly as good as the troublesome Ç. nir abhanas. In c read çatroç, for d viṣvag bhindhi sahasva ca.

yas sahamānaç carati sāsahānāiva ṛṣabhā tenāçvāttha tvayā vayaṁ sapatnān saṁvişīvahi |

For pāda b read sāsahāna iva ṛṣabhaḥ. It seems probable that at the end of d we must read sahiṣīmahi as in Ç.

sinā tv āināṁ nirṛtiṁ mṛtyoṣ pāçāir avimokyāir açvattha çatṝn māmakān yāṅç cāhaṁ dveṣmi ye ca māṁ

In pāda a read enān nirṛtir, in b avimokyāiḥ; in c read çatrūn, in d mām.

adharāṅçca pra plavatāṁ çchinnā nor iva bandhanāṁ na nurbādhapraṇuttānaṁ punar asti nivartanaṁ

For pādas ab read adharāñcaḥ pra plavantām chinnā nāur iva bandhanāt: in c nirbādhapraṇuttānām.

prāiṇān nadāmi manasā pra çṛtyena vrāhmaṇā prāiṇān vṛkṣasya çākhāyā açvatthasya nudāma-

[f. 50 a] **si z 3 z**

Read: prāiṇān nudāmi manasā pracṛtyāinān vrahmaṇā | prāiṇān vṛkṣasya çākhāyāçvatthasya nudāmasi z 8 z 3 z

In Ç. pāda b is pra cittenota brahmaṇā: I would not insist on the emendation suggested, and yet it is close to the ms.

4 [f. 50 a, l. 1]
Ç. 3. 13.

yad adas saṁpratir ahāv anadatā have tasmād a nudyo nāma stha tā vo nāmāni sindhavaḥ z

In a read saṁprayatīr, in b hate: in c ā nadyo.

yat preşitā varuṇenā t sībhaṁ samavalgataḥ tad āpunor id indro vo yatīḥ asmād āpo anu şṭhunā

In the first hemistich read varuṇenāc chibhaṁ samavalgata: in c it seems necessary to read āpnod indro vo yatīr; in d şṭhana.

apakāmāṁ siṁdamānā avevrata vo hi kam. indro vas saktabhir devāi tasmāra nāma vo hi kaṁ

Read: apakāmaṁ syandamānā avivarata vo hi kam | indro vaç çaktibhir devīs tasmād vīr nāma vo hitam.

This is the version of Ç. (and other texts), and I think the Paipp. has no real variant.

eko na deva upātiṣṭha
t siṅdhamānā upenyaḥ | ud āniṣur mahīr iti tasmād udakam u-
cyate |

Pāda a may stand, and for b we may read with KS. syandamānā upetya.

āpo devīr ghṛtam itāpāhur agnīṣomāu bibhraty āpa ityā
tīvro raso madhuprçām arañgamā mā prāṇena sā varcasā
gṛham |

The ms. corrects °prçā to °mṛcā and gṛham to gām.

In pāda a we may read id āpa āhur, tho āsur with TS. would seem better; in b ityā seems possible, but all the other texts have it tāḥ. In cd read madhuprcām arañgama ā mā prāṇena saha varcasā gan.

yād ik paçyāmy uta vā çṛṇumy ā mā ghoṣo gacchad vāsy
āṣāṁ mene
bhejāno mṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇasyamaṁ yadā vā z 4 z

Read: ād it paçyāmy uta vā çṛṇomy ā mā ghoṣo gacchad vāçy āsām | mene bhejāno °mṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇā asvadaṁ yadā vaḥ z 6 z 4 z

All the other texts have atṛpam in d. St. 7 of the Ç. version appears Pāipp. 2. 40. 5.

5. [f. 50 a, l. 11.]

Ç. 3. 2.

agnir no dūtaṣ praty eta çatṛn pratidahann abhiçastim arā-
tiṁ sa ci-
ttāṁ mohitu pareṣāṁ nihastāç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedaḥ ayam
agni
r amūmūhad yāni cittāni vo hṛdi vi vo dhamātv okasaḥ
pra bo dhamā-
tu sarvatā indra cittāni vohayārvāg ākūdyādhi agner vātasya
dhrā-
jyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya vi ṣām ākūtuyathāto cittāni
muhya-
tā | atho yad adreṣā hṛta tareṣāṁ pari vir jahi | amīṣāṁ
cittāni
pratimodayantī gṛhāṇāñgany apve parehi | abhi prehi nir
daha
hṛtsu çokāir grāhyāmitrās tapasā vidhya çatṛn. | asū yā
senā

[f. 50 b.] marutaḥ pareṣām asmān abhedy ojasā spardhamānā tāṁ guhata tapasā-
pavratena athāiṣām anyo anyaṁ vyarṇanām. z a 5 z

Read: agnir no dūtaṣ praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātim | sa cittā mohayatu pareṣāṁ nirhastāṅç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ z 1 z ayam agnir amūmuhad yāni cittāni vo hṛdi | vi vo dhamatv okasaḥ pra vo dhamatu sarvataḥ z 2 z indra cittāni mohayārvāg ākūtyā adhi | agner vātasya dhrājyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya z 3 z vy eṣām ākūtaya itātho cittāni muhyata | atho yad adyāiṣāṁ hṛdi tad eṣāṁ pari nir jahi z 4 z amiṣāṁ cittāni pratimohayanti gṛhāṇāṅgāny apve parehi | abhi prehi nir daha hṛtsu çokāir grāhyāmitrāṅs tapasā vidhya çatrūn z 5 z asāu yā senā marutaḥ pareṣām asmān abhy ety ojasā spardhamānā | tāṁ gūhata tamasāpavratena yathāiṣām anyo anyaṁ na jānāt z 6 z 5 z a 1 z

Perhaps we should read jānan in 6 d; VS. 17. 47 has yathāmī ··· jānan. The ms. gives mā above ṣā of pareṣām in f. 50 b, l. 1.

6. [f. 50 b, l. 2.]
Ç. 3. 1.

agnir no vidvā
n praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātiṁ sa me-
nāṁ mohitu pareṣāṁ
nihastāṅç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ yūryam ugrā maruta īdṛçe
sthā-
bhi prate mṛḍāta sahadhvaṁ amīmṛḍāṁ vasavo nāthitebhyo
agnir ye-
ṣāṁ vidvān praty etu çatṝn. amittrasenāṁ maghavāny
asmān. | ça
tṛyatām abhi taṁ tvām indra vṛttrahan agniç ca dahataṁ
prati | prasūta indra
ṣ pravatā haribhyāṁ pra te vajraḥ pramṛṇatyāhi çatṝn. | jahi
pratī-
co nūcaḥ parāco viçvaṁ viṣṭaṁ kṛṇuhi satyam eṣāṁ | me-
nāmohanaṁ kṛ-
ṇva indrāmittrebhyas tvāṁ agner vātasya vrājyās tān vi-
ṣuco vi nāçaya
indrasyenān sohin maruto gnis tv ojasā | cakṣūṅṣy agnir ā
dattāṁ puna
r etu parājitaḥ z 1 z

Read: agnir no vidvān praty etu çatrūn pratidahann abhiçastim arātim | sa senāṁ mohayatu pareṣāṁ nirhastāṁç ca kṛṇavaj jātavedāḥ x 1 x yūyam ugrā maruta idṛçe sthābhi preta mṛdata sahadhvam | amīmṛdan vasavo nāthitebhyo agnir yeṣāṁ vidvān praty etu çatrūn x 2 x amitrasenāṁ maghavann asmān çatrūyatām abhi | tāṁ tvam indra vṛtrahann agniç ca dahataṁ prati x 3 x prasūta indra pravatā haribhyāṁ pra te vajraḥ pramṛṇan yāhi çatrūn | jahi pratico 'nūcaḥ parāco viçvaṁ viṣṭaṁ kṛṇuhi satyam eṣām x 4 x senāmohanaṁ kṛṇava indrāmitrebhyas tvam | agner vātasya dhrājyā tān viṣūco vi nāçaya x 5 x indras senāṁ mohayan maruto 'gnis tv ojasā | cakṣūṁṣy agnir ā dattāṁ punar etu parājitā x 6 x 1 x

The reading of our ms. in st. 2 supports Aufrecht's reconstruction (KZ. 27. 219), yet I venture to print the above for the Pāipp. In st. 6b it is entirely possible that we should read ghnantv for 'gnis tv, in agreement with Ç.

7. [f. 50 b, l. 12.]

Ç. 3. 9.

ekaçataṁ viṣkandhāni viṣṭhitāṣ pṛthivīm anu teṣāṁ ca sarveṣāṁm idam asti viṣkandhadūṣaṇaṁ

Read viṣṭhitā in b, and sarveṣām in c.

karṣabhasya viṣabhasya dyāuḥ pitā pṛthivī mātā yathācakra devas tathāpi kṛṇutā punaḥ

The forms in pāda a may be real variants of these uncertain words, but it is doubtful; Ç. has karçaphasya viçaphasya. In c yathābhicakra as in Ç. would improve metre and sense; in d read devās tathāpa.

acleṣamāṇo dhārayan tathā tan manunā kṛtam. | kṣaṇomi vavri ca viṣkandhaṁ muṣkāvarho gavām iva

For a we may read açleṣmāṇo 'dhārayan. Probably we should read kṛṇomi vadhri, but kṣaṇomi might stand if we can take vadhri as proleptic; muṣkābarho in d.

sūtre piçaṅkhe khugilaṁ yad ā badhnantu vedhasaḥ sravasyaṁ çuṣma kābabaṁ vadhriṁ kṛṇvantu bandhurah.

Read piçaṅge khṛgalaṁ in a, badhnanti in b; çuṣmaṁ kābavaṁ in c. Ç. has çravasyuṁ in c.

yenā
sravasyo carata devāyavāsuramāya | çunāṁ kapir iva dūṣa-
ṇaṁ bandhu-
rā kābhavasya ca |

In a read sravasyāç caratha, although sravasyo points toward the çravasyavaç of Ç.; for b devā ivāsuramāyayā: in c dūṣaṇo, and in d kābavasya.

juṣṭī tvā kāṁçchābhi joṣayitvābhavam uta
[f. 51 a] rāmavo rathāyava pathebhis sariṣyata z 2 z

Read: duṣṭyāi hi tvā bhartsyāmi dūṣayiṣyāmi kābavam | uttarāvanto rathā iva çapathebhis sariṣyatha z 6 z 2 z

The very corrupt first hemistich seems to be only a corruption of Ç. ab: uttarāvanto is suggested as a possibility, for which Ç. has ud āçavo.

8. [f. 51 a, l. 1.]

Ç. 19. 56.

yamasya lokād adhy ā
babhūyatha pramadā mantāṁ pra yunnakṣa dhīraḥ ekājinā
saratham yā-
si vidvān svapna mimāno asurassa yonāu

Read babhūvitha in a, martān (or martyān with Ç.) and yunakṣi in b: ekākinā in c, and asurasya in d.

bambhas tvāgre viçvavathāva-
paçyan purā rātryā janitor eke hni tatas svapnenam adhy
ā cabhūyatha bhi-
ṣajña rūpam apigūhamānaḥ

The ms. corrects to (viçvava)yā(va).

Read in a bandhas and viçvavayā avapaçyat, in b 'hni: in c svapnāinam and babhūvitha, in d apagūh- and possibly bhiṣajyam.

vṛhaṁ grāvāsurebhyo bhi devān upā-
vabantu mahimānam ṛcchaṁ tasmāi svapnādadhur ādhi-
patyaṁ trayastriṁçā-
sa svar āniçāna |

It seems to me possible to read in a vṛhan grāvāsurebhyo 'bhi devān, which is no worse than Ç.; in b upāvavarta. Pāda c might stand as it is but probably the reading of Ç. svapnāya dadhur should be followed: for d read trayastriṁçāsaḥ svar ānaçānāḥ.

nāitāṁ viduṣ pitaro nota devā yeṣāṁ ǰalpya ç caranty antaredāṁ trite svapnam aridiḍṛhāprate narā ādityāso varuṇe-

nānusiṣṭā

In c we will probably do well to adopt the reading of Ç. adadhur āptye nara; in d °ānuçiṣṭāḥ.

vy asya krūram abhijaṅta duṣkṛṇe svapnena sukṛtaṣ puṇya m āpuḥ svar asajasi parameṇa vadvinā tapyamānasya manaso dhi jajñiṣe

Read abhajanta in a, and duṣkṛto as in Ç. seems almost forced on us; asvapnena would then follow in b. In c āsajasi would be good and bandhunā; in d °dhi.

vidme ta sarvāḥ parijāḥ parastād vidma svapna yo dhipā hyo te yaçasvino no yaçaso hi pāhy ārād viṣebhir apa yāhi dūraṁ z 3 z

Read: vidma te sarvāḥ parijāḥ parastād vidma svapna yo °dhipā iha te | yaçasvino no yaçaseha pāhy ārād viṣebhir apa yāhi dūram z 6 z 3 z.

9. [f. 51 a, l. 13.]

ambātma puṣāt sṛta padvat sṛjata satyayajñiyeyaṁ sṛjāmi | haṇḍūtān asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram arasaṁ viṣam āheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣaṁ |

Out of the first five words, even if they are correctly divided, I can get nothing; satyayajñiyeyaṁ sṛjāmi seems a possibility, and probably the colon should stand after haṇḍūtān, which might perhaps be emended to ahaṁ dūtān. The rest seems good. Ç. 10. 4. 3d, 4d has arasaṁ viṣaṁ vār ugram.

indram aham iyaṁ huve somapā ubhayāvinam asmāi |

Read: indram aham iyaṁ huve somapām ubhayāvinam | asmāi • • z 2 z

It seems probable that somapām is to be read, although Ç. 5. 25. 9 d is somapā ubhayāvinam: but the context is very different. It is clear that the ms. intends the repetition of all that stands after asmāi in st. 1.

varuṇam ahām iyaṁ huva | ugro rājanyo māmahi |

Read: varuṇam aham iyaṁ huva ugro rājanyas sāsahiḥ | asmāi • • z 3 z

aditim aham iyaṁ huve çūraputraṁ kanīnikām asmāi

Read çūraputrāṁ in b.

vṛhaspatim aham iyaṁ huve | yo devānāṁ purohito a-

[f. 51 b.] smāi z

Read: vṛhaspatim aham iyaṁ huve yo devānāṁ purohitaḥ | asmāi - - z 5 z

āṇāc cāṇāç caṇḍām arkān asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram ara-

saṁ viṣām aheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣaṁ

Read: * * * * *āṇāç caṇḍān arkān | asmāi viṣāya hantave | vār ugram arasaṁ viṣam āheyam arasaṁ viṣaṁ nirviṣam z 6 z

The conjecture of a lacuna of ten syllables here (the letters āṇāç c seem to be dittography) is due to the feeling that this stanza ought to be symmetrical with the preceding four; but the proposed emendation of the last four syllables of pāda b does not favor this conjecture much.

navānaṁ navatīnāṁ viṣasya ropuṣīṇāṁ sarvāsām agrabhaṁ nāma vītāpayatārasaṁ viṣaṁ z 4 z

Read: navānāṁ navatīnāṁ viṣasya ropuṣīṇām | sarvāsām agrabhaṁ nāma vītāpetārasaṁ viṣam z 7 z 4 z

The first three pādas appear RV. 1. 191. 13 abc.

10. [f. 51 b, l. 3.]

mṛtyur eko

yama ekas sarveṣu çārur ud bhava | te naṣ kṛṇvantu bheṣajaṁ devasenābhya

s pari | punar no yamaṣ pitṛbhir dadātu punar mittrāvaruṇā vāto gniḥ a-

ghamāno aghaçaṁsaṣ punar dāt punar no devī nirṛtir dadhātu | yā devī

ṣ prahiteṣuṣ patāç tapasc vā mahase vāvasṛṣṭas somas tvām a-

smad yāvayatu vidyān pitaro vā devahūtā nṛcakṣasas sahasrākṣo

martyāḥ punarūpa ihāvatu prakhyed ugram ahārṣaṁ sahagus sahapāuruṣāḥ

yas te manyus sahasrākṣa viṣeṇa pariṣicyate | tena tvam asmabhyaṁ mṛ-

ḍa çivo naç çastur ā cara mā te manyu sahasrākṣa bhā-
metūr māmakaṁ ja-
gat. | ye no dveṣṭi taṁ gaccha yaṁ dviṣmas taṁ jahi z z
oṁ yan dviṣma
s taṁ jahi z 5 z anu 2 zz

Read: mṛtyur eko yama ekas sarveṣu çarur ud bhava | te naṣ kṛṇvantu bheṣajaṁ devasenābhyas pari z 1 z punar no yamaṣ pitṛbhir dadātu punar mitrāvarunā vato 'gniḥ | agha-māro aghaçaṁsaṣ punar dāt punar no devi nirṛtir dadātu z 2 z yā devi prahiteṣuṣ patās tapase yā mahase vāvasṛṣṭā | somas tvām asmad yāvayatu vidvān pitaro vā devahūtā nṛcakṣasaḥ z 3 z sahasrākṣo martyaḥ punar †ūpa ihāvatu | †prakhyed ugram ahārṣaṁ sahagus sahapuruṣaḥ z 4 z yas te manyus sahasrakṣa viṣeṇa pariṣicyatu | tena tvam asmabhyaṁ mṛḍa çivo naç çam-bhur ā cara z 5 z mā te manyus sahasrākṣa bhāmet tan māmakaṁ jagat | yo no dveṣṭi taṁ gaccha yaṁ vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ jahi z 6 z 5 z

St. 3 has appeared Pāipp. 1. 95. 4, but was not rightly emended: the pādas 1c, 4a, and 5d appear the Concordance. In the margin opposite st. 4 the ms. has rakṣāmantram.

11. [f. 51 b, l. 13.]
Q. 3. 26.

atha rakṣāmantraṁ zz zz
oṁ rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ prācyāṁ diçi hetayo nāma devāḥ
teṣāṁ vo agni
r iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta to no vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas
svāhā z rakṣa ye sthā-
syāṁ dakṣiṇāyāṁ diçy aviçyavo nāma devās teṣāṁ vo pa
iṣavaḥ |
te no mṛḍāta te no dhi vrūta tebhya namas tebhyas svāhā
z rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ
[f. 52 a] pratīcyāṁ diçi virājo nāma devās teṣāṁ vaṣ kāma
iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍā-
ta te no dhi vrūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye
sthāsyām udīcyā diçi
praviddhyanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vāta iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta
te no dhi vrūta te-
bhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z rakṣa ye sthāsyāṁ dhruvā-
yaṁ diçi vilimpā nā-

ma devās teṣāṁ vo nnam iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta te no dhi
vṛūta tebhyo namas tebhya
s svāhā z rakṣa ya sthāsyām ūrdhvāyāṁ diçy aviṣyanto
nāma devās teṣāṁ
vo varṣam iṣavaḥ te no mṛḍāta te no dhi vṛūta tebhyo
namas tebhyas svāhā z
rakṣohaṇaṁ vājenam ā jiganmi mittraṁ pratiṣṭham upa
yāmi çarma |
çeṣāṇo agniṣ kṛtubhis samiddhās sa no divas sa riṣā pātu
naktaḥ praty a-
gne haraṁ iti japet sarvam. z z iti rakṣāmantram. z z

Read: rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ prāçyāṁ diçi hetayo nāma devās teṣāṁ vo agnir iṣavaḥ | te no mṛḍata te no 'dhi vṛūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 1 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ dakṣiṇāyāṁ diçy aviṣyavo nāma devās teṣāṁ va āpa iṣavaḥ | te no ‧ ‧ ‧ z 2 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ pratīcyāṁ diçi vīrājo nāma devās teṣāṁ vaṣ kāma iṣavaḥ | te no ‧ ‧ ‧ z 3 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām udīcyāṁ diçi pravidhyanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vo vāta iṣavaḥ | te no ‧ ‧ ‧ z 4 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyāṁ dhruvāyāṁ diçi vilimpā nāma devās teṣāṁ vo 'nnam iṣavaḥ | te no ‧ ‧ ‧ z 5 z rakṣa || ye sthāsyām ūrdhvāyāṁ diçy avasvanto nāma devās teṣāṁ vo varṣam iṣavaḥ | te no mṛḍata te no 'dhi vṛūta tebhyo namas tebhyas svāhā z 6 z 1 z

rakṣohaṇaṁ vājinam ā jigharmi mitraṁ pratiṣṭham upa yāmi çarma | çiçāno agniṣ kratubhis samiddhas sa no divā sa riṣaḥ pātu naktam z z praty agne haraseti japet sarvam z z iti rakṣāmantram z z

The ms. indicates that the "rakṣa" at the beginning of each stanza is to be set off from the rest. In st. 2 and 6 aviṣyavo and avasvanto are adopted from Ç.

It seems clear to me (as indicated by the arrangement) that hymn no. 1 of anuvāka 3 has only 6 stanzas; following it RV. 10. 87 entire is to be muttered. Cf. Introduction.

12. [f. 52 a, l. 10.]
Ç. 3. 21.

yo apsv a-
ntar yo vṛttre antar yaṣ puruṣe yo smani | yo viveça
oṣadhīr yo vanaspatīṁ-
s tebhyo gnibhyo hutam astv etat.

Read agnir yo vṛtro at end of a, read 'çmani in b; ya āviveçāuṣadhīr in c, 'gnibhyo in d.

yes some antar yo goṣv antar yo viṣṭo vayasi yo mṛgeṣu ya āviveça dvipado yaç catuṣpadas tebhyaḥ

Read yas in a, and in d tebhyo followed by continuation marks.

āindraṇa sarathaṁ saṁbabhūva vāiçvānara uta viçvadavyaḥ i johavīmi pṛtanāsu sāsahyaṁ tebhyaḥ z

Read ya indreṇa in a, viçvadāvyaḥ in b: yaṁ and sāsahiṁ in c, tebhyo in d as above.

yo devo viçvād yam a kāmam āhur yaṁ dātāra pratigṛhṇāntam āhuḥ yo dhīra çaktuṣ paribhūr idābhyas tebhyaḥ z

Read: yo devo viçvād yam u kāmam āhur yaṁ dātāraṁ pratigṛhṇantam āhuḥ | yo dhīraç çakraṣ paribhūr adābhyas tebhyo - - z 3 z

yaṁ tvā hotāraṁ manasābhi saṁvidus trayodaça bhuvanā pañca mānavaḥ varcodhase yaçase sūnṛtavate tebhyaḥ

Read mānavāḥ in b, sunṛtāvate in c, and tebhyo in d.

ukṣ*nnaya vaçānnaya somapṛṣṭhā- [f. 52 b.] **ya vedase vāiçvānarajyeṣṭhebhyas tebhyaḥ z**

Read for a ukṣānnāya vaçānnāya, vedhase in b; tebhyo in d.

divaṁ pṛthivīm antarikṣaṁ ye vidyutam anusañcaranti ya dakṣantar yo vāte antas tebhyo agnibhyo huta m astv etat.

Insert anv after pṛthivīm in a, read yo dikṣv antar in b.

vṛhaspatiṁ varuṇaṁ mittra agnyāṁ hiraṇyapāṇyaṁ savitāram indraṁ viçvān devān aṅgirasaṁ havāmahe indraṁ kravyādaṁ çamayantv agniṁ

Read mitram agniṁ hiraṇyapāṇiṁ in ab, and probably aṅgiraso in c; havāmaha imaṁ in cd.

çānto agniṣ kravyād atho puruṣareṣiṇaḥ atho yo viçvadāvyas taṁ kravyādyam aṣīṣamam z z z

Read: çānto agniṣ kravyād atho puruṣareṣiṇaḥ | atho yo viçvadāvyas taṁ kravyādam açiçamam z 9 x 2 z

13. [f. 52 b, l. 6.]
Ç. 3. 5.

āyam agaṁ pūrṇamaṇir balī balena pramṛṇaṁ sapatrān. | ojo devānāṁ paya oṣadhīrā me yi rāṣṭraṁ jinvanpa prayacchaṁ

The ms. corrects to parṇa° in a.

Read agan parṇamaṇir in a, pramṛṇan sapatnān in b; oṣadhīnāṁ in c, and for d mayi rāṣṭraṁ jinvatu prayacchan. Whitney reports in d jinvatv aprayucchan; the ms. does not have this but we might well restore it.

mayi rāṣṭraṁ parṇamaṇe mahi dhāraya rāṣṭram aho rāṣṭrasyābhīvarge yajā bhūyāsam uttarā |

In b read mayi, in c ahaṁ, in d uttaraḥ: yathā for yajā seems to me good, though yujo (suggested by Whitney) must be considered.

yaṁ nididhi r vanaspatāu vājiṁ devāṣ priyaṁ nidhim. taṁ ma indras sahāyuṣā ma maṇiṁ dadātu bhartave |

Read nidadhur in a; in b vājaṁ would seem better than vājin but I think the latter can stand. Delete the syllable ma after sahāyuṣā.

somasya parṇas saha ugram āgam indreṇa datto varuṇena sakhyaḥ tam ahaṁ bibharmi bahu rocamāno dīrghāyutvāya çataçāradāya |

Read āgann in a; perhaps sakhyaḥ can stand but I rather think it is only a corruption of çiṣṭaḥ which Ç. has.

ā mā rakṣatu parṇamaṇir mahyāriṣṭatātaye yathāham uttaro sāni manuṣyā adhisaṅçataḥ

In a Ç. has ā mārukṣat which is probably intended here though the ms. reading seems possible; in b read mahyā ariṣṭ°, in c °sāni: mānuṣyā adhisaṁçitaḥ would be a good pāda if we may take mānuṣī as a noun, or we might read mānuṣāyādhisaṁçitaḥ.

punar mayitv indriyaṁ punar āttasā draviṇaṁ vrāhmaṇaṁ ca | punagnyo dhṛṣṇyāso yathāsthāmalpayantām īvaha z

This is Ç. 7. 67. 1. Read: punar māitv indriyaṁ punar ātmā draviṇaṁ vrāhmaṇaṁ ca | punar agnayo dhiṣṇyāso yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihāiva z 6 z

yat takṣāṇo rathakāraṣ karmārā ye manīṣiṇāḥ sarvāṅs tvānparṇa raṅdhayopastiṁ kṛṇu medināṁ

Read ye and rathakāraṣ in a, tān parṇa randh• in c, and medinam in d. The sign np in tvān parṇa is not clear.

upastir astu vāiçya uta çūdra utārya sarvāṅs tvān parṇa raṅdhayopastiṁ kṛṇu

[f. 53 a] **medinaṁ z 3 z**

Read: upastir astu vāiçya uta çudra utāryaḥ | sarvāṅs tān parṇa randhayopastiṁ kṛṇu medinam z 8 z 3 z

This stanza has no parallel.

14. [f. 53 a, l. 1.]

Ç. 3. 23.

yena veha dadūmasi | yāt te garbho yonim etu pumāṅsaṁ putraṁ jānaya tvaṁ pumān anu jāyatāṁ bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā

ātānāṁ janayāsi ca | yāni bhadrāṇi bījāny ṛṣabhā janayati | tāis tvaṁ putraṁ vindasva sā prasūr dhenukā bhava kṛṇomi te prā-

jāpatyam ā garbho yonim etu te | vindasva putraṁ nārya tubhyaṁ sam asakhyama tasmāi tvaṁ bhava | yāsāṁ pitā parjanyo bhūmir mātā babhūva | tā-

s tvā putravidyāya devīṣ prāvantv oṣadhīḥ yas te yonim ud iṅgayā vṛṣabho retasā saha | sa tā siñcatu prajāṁ dīrghāyuç çataçāradām. z 4 z

Read: yena vehad babhūvitha nāçayāmasi tat tvat | idaṁ tad anyatra tvad apa dūre ni dadhmasi z 1 z ā te garbho yonim etu pumān bāṇa iveṣudhim | ā viro 'tra jāyatāṁ putras te daçamāsyaḥ z 2 z pumāṅsaṁ putraṁ janaya taṁ pumān anu jāyatām | bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā jātānāṁ janayāç ca yān z 3 yāni bhadrāṇi bījāny ṛṣabhā janayanti ca | tāis tvaṁ putraṁ vindasva sā prasūr dhenukā bhava z 4 z kṛṇomi te prājāpatyam ā garbho yonim etu te | vindasva putraṁ nāri yas tubhyaṁ çam asac cham u tasmāi tvaṁ bhava z 5 z yāsāṁ

pitā parjanyo bhūmir mātā babhūva | tās tvā putravidyāya devīṣ prāvantv oṣadhīḥ z 6 z yas te yonim ud iṅgayād vṛṣabho retasā saha | sa tā ā siñcatu prajāṁ dīrghāyuṣ çataçāradam z 7 z 4 z

The ms. corrects to ja(naya) in 3a and (janayā)mi in 3d. Note that the ms. has only a few words of stt. 1 and 2, and I have supplied the rest from Ç.; other emendations follow Ç. The last stanza is new.

15. [f. 53 a, l. 9.]

yāṁ tvā vāto varaya rāridra nābhā maharṣabhaḥ | tasyās te viçvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare |

In a ˚varayad is possible; for the first half of pāda b nothing plausible suggests itself, although I have thought of some form of rudra or of ārdra. Pādas cd can stand.

yās tvā varāho ṣanad ekasminn adhi puṣkare |

In a read yāṁ and ˚khanad, and cf. Ç. 4. 4. 1. It seems clear that for pādas cd the second hemistich of st. 1 is meant to stand here too, for the ms. sometimes fails to indicate a refrain when it should; cf. Pāipp. 2. 19; 29; and 49.

yāṁ tvāditir avapad bīja vāpam adhi puṣkare |

Though not good metrically this may stand, with the refrain to be supplied from st. 1.

yasyāṣ kulāyaṁ salile antar mahaty arṇave | tasyās te viçvadhāyaso viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare |

This stanza lends support to the suggestion of ārdra in st. 1.

ut te bharad uttamāyā adhamāyās tūd bhare anu madhyā madhyame tava viṣadūṣaṇam agrabhaṁ

In a bharam would seem to be the best reading: for c I can do no more than the word division indicates.

sam agrabham ubhāv antāu sam agrabhaṁ divaç ca pṛthivyāç ca viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z 5 z anu 3 zz

Read: * * * * samagrabham ubhāv antāu samagrabham | divaç ca pṛthivyāç ca viṣadūṣaṇam ud bhare z 6 z 5 z anu 3 z

The ms. has no indication of the loss of four syllables in pāda a, but it seems very probable; perhaps something like madhyam bhūmyās stood there as in Ç. 6. 89. 3 cd. The ms. corrects to pṛthi(vi)ç.

16. [f. 53 a, l. 17.]

pāidvo si pṛtanāyu svāhā soma hiṅsīs soma hiṅsito si svāhā |

The first of these two formulae we might read pāidvo 'si pṛtanāyus svāhā: soma hiṅsīs may stand (cf. RV. 9. 88. 4), and at a venture I would conjecture somāhiṅsito 'si svāhā for the rest.

vrahmaṇama hiṃsīr vrahma hiṅsito

[f. 53 b.] **si svāhā |**

One would expect here a parallelism to the preceding but I am unable to work it out satisfactorily; what is given does not lend support to the conjecture made above.

nābhūd ahir bhrūṇamānm ahir agnim arasāvadhī | viṣasya vrahmaṇām āsīt tato jīvan na mokṣase |

In the first hemistich I can see nothing more than the division of words indicates; in c viṣo yo might be a possible reading.

uṣṭo hi samuṣṭo hi nirvī

to rasaṣ kṛtaḥ viṣasya vrahmaṇām āsīt tato jīvan na mokṣase |

For pādas ab read uṣṭo 'hir samuṣṭo 'hir nirvito 'rasaṣ kṛtaḥ: for the rest see above.

punar dadāti me viṣaṁ pūrvapadyam udāhṛta | māṁ dadaçvān sa-

nyase mayā daṣṭo na mokṣase z 1 z

Read: punar dadāti me viṣaṁ pūrvapadyam udāhṛtam | māṁ dadaçvān manyase mayā daṣṭo na mokṣase z 6 z 1 z

The stanza is numbered 6 because of the three occurrences of svāhā above, which seem to indicate three separate formulae.

17. [f. 53 b, l. 5.]

ekaçataṁ bheṣajāni

teṣāṁ mātāsy oṣadhe | samudram iva gacchasi pṛthivyām [adhi ni-

ṣṭhitaḥ

At the end of pāda d niṣṭhitā would agree better with mātāsy. Ç. 19. 32. 3b is pṛthivyām asi niṣṭhitaḥ (sc. darbha).

yasyāṁ vedādibheṣajaṁ daçaçīrṣo daçajihvaḥ te prathamā dadhe saṁçrāvaṅty oṣadhe yam arād vīrayad bhiṣak.

If we may take ādibheṣajam to mean "the original medicine" we have at the beginning two pādas which might possibly stand: Ç. 4. 6. 1b is daçaçīrṣo daçāsyaḥ. For the rest, in addition to the division of words I can only suggest for

consideration saṁsrāvāṇy and ārad; but these throw no light on what is to me wholly obscure.

punaç cakṣuṣ punaṣ prāṇaṁ punar āyun nā gamat. niṣ ṭvākaraṁ niṣkṛtyā niṣ ṭvā nikṛtyākaraṁ

In a read prāṇo, in b āyur na ā; in d niṣkṛtyākaram.

muñcāmi tvā çapathyād atho vāruṇād ūta | atho yamasya padbhiçādviçād viçvasmād deva duṣkṛtāt.

The ms. seems to correct dvi to dbhi.

Read uta in b: and padbhiçād in c. This stanza appears Ç. 6. 96. 2 with muñcantu mā in a, varuṇyād in b, and kilbīṣāt in d.

çaṁ te çīrṣṇaṣ kapālāni hṛdayasya ca ye viduḥ udyaṁ sūryādityo aṅgadyo tam anīçat. |

Cf. Ç. 9. 8. 22. In pāda a read saṁ; for cd udyan sūrya ādityo aṅgabhedam anīnaçat. This however does not reckon with Ç. which in b has yo vidhuḥ, a lectio difficilior; yet I do not believe we need to read it here.

himavataṣ pra sravatas sindhū sam āha saṅgamaḥ tāpas sarvas sāṁgatya cakṣuṣ prāṇaṁ cadhatu naḥ z 2 z

Read: himavataṣ pra sravata sindhāu sam aha saṅgamaḥ | tā āpas sarvās saṁgatya cakṣuṣ prāṇaṁ dadhantu naḥ z 6 z 2 z

The first hemistich appears Ç. 6. 24. 1 ab; and with pāda d may be compared Ç. 10. 2. 29d.

18. [f. 53 b, l. 15.]

Ç. 3. 22.

hastivarcasaṁ prthatāṁ vṛhad diṣu adityā ya tanvas sambabhūva ta-

t sarve savitur mahyas etu viçve devāso aditis sajoṣāḥ

Read prathatāṁ in a, and perhaps dikṣu though yaço as in Ç. seems better; in b yat. In c we will have to read as in Ç. samadur mahyam etad.

mittraç ca varuṇaç cendro rudraç ca tejatu devāso viçvadhāyasas te [f. 54 a.] māṁdantu varcasā |

The ms. corrects tejatu to tejasaḥ; if we accept this, as I think we may, it obviates the difficulties with the form cetatus of Ç. In a read mitraç, in d māñjantu.

yat te varco jātavedo vṛhad bhavaty āhutaṁ tena mām abhya varcasāgre varcasvinaṁ kṛdhi |

Read adya varcasāgne in cd. In Ç. these pādas are 4 ab and 3 de; Ç. has āhuteḥ and kṛnu.

yena haste varcasā sambabhūva yena rājā manuṣeṣv antaḥ yena devā jyotiṣā bhyām udāyaṁ tena māgne varcasā saṁ sṛjeha |

Read hasti in a, dyām udāyan in c. What we have here is in Ç. st. 3 abc with a new pāda d.

yāvad varcas sūryasyāsurasya ca hastinaḥ tāvan me açvinā varcaṣ kṛṇutaṁ puṣkarasrajaḥ |

Read puskarasrajā in d. In Ç. this is st. 4 c-f, and ā dhattām stands for kṛnutam.

yāvac catasraṣ pradiçaç cakṣur yāvat samaçnute | tāvat samāitv indriyaṁ mayi tad dhastivarcasam. z 3 z

This is the sixth stanza of the third hymn of the fourth anuvāka.

19. [f. 54 a, l. 7.]

Ç. 3. 19.

saṁçitaṁ mayīdaṁ vrahma saṁçitaṁ vīryaṁ mama | saṁçitaṁ kṣattraṁ me jiṣṇu yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ sam aham eṣāṁ rāṣṭrāṁ paçyāmi sam ojo vīryaṁ balaṁ | vṛçcāsi çatṛṇāṁ bahūsam açvām açvān ahaṁ | tīkṣaṇīyāṅsaṣ pharṣor agnes tīkṣṇatarād uta | indrasya vajras tīkṣanīyaṅso eṣām asmin purohitaḥ | adhas padyantām adhare bhavantv ena indraṁ maghavānāṁ pṛtanyāṅ kṣaṇāmi vrāhmaṇāmittrān anvāyāma çvān ahaṁ yeṣām ām āyudhā saṁ çyāsy eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayasva yeṣaṁ kṣattram ajaram astu jiṣṇu ugram eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayasva yeṣāṁ kṣam ajaram astu jiṣṇu ugram eṣāṁ cittaṁ bahudhā viçvarūpā abhi prayata jayata prasūtā saṁ çyāmi nir āyudhāni |

[f. 54 b.] **tīkṣṇa iṣavo baladhanvano hato ugrāyudhābalān ugrahabā-**

vaḥ z 4 z

Read: saṁçitaṁ ma idaṁ vrahma saṁçitaṁ vīryaṁ mama | saṁçitaṁ kṣatraṁ me jiṣṇu yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ z 1 z sam aham eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ çyāmi sam ojo vīryaṁ balam | vṛçcāmi çatrūṇāṁ bāhūn sam eṣām açvān aham z 2 z tīkṣṇīyāṁsaṣ paraçor agnes tīkṣṇatarā uta | indrasya vajrāt tīkṣṇīyāṁso yeṣām asmi purohitaḥ z 3 z adhas padyantām adhare bhavantu ye na indram maghavānaṁ pṛtanyān | kṣiṇāmi vrahmaṇāmitrān un nayāmi svān aham z 4 z eṣām aham āyudhā sam çyāmy eṣāṁ rāṣṭraṁ suvīraṁ vardhayasva | eṣāṁ kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇūgram eṣāṁ cittaṁ bahudhā viçvarūpam z 5 z abhi preta jayata prasūtās sam çyāmy nara āyudhāni | tīkṣṇeṣavo 'baladhanvano hatogrāyudhā abalān ugrabāhavaḥ z 6 z 4 z

In st. 3 d the ms. corrects to asmi; and in 4d it has a correction which seems to make ad dhvāyāma out of anvāyāma so perhaps we should read ud dhvayāmi. In 3b it might be possible to read tīkṣṇatarād uta as in the ms.

Whitney in his comments on Ç. 3. 19. 6 and 8 implies that they are found in Pāipp. Bk. 3 at this point, but they are not in the birchbark; they do appear Paipp. I. 56, and the confusion is doubtless due to the fact that he did not have access to a facsimile or the original (cf. Whitney's Translation p. lxxxi ff.).

20. [f. 54 b, l. 2.]

Ç. 3. 12.

ihāiva dhruvāmya minomi çālāṁ kṣeme tiṣṭhāmi ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā | taṁ tvā çāle sarvavīrās suvīrā abhi saṁ carema |

Read dhruvāṁ ni in a, tiṣṭhāsi in b; tāṁ in c, and supply ariṣṭavīrā (as in Ç.) in d.

ihāiva dhruvā pra tiṣṭha çāle açvāvatī gomatī sūnṛtāvatī | ūrjasvatī ghṛtavatī payasvaty uç chrayasva mahate sāubhagāya |

Read prati in a, uc chrayasva in d.

dharuṇy asi çāle gṛhaç chandā sūtadhānyā ā tvā vatso mayi med ā kumārā dhenavasyāya m āsyandhamānā

Reading chandas in b we get a fairly good pāda; gṛhaç chandas is rather better than the bṛhacchandās of Ç. and the latter's pūtidhānyā has proved troublesome; sūtadhānyā may mean "containing produced grain". In cd read vatso me gamed ā kumāra ā dhenavas sāyam āsyandamānāḥ.

imāṁ çālāṁ savitā vāyur agnis tvaṣṭā hotā ni srotu prajānāñ ukṣaṅtūnā maruto ghṛtena | somo no rājā ni kṛṣa tanotu

Read ni minotu prajānan in b; ukṣantūdnā in c, kṛṣim in d; colon after pāda b.

sānassa patniç caraṇā syonā devībhi r nimitāsy āgne | ūnnaṁ vasanā sumanā yaças tvaṁ rayiṁ no dhi subhage suvīraṁ |

We may read in a mānasya patni çaraṇā, for b devi devebhir nimitāsy agre. In c tṛṇaṁ vasānā sumanā asas seems most probable; in d read dhehi and suvīram.

ā tvā kumāras taraṇa ā vatso jagatā saha | ā tvā pariçṛtaṣ kumbha ā dadhnaṣ kalaçaç ca yā z 5 z anu 4 z

Read: ā tvā kumāras taruṇa ā vatso jagatā saha | ā tvā pariçritaṣ kumbha ā dadhnas kalaçaç ca yaḥ z 6 z 5 z anu 4 z.

21. [f. 54 b, l. 14.]
Ç. 4. 22.

imam indra vardhaya kṣattriyaṁ sa imaṁ viçā
m ekaviṣa kṛṇu tvaṁ ni mittrān akṣṇu tasya sarvāṅs tā
radhaya-
smāhamuttareṣu | ayam astu dhanapatir dhanānām ayam
viçām
viçkṛpatistu rājā | asminn indu mayi varcāṅsi dhehy a-
[f. 55 a] varcasaṁ kṛṇuhi çatrum asya | idaṁ bhaja grāme
ṣveṣu goṣva niṣ ṭam bhaja yo mittro
sya | varṣmat kṣattrāṇām ayam astu rājendra çatrū raṅ-
dhaya sarvam asmāi | asmāi
dyāvāpṛthivī bhūrvāsū saṁ duhitāṁ gharmaduheva dhe-
nuṁ | vayaṁ rājā pri-
ye indrasya bhūyāḥ priyo gavām oṣadhīnāṁ utāpāṁ yu-
najmi tam uttarā-
vaṅtam indra yena jayante | yas tvā karad ekavṛṣaṁ ja
nānām uta rājan u-

ttamaṁ mānavānāṁ | uttaras tvam adhare mantv anye ye ke ca rājan pradiçatra-

sthe | ekavṛṣā indrasakhā jigīvāṅ çatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā mahāṅsi | z 1 z

Read: imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ ma imaṁ viçām ekavṛṣaṁ kṛṇu tvam | nir amitrān akṣṇu tasya sarvāṅs tān randhayāsmā ahamuttareṣu z 1 z ayam astu dhanapatir dhanānām ayaṁ viçāṁ viçpatir astu rājā | asminn indra mahi varcāṅsi dhehy avarcasaṁ kṛṇuhi çatrum asya z 2 z emaṁ bhaja grāme 'çveṣv goṣu niṣ ṭaṁ bhaja yo 'mitro 'sya | varṣman kṣatrāṇām ayam astu rājendra çatruṁ randhaya sarvam asmāi z 3 z asmāi dyāvāpṛthivī bhūri vāmaṁ saṁduhāthāṁ gharmadugheva dhenuḥ | ayaṁ rājā priya indrasya bhūyāt priyo gavām oṣadhīnām utāpām z 4 z yunajmi tam uttarāvantam indraṁ yena jayanti na parā jayante | yas tvā karad ekavṛṣaṁ janānām uta rājann uttamaṁ mānavānām z 5 z uttaras tvam adhare santv anye ye ke ca rājan pratiçatravas te | ekavṛṣa indrasakhā jigīvāṅ çatrūyatām abhi tiṣṭhā mahāṅsi z 6 z 1 z

This hymn appears also in TB. 2. 4. 7. 7—8, and our text is in agreement with it in several places: st. 6d in Ç. 7. 73. 10 d. In 1c it is entirely possible that our ms. has only a corrupt form of the Ç. reading akṣṇuhy asya; in 5a Ç. has a better reading yunajmi ta-, but probably ours can stand; in 5b I have supplied words from Ç.

22. [f. 55 a, l. 8.]

viṣāṇāsy āṅgirasi devajā praticakṣiṇī divas pṛthivyās saṁbhūtas sahasrākṣī dhi naḥ

Read āṅgirasi in a, saṁbhūtā in c (= Ç. 6. 100. 3c): for d we may read sahasrākṣi vi syādhi naḥ, which is supported by Ç. 6. 121. 1a viṣāṇā pāçān vi syādhy asmat.

sahasrākṣi yād gṛbhāti paçyāmy oṣadhe sadānvāgnī rakṣoghnī bhaveha praticakṣiṇī |

A probable reading for pāda a is sahasrākṣi yad grabhāti, with tena paçyāsy in b: read sadānvāghnī in c.

ye haranty āmuteyaṁ payasphātiṁ ca oṣadhe | sadānvāgnī rakṣoghnī bhaveha praticakṣiṇī

In pāda a I think we may read āsuteyaṁ with the same

meaning as āsuti, which seems to mean "brew" or "concoction"; in b write cāuṣadhe, in c sadānvāghuṭ. The hemistichs do not hang together very well.

yātuno raṅdhayante rukṣaṅtaṁ ca vihrutaṁ tāṁs tvā sahasradakṣo gṛbhāya kṛtavīrye

A possible (and perhaps plausible) reading for pāda a would be yātudhānān randhayantī; rukṣantaṁ in b can hardly stand and I would write ruṣyantaṁ. In c read tvaṁ sahasracakṣo; in d kṛtavīryāya seems possible. Pāda c = Ç. 19. 35. 3c.

yathā çvā caturakṣo rātriṁ naktāt paçyati evā sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paçyāsy āyata |

In d read āyataḥ: Ç. 4. 20. 5 cd is atho sahasracakṣo tvaṁ prati paçyāḥ kimīdinaḥ (cf. our next stanza), and the two hymns have the same intent.

gobhir açvāir vasubhi r apakrītāsy oṣadhī çvāvasyāçvasya çakṣuṣā prati paçya kimīdinaḥ z

z 2 z

Read: gobhir açvāir vasubhir apakrītāsy oṣadhe | çyāvāçvasya cakṣuṣā prati paçya kimidinaḥ z 6 z 2 z

23. [f. 55 a, l. 16.]

saṁ çudadhvaṁ saṁ pipadhvam annaṁ vo madhumat saha vrataṁ vas sarvaṁ

sadhrik samānaṁ ceto stu vaḥ saṁ jānīdhvam indraç cettā vo stv ayaṁ vo gnir ni-

haraḥ çamayāti yad verahatyam u bhīmam āsīd viçve devā ut prāva-

[f. 55 b.] **yantu saṁ vaçy āstu vṛhaspatis saṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ubhe çam antarikṣam uta vo**

marutvāṁ saṁ vaçy astv aditir devaputrā kalpetāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī kalpa-

ntām āpa oṣadhī | kalpantām agnayas sarve asmāi çreṣṭhāya sarvadā

saṁ vas sṛjāmi hṛdayaṁ saṁsṛṣṭaṁ mano astu vaḥ saṁsṛṣṭā vas tanvas sa-

ntu saṁsṛṣṭaṣ prāṇo astu vaḥ saṁ vaṣ paçūnāṁ hṛdayaṁ sṛjāmi saṁ

putrāṇām uta yā duhitaro vaḥ saṁ vo jāyānāṁ manasā manāṁsi

saṁ patīnāṁm uta cakṣuṣas sṛjāmi z 3 z

Read: saṁ çundhadhvaṁ saṁ pibadhvam annaṁ vo madhumat sahaḥ | vrataṁ vas sarvaṁ sadhryak samānaṁ ceto 'stu vaḥ z 1 z saṁ jaṁdhvam indraç cittā vo 'stv ayam vo 'gnir ni haraḥ çamayāti | yad vāirahatyam u bhīmam āstd viçve devā ut prāvayantu z 2 z çaṁ vaçy astu vṛhaspatiç çaṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ubhe | çam antarikṣam uta vo marutvāṁ çaṁ vaçiny astv aditir devaputrā z 3 z kalpetāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī kalpantām āpa oṣadhīḥ | kalpantām agnayas sarve asmāi çreṣthāya sarvadā z 4 z saṁ vas sṛjāmi hṛdayaṁ saṁsṛṣṭaṁ mano astu vaḥ | saṁsṛṣṭā vas tanvas santu saṁsṛṣṭas prāṇo astu vaḥ z 5 z saṁ vaṣ paçūnāṁ hṛdayaṁ sṛjāmi saṁ putrāṇām uta yā duhitaro vaḥ | saṁ jāyānāṁ manasā manāṁsi saṁ patīnām uta cakṣuṣā sṛjāmi z 6 z 3 z

Stanzas 4 and 5 appear KS. 7. 14 and 12, and elsewhere: to be compared in contents are such hymns as Ç. 6. 64 and 74.

24. [f. 55 b, l. 8.]
Ç. 3. 27.

atha rakṣāmantram.

oṁ prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣatādityā iṣavaḥ tebhyo namo dhipatibhyo namo rakṣatubhyo namo ṛṣibhyo namo vo stu yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayan dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo jahātu z dakṣiṇā dig indro dhipatis tiraççarāje rakṣatā vasava iṣavaṣ pratīci dig vavaruṇo dhipatiṣ prajākū rakṣatā mittra iṣavaḥ udīcī dik somo dhipatis svajo rakṣatā vāta iṣavaḥ z dhruvā dig viṣṇur adhipatiṣ kulmāṣagrīvo rakṣatā vīrudho iṣavaḥ ūrdhvā dig vṛhaspatir adhipatiḥ çattro rakṣatāçanir iṣavas tebhyo namo dhipatibhyo nama rakṣitubhyo nama ṛṣibhyo namo vo stu yo smān dviṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇa jahātu z 4 z

Read: atha rakṣāmantram || oṁ z z prācī dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavaḥ | tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyo

namo rakṣitṛbhyo namo iṣubhyo namo vo 'stu | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo jahātu z 1 z dakṣiṇā dig indro 'dhipatis tiraçcirājī rakṣitā vasava iṣavaḥ | tebhyo • • • z 2 z prattcī dig varuṇo 'dhipatis pṛdākū rakṣitā mitra iṣavaḥ | tebhyo • • • z 3 z udīcī dik somo 'dhipatis svajo rakṣitā vāta iṣavaḥ | tebhyo • • • z 4 z dhruvā dig viṣṇur adhipatiṣ kalmāṣagrīvo rakṣitā virudha iṣavaḥ | tebhyo • • • z 5 z ūrdhvā dig vṛhaspatir adhipatiṣ çvitro rakṣitāçanir iṣavaḥ | tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyo namo rakṣitṛbhyo namo iṣubhyo namo vo 'stu | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas taṁ vo jambhe dadhmas tam u prāṇo jahātu z 6 z 4 z

25. [f. 55 b, l. 18.]
Ç. 4. 11.

anaḍvāṅ dadhāra pṛthivīṁ dyām utāsūm anaḍvāṅ dadhāronv antarikṣaṁ

[f. 56 a.] **anaḍvāṅ dādhāra pradiçaṣ ṣaḍ urvīr anaḍvān idaṁ viçvaṁ bhuvanām ā viveça**

Read dādhāra pṛthivīṁ and utāmūm in a, dādhārorv in b: bhuvanam in d: anaḍvān in a, b, c.

anaḍvāṅ duhe sukṛtasya lokaṁ enaṁ pāhet pavamānaṣ purastāt parjanyo dhārā marutodho sya yajñaṣ payo dakṣiṇā draho sya |

Read anaḍvān and loka in a, perhaps pyāyet in b as Whitney suggests: maruta ūdho 'sya in c, doho 'sya in d.

anaḍvān indrasya paçubhyo vi caṣṭe tvayāṁ ya çakro a mimīte adhvanaḥ saṁ bhūtaṁ bhaviṣyad bhuvanaṁ duhānas sarvā devānāṁ bibhraç carati vratāni

Read indras sa in a, trayān and ā mimīto in b: bibhrac in d.

yasya neṣe yajñapatin ni yajño nāsya dāteçaya na pratigṛhītā yo viçvadṛg viçvakṛd viçvakarmā gharma no vṛūta yāmaç cātuspāt.

Read neçe yajñapatir na in a, dāteçe na pratigrahītā in b: gharmaṁ and yatamac in d.

indra eṣa manuṣyeṣv antar gharma
s tapataç carati saṁçiçānaḥ supradāsassa udāre ṇa sariṣad
yāu nāçnī-
hād anaḍuho vijānan.

Read taptaç in b; in c we should probably read suprajās sa, in d yo nāçnuyād. An alternative form of c would be suprajās sant sa udāre ṇa sarṣad.

yena devās tuvārurhatar hitvā çarīram amṛta-
sya dhāma tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṁ gharmasya vra-
tena yaçasā tapasvyā

In pāda a we will have to read as in Ç. devās svar ā ruruhur. If we may have tapasyavaḥ at the end of d we get a fair reading but it looks like an accidental inversion of the better reading of Ç., tapasā yaçasyavaḥ.

dvā-
daçāitā rārvartyāhuṣ prajāpater vartyā rātrī dvādaça tad
vāpi vrahma-
yo veda tad vānuḍuhāu balaṁ

If it is desirable to reduce the first hemistich to anuṣṭubh rhythm (and it seems so to me) we may read dvādaçāitā vratyā āhuṣ prajāpater vratyā rātriḥ; but less violent emendation is necessary if we read dvādaçāitā rātrīr vratyā āhuṣ prajāpater vratyā rātrīr dvādaça. In d read tad vā anaḍuho balam.

duhe vānaḍvāna sāyaṁ duhe prātar duhe
divā dohā ye sya sayantā tān vidmānupadasyataḥ

Read in a vā anaḍvān; in c 'sya saṁ yanti.

ye devānaḍuho
dohān asvapnānupadasyaca prajām ca lokaṁ cāpnoti tathā
saptarṣayo
viduḥ

Read for ab yo vedānaḍuho dohān saptānupadasyataḥ; any suggestion of svapna seems out of place here.

madhyam etad anaḍuho yata iṣa vāhitaḥ etāvad asya pracīna
yavāñ pratyañ samāhitaḥ

For pāda b read yatrāiṣa vaha āhitaḥ: in c prācīnaṁ, in d yāvān.

padbhis sedhim amakrāmaṁn irāṁ jaṅghābhi
r ukṣida çrameṇānaḍvāṇa kīlālaṁ kīnāçasya upagacchata |

Read: padbhis sedhiṁ samākrāmann irāṁ jaṅghābhir utkhidan | çrameṇānaḍvān kilalaṁ kīnāçaç copa gacchataḥ ‖ 11 ‖

i
eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaḍvān ity ucyate çapha somya pārṣaṁ
sarvā yāç cāsya
[f. 56 b.] kuṣṭhinaḥ

This seems to be an incomplete bit of commentary belonging to st. 3; if the above word division is correct we might read the whole thus: — indra eṣa manuṣyeṣv anaḍvān ity ucyate | çaphas somyaḥ pārçvaṁ sarvā yāç cāsya kuṣṭhikāḥ. This might have been a scholium standing once in the bottom margin; the letter i standing at the end of the next to the last line of f. 56 a would then have been the initial of indro balenāsya.

indro balenāsya parameṣṭhī vratenāina gāus tena vāiçvadevāḥ
yo smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vaya dviṣmas tasya prāṇān asa
vahes tasya prāṇā
n vi varhaḥ z 5 z a 5 z

Read: indro balenāsya parameṣṭhī vratena yena gāus tena vāiçvadevāḥ | yo 'smān dveṣṭi yaṁ ca vayaṁ dviṣmas tasya prāṇān apa vahes tasya prāṇān vi barhaḥ z 12 z 5 z anu 5 z

26. [f. 56 b, l. 3.]
Ç. 7. 60.

gṛhān esi manasā modamā-
nojaṁ bibhrad vasumatis sumetāghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mittriye-
ṇa gṛhāṇāṁ paçyaṁ paya ut tarāmi | ime gṛhā mayo-
bhuva ū-
rjasvantaṣ payasvantaṣ pūrṇā vamasya tiṣṭhantas te no jā-
nantu jānataḥ
sūnṛtāvantas subhagā irāvanto hasāmuda akṣudhyāstṛ-
dhyāstṛ-
ṣyāmo gṛhā māssad vibhītanaḥ | eṣām adhy etu pravan
eṣa so-
manasso bahuḥ | gṛhān upa hvayāmaya yan te no jānaṁtv
āyataḥ |
upahūtā iha gāva upahūtā ajāvayaḥ a-
tho nyasya kīlāla upahūto gṛheṣu naḥ upahūtā bhūrdhni
nā sakhāyas svādusaṁnara ariṣṭās sarvāpūrṣā gṛhā ṇas sa-
ntu sarvadaḥ z 1 z

Read: gṛhān emi manasā modamāna ūrjaṁ bibhrad vas sumatis sumedhāḥ | aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā mitriyeṇa gṛhāṇāṁ paçyan paya ut tarāmi z 1 z ime gṛhā mayobhuva ūrjasvantaṣ

payasvantaḥ | pūrṇā vāmasya tiṣṭhantas te no jānantu jānataḥ z 2 z sūnṛtāvantas subhagā irāvanto hasāmudāḥ | akṣudhyā atṛṣyāso gṛhā māsmad bibhītana z 3 z yeṣām adhyeti pravasan yeṣu sāumanaso bahuḥ | gṛhān upahvayāma yān te no jānantvā yataḥ z 4 z upahūtā iha gāva upahūtā ajāyavaḥ | atho 'nnasya kīlāla upahūto gṛheṣu naḥ z 5 z upahūta bhūridhanās sakhāyas †svādusaṁnara | ariṣṭās sarvapūruṣā gṛhā nas santu sarvadā z 6 z 1 z

The variations from the Ç. text are considerable, being generally in the direction of Yajus or Sūtra texts; cf. Concordance. In st. 6b the only remedy seems to be to read as in the other texts svādusaṁmudaḥ.

27. [f. 56 b, l. 13.]

hantāyam astva pratighāty asā saṁ vāṁ
indra pṛtanāvṛṣṭiḥ prajāpatir adadād ojo smāi vṛhad dhavi
r haviṣā vardhanena | prajāpater haviṣā vardhane haṁtā-
yam indram a-
kṛṇor agādyaṁ tasmāi viṣo devakṛtā nimantas sahyaṁtas
sahi-
[f. 57 a.] havyo babhūva | prajāpate abhi no neṣi vasv orvo
gavyūtis abhimātiṣāhaḥ vardhaya
nn indraṁ vṛhata reṇāya devaṁ devena haviṣā vardhanena
z yathā viçvāṣ pṛ-
tanāt saṁjayā yathā çatrūn sahasā mānasā mahī yathāsaḥ
samrāñ susa-
mraḍ devātte indro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu ayaṁ vīro prati
hantu çatṝn vaçve
devā uṣas adas karāya nāsya prajāṁ rīriṣaṁ nota vīrān
imam indra | ja-
hi çatrūn prati randhayasvāgniṣ ṭe gopā adhipā vasiṣṭhaḥ
çarma te rājā
varuṇo ni yacchā devā tvendro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu z 2 z

Read: hantāyam astu pratighāty asat saṁ vāṁ indrāgnī pṛtanāvṛṣṇiḥ | prajāpatir ā dadhād ojo 'smāi vṛhad dhavir haviṣā vardhanena z 1 z prajāpate haviṣā vardhanena hantāram indram akṛṇor agadhyam | tasmāi viço devakṛtā namanta sa hantā sa vihavyo babhūva z 2 z prajāpate abhi no neṣi vasūrvīṁ gavyūtim abhimātiṣāhaḥ | vardhayann indraṁ vṛhate raṇāya devaṁ dāivena haviṣā vardhanena z 3 z yathā viçvāṣ pṛtanāṣ saṁjayā yathā çatrūn sahasā manasā | mahī yathāsaḥ

suprāñ susamrāḍ devas tvendro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu z 4 z ayaṁ vīro prati hantu çatrūn viçve devā oṣam adhas karayan | nāsya prajāṁ rīriṣan nota vīrān imān indraḥ z 5 z jahi çatrūn prati randhayasvāgniṣ te gopā adhipā vasiṣṭhaḥ | çarma te rājā varuṇo ni yacchād devas tvendro aprativadhaṁ kṛṇotu z 6 z 2 z

A goodly number of objections might be brought against the emendations offered, but I think the intent of the hymn cannot be mistaken. In st. 1a apratigha is suggested but it brings difficulties with it; in 1c adadhād might stand, or even adadād as in the ms. In VS. 8. 46 and other Yajus texts there is a stanza similar to our no. 2; most of these texts have avadhyam in pāda b for our agadhyam, they have sam anamanta pūrvīr in c where I write devakṛtā namanta and for d they have ayam ugro vihavyo yathāsat; my emendation of pāda d is pure conjecture. About st. 5b I am very doubtful, but the reading given seems possible.

28. [f. 57 a. l. 7.]

saṁ spṛçethāṁ tanubhyāṁ sam mukhābhyāṁ sam ātmanā saṁ vāṁ vrāhmaṇaspatis somas saṁ sparçayābhu vāṁ

In d read sparçayatu, or possibly sparçayātu. Cf. Ç. 6. 74. 1.

abhy asya nahami vācā dadhāmi' nahasokṣase pame dahinaṁ kāme labhāi kṛṣṇam ivākhare

For the first hemistich I can get nothing satisfactory; I incline to think that some accusative should stand in place of nahami. For c perhaps we might read upa me dāhinaṁ kāme, the upa to be taken with labhāi.

yaḥ premāṣ preṇyām āsīd dattaḥ somena babhrūṇāṁ | tasmād adhi çrutaṁ mano mayy asya manāhitaṁ

In a read premaṣ, or perhaps premā, in b babhruṇāḥ; in c srutaṁ, in d mana āhitam. Cf. Ç. 6. 89. 1 ab and 1. 1. 2d.

yaṁ puṣāṁsaṁ kāmayete yasminn ā bhagam icchate | hṛçchokam asminn ā dadhmo yathā çiṣyāti tvām anu | yathāsya hṛdayaṁ çiṣyād

For a yaḥ puṁāṁsaṁ kāmayate seems good. In c read

hṛcchokam, in d çuṣyāti and in e çuṣyāt. It seems proper to end the verse at this point though the ms. has no sign.

apiçchaṁ neva çaṁ guṇī ca | kṣur ākāçaṁ bhīma māṁpaçyam abhinorujaṁ priyaṁkaram uttamaṁ madhughena tad ābhṛtaṁ

For the first few words I am unable to make a suggestion, and therefore cannot feel sure that they belong with this verse. For the rest I think we may read: cakṣur ākāçaṁ bhīmaṁ māṁpaçyam abhirorudam | priyaṁkaraṇam uttamaṁ madughena tad ābhṛtam. Cf. Ç. 7. 38. 1 b and our next hymn st. 2.

tvaṁ hāsi varcasyo atho hāsya sumaṅgalaḥ atho sarvāsāṁ vīrudhāṁ priyaṅkaraṇam ucyase |

Read: tvam hāsi varcasyo atho hāsi sumaṅgalaḥ | atho sarvāsāṁ virudhāṁ priyaṅkaraṇam ucyase z 6 z 3 z

The ms. gives no indication of the end of this hymn and I have made this arrangement principally because the norm of this book is six stanzas: it seems not impossible that the last two stanzas should go with the next hymn, but the connection does not seem close enough to force us to such an arrangement.

29. [f. 57 a, l. 16.]
Ç. 7. 38 (in part).

pratīcī somam asy oṣadhe pratīcy anu sūryaṁ pratīcī viçvān devāṅs tathā tvācchāvadāmasi | imāṁ khanāsy oṣadhiṁ vitantrīm anutaṁtunāṁ āyataḥ patiraṁdhanī parāyato nivartanaṁ | amuṣyāhaṁ parāyata āyato mano agrabhaṁ agrabhaṁ hastiṁ mano atho hṛdayaṁ manaḥ mayi te

[f. 57 b.] manāhitaṁ mayi cittaṁ mayi vrataṁ mamed apa kratāv aso mamāsaç ced asīdapi | ahaṁ vadāni maha tvaṁ sabhāyāṁ ha tvaṁ vada mameda | çastiṁ kevalo nābhyāsāṁ kīrtayāç cina yadi vāsya dirocanaṁ yadi vā nadyas tiraḥ |

yaṁ tvā mahṛṁ oṣadhir vadhveva nyānayaḥ z 4 z

Read: pratici somam asy oṣadhe pratīcy anu sūryam | pra-

tici viçvān devāṁs tathā tvācchāvadāmasi z 1 z imāṁ khanāmy oṣadhiṁ vitantrīm anutantunām | āyataḥ pratirandhanīṁ parāyato nivartanām z 2 z amuṣyāhaṁ parāyata āyato mano agrabham | agrabhaṁ hastiṁ mano atho hṛdayaṁ manaḥ z 3 z mayi te mana ādhitaṁ mayi cittaṁ mayi vratam | mamed aha kratāv aso mama cittam ā sīdasi z 4 z ahaṁ vadāni māha tvaṁ sabhāyām aha tvaṁ vada | mamed asas tvaṁ kevalo nānyāsāṁ kīrtayāç cana z 5 z yadi vāsi tirojanaṁ yadi vā nadyas tiraḥ | iyaṁ tvā mahyam oṣadhir baddhveva nyānayat z 6 z 4 z

Pāda b of st. 2 I have not tried to emend thinking it might be taken to mean "having various magic powers and widely effective", or something of that sort; the māmpaçyam abhirorudam of Ç. is no better. Our sīt. 3 and 4 are not in Ç. but st. 4 has appeared in Pāipp. 2. 77. 1; the form here is what was suggested there. St. 5 has also appeared in Pāipp. 2. 79. 5 with aṅkena me nyānayat for pāda d.

30. [f. 57 b, l. 4.]
Ç. 19. 57.

yathā kalām i-
tekā maṁ rājāno gusmṛṇāny aguḥ saṁ çuṣṭhāgus saṁ ka-
lāgus sam asmā-
su suṣvaptriṁ nir diçate duṣvaptriṁ suvāma z devānāṁ
patnīnāṁ garbha ya-
masya karaṇa | yo bhadras svapna sva muma yaṣ papas
taṁ dviṣate pra hiṇma
tyaṣṭāmā nāmāsi kṛṣṇaçakuner mukhaṁ nirṛter mukhaṁ
taṁ tvā svapna ta-
thā vidma | svapnos svaptvā açvīvā kāyam açvīva nināhaṁ | mā-
smākaṁ devapīyuṁ priyāruru vapsa | yad asmāsu duṣ-
vapnī yad go-
ṣu yaç ca no gṛ no gṛhe | sāsmākaṁ devapīyuḥ priyāruruṁ
niṣka-
m iva prati muñçatāṁ navāratnīn apamāyām asmākaṁ tan-
vas pari
duṣvapnyo sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ dviṣater nir dviṣāmasi z
divṣater nir dvi-
ṣāmasi z 5 z anu 6 z

For the first part of this we may read as follows: yathā kalām ity ekā z 1 z saṁ rājano 'gus sam ṛṇāny agus saṁ kuṣṭhā agus saṁ kalā aguḥ | sam asmāsu duṣvapnyaṁ nir dviṣate duṣvapnyaṁ suvāma z 2 z devānāṁ patnīnāṁ garbha yamasya karaṇa yo bhadras svapna | sa mama yaṣ pāpaṣ taṁ dviṣate pra hiṇmaḥ z 3 z

The quotation of st. 1 by pratika only indicates the previous appearance of the stanza in this text, viz. Bk. 2. 37. 3, thus: yathā kalām yathā çaphaṁ yatharṇaṁ saṁ nayanti | evā duṣvapnyaṁ sarvam apriye saṁ nayāmasi. In the first part of st. 3 it would seem that the vocatives might stand.

In st. 4 our text is as hopeless as that of Ç.: in tyaṣṭāma it may be that we have only a corruption of what stands in the Ç. pada-mss. mātṛṣṭā (note that the last syllable of the preceding line is ma), or it might be that tṛṣṭāmā as intended; this latter is a palaeographic possibility and occurs as the name of a river RV. 10. 75. 6. For the second part of the stanza I have nothing worth suggesting. In the third part sāsmākaṁ may be intended, and we may read piyāruṁ: for vapsa we might then read with Whitney-Roth vapa.

For the last two stanzas we may read: yad asmāsu duṣvapnyaṁ yad goṣu yac ca no gṛhe | sāsmākaṁ devapīyuṁ piyāruṁ niṣkam iva prati muñcatām z 5 z navāratnīn ṭapamāyām asmākaṁ tanvas pari | duṣvapnyaṁ sarvaṁ durbhūtaṁ dviṣate nir dviṣāmasi z 6 z 5 z anu 6 zz

While not wholly satisfactory this is rather better than the version of Ç., in which the last stanza is not metrical: I believe it is so here.

31. [f. 57 b, l. 14.]
Cf. MS. 2. 4. 7.

devā marutaṣ pṛṣṇimātaro apo dattoditiṁ bhiṁta | divas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣattrāyā neta vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ābhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā
devā agnī indra sūrya apaḥ devāç cojo mittrāvaruṇā yamaṁ
tapaḥ devāṣ pitaro māvyāṣ kravyāpaḥ devāpsuṣado pāṁ napāt taṁnū-

[f. 58 a.] napāṁ narāçaṁsāpo dattoditiṁ bhiṁta deva vṛhaspate apo dehy aditiṁ bhiṁti | deva prajāpate apaḥ deva parameṣṭhin āpo dehy aditiṁ bhiṁti | devas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tammāi kṣattrāyā nena prahmaṇabhyaṣ prajābhya ābhya oṣadhībhyas svāhā z 1 z

Read: devā marutaṣ pṛçnimātaro apo dattodadhiṁ bhinta | divas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣatrāya na ita | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ādbhya oṣadhibhyas svāhā z 1 z devā agna indra suryāpo • • | divas • • z 2 z devāç ṭcojo mitrāvarunāryamann apo • • | divas • • z 3 z devāṣ pitaro vasavyāṣ kravyādo ʻpo • • | divas • • z 4 z devā apsuṣado ʻpāṁ napāt tanūnapān narāçaṁsāpo dattodadhiṁ bhinta | divas • • z 5 z deva vṛhāspate apo dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi | divas • • na ihi | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ • • z 6 z deva prajāpate apo dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi | divas • • z 7 z deva parameṣṭhinn apo dehy udadhiṁ bhindhi | divas pṛthivyā uror antarikṣāt tasmāi kṣatrāya na ihi | vrahmaṇābhyaḥ prajābhya ādbhya oṣadhibhyas svāhā z 8 z 1 z

In the stanza corresponding to our st. 3 MS. has devāç çarmaṇyā, which suggests for our text the possibility of devāç çarma no; I have thought also of devā açvināu, but neither of these is compelling.

32. [f. 58 a, l. 4.]

Ç. 2. 34.

prajāpater jāyamānaṣ prajā jātāç ca yā imāḥ tā asmāi prativedayā cikitvāṅ anu manyatāṁ eṣām īçe paçupatiḥ paçūnāṁ catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvipadaḥ niṣkṛitās te yajñiyā yanti lokaṁ rāyas poṣā yajamanaṁ majantām pramuñcanto bhuvanasya gopā gātuṁ devā yajamānāya dhattaḥ upākṛtaṁ çiçumānaṁ yaj asthār priyaṁ devānām apy eti pāthaḥ ye badhyamānām anu dīdhyānāṁnīkṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca | agniṣ ṭān agre pra mumukta devāḥ prajāpatiṣ pra-

jābhis saṁvidānāṁ yeṣāṁ prāṇo na badhnanti baddhaṁ gavāṁ paçūnām uta
pāuruṣāṇāṁ | indras tāṁ ya āraṇyaṣ paçavo viçvārūpā uta ye
kūrūpāḥ vāyuṣ ṭvān agre pra mumukta devaṣ prajāpatiṣ prajābhis saṁ-
vidānāṁ prajānantaḥ prati gṛhṇantu devāṣ prāṇam aṅgebhyas pary ā ca-
rantābhyāṁ gaccha prati tiṣṭhā çarīrāis svargaṁ yāhi pathibhiç çivebhiḥ
z 2 z

Read: prajāpater jāyamānāṣ prajā jātāç ca yā imāḥ | tā asmāi prativedaya cikitvāṁ anu manyatām z 1 z yeṣām içe paçupatiḥ paçūnāṁ catuṣpadām uta vā ye dvipādaḥ | niṣkṛtās te yajñiyaṁ yantu lokaṁ rāyas poṣā yajamānaṁ sacantām z 2 z pramuñcanto bhuvanasya gopā gātuṁ devā yajamānāya dhatta | upākṛtaṁ çaçamānaṁ yad asthāt priyaṁ devānām apy etu pāthaḥ z 3 z ye badhyamānam anu dīdhyāna anvāik-ṣanta manasā cakṣuṣā ca | agniṣ ṭān agre pra mumoktu devaḥ prajāpatiṣ prajābhis saṁvidānaḥ z 4 z yeṣāṁ †prāṇo na badh-nanti baddhaṁ gavāṁ paçūnām uta pāuruṣāṇām | indras tān . . . z 5 z ya āraṇyāṣ paçavo viçvarūpā virūpā uta ya eka-rūpāḥ | vāyuṣ ṭān agre pra mumoktu devaṣ prajāpatiṣ prajā-bhis saṁvidānaḥ z 6 z prajānantaḥ prati gṛhṇantu devāṣ prāṇam aṅgebhyaṣ pary ācarantam | dyāṁ gaccha prati tiṣṭhā çarīrāis svargaṁ yāhi pathibhiç çivebhiḥ z 7 z 2 z

These stanzas appear also TS. 3. 1. 4. 1 and KS. 30. 8 our first stanza is not in Ç. and our fifth is new. Our pāda 2b is a mixture of the version of Ç. catuṣpadām uta yo dvi-padām, and that of KS. catuṣpāda uta ye dvīpādaḥ; it might be better to read catuṣpāda in our version. I think the simplest emendation in its st. 5a would be prāṇena. In 6b I have inserted virūpā which all the texts have.

33. [f. 58 a, l. 16.]

Ç. 2. 6.

mamās tvāgna ṛtavo vardhayantu saṁvatsara ṛṣayo yā nu sakhyā | saṁ dyumnena dīdhihi rocanena viçvā ā bhābhiḥ pradiçaç ca-
tasraḥ | saṁ ceddhyasvāgne prati bodhayenam uç ca tiṣṭha mahate sāubhagā-

ya | mā te riṣann upasattā te agne vrahmaṇās te yaçasas santu pā-
[f. 58 b.] nye tvām agne vṛṇute vrahmaṇā ime çivo gre prabhṛṇo nedihi sapattrā-
gre abhimābhicad u bhavaḥ sve kṣa dīdihy aprayucchan. ihāivāgne
adhi dhārayā rayiṁ mā tvā dabhan pūrvacittā nikāriṇaḥ kṣattra-
m agne sūyamam astu tubhyam uta sattra vardhatāṁ te niṣkṛtaḥ kṣettraṇā-
gne mbena saṁ rabhasva mittreṇāgne mittradheyaṁ vacasva | sajātānāṁ madhya-
meṣṭheha ma syā rājñām agne vihavyo dīdihya | ati nuho ti nirṛ-
tīr any atātīr ati dviṣaḥ viçvā hy agne duritā cara tvam athāsma-
bhyāṁ sahavīraṁ rayin dāḥ anādhṛṣyo jātavedā aniṣṭhato virā-
ḍ āgne kṣattribhir dīdihya vi mīvā pramuñcaṁ manuṣyebhyaç çivebhir a-
bhya pari pāhi no gayyāiḥ z 3 z

Read: samās tvāgna ṛtavo vardhayantu saṁvatsarā ṛṣayo yā nu sakhyā | saṁ dyumnena dīdihi rocanena viçvā ā bhāhi pradiçaç catasraḥ z 1 z saṁ cedhyasvāgne prati bodhayainam uc ca tiṣṭha mahate saubhagāya | mā te riṣann upasattāro agne vrahmāṇas te yaçasas santu māyye z 2 z tvām agne vṛṇate vrāhmaṇā ime çivo 'gne prabhūr nu na edhi | sapatnahāgne abhimātijid u bhava sve kṣaye dīdihy aprayucchan z 3 z ihāivāgne adhi dhārayā rayiṁ mā tvā dabhan pūrvacittā nikāriṇaḥ | kṣatraṁ suyamam astu tubhyam uta sattā vardhatāṁ te 'niṣkṛtaḥ z 4 z kṣatreṇāgne svena saṁ rabhasva mitreṇāgne mitradheyaṁ vacasva | sajātānāṁ madhyameṣṭhā iha sa syā rājñām agne vihavyo dīdihīha z 5 z ati 'nuho 'ti nirṛtir aty arātīr ati dviṣaḥ | viçvā hy agne duritā cara tvam athāsmabhyaṁ sahavīraṁ rayiṁ dāḥ z 6 z anādhṛṣyo jātavedā aniṣṭṛto virāḍ agne kṣatrabhṛd dīdihīha | viçvā amīvāḥ pramuñcan manuṣyebhyaç çivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayāiḥ z 7 z 3 z

In st. 1b it is entirely possible that the reading yā nu sakhyā is only a corruption of yāni satyā which all the others have. The reading of st. 2c given in our ms. seems to involve

a mixture of the Ç. form and the form given by the Yajus texts. In st. 4d upasattā as in the other texts would probably be better. St. 5c has appeared in this book no. 1. 4c. In st. 7d the ms. makes the correction to adya. Our st. 4 is Ç. 7. 82. 3 and our st. 7 is Ç. 7. 84. 1.

34. [f. 58 b, l. 10.]
Ç. 3. 20.

ayaṁ te yonir ṛtviyo yato jāto arocathāḥ taṁ jānann agna ā rohathā no vardhayā rayiṁ

Read rohāthā in cd, and rayim before the period and numeral.

pra dātāraṁ havāmahe agnim ugram ūtaye | çuciryo vṛttrahaṁttamāṁ

The first pāda of these appears TS. 1. 7. 13. 4a, but refers to Indra. In the margin opposite these pādas is the following: somaṁ rājānam āçervacana (to be corrected āçirvacana). It seems then that there is here a grouping of four pratikas, and that they do not form a stanza of this hymn.

In the third pāda vrtrahantamam seems to be intended.

agne çchā vadeha naḥ | pratyañ nas sumanā bhava pra no yaccha viçāṁ pate dhanadāsi nas tvaṁ.

In a read 'cchā, place colon after bhava; in d read dhanadā asi, and tvam before the period.

prā ṇo yacchatv aryamā pra bhagaṣ pra pūṣā prota sūnṛtāḥ rayiṁ devī dadhātu naḥ

In a read pra; drawing on Ç. we may read for b pra bhagaṣ pra vṛhaspatiḥ. In c read sūnṛtā.

aryamaṇaṁ vṛhaspatim indraṁ dānayā codaya vātaṁ viṣṇuṁ sarasvatīṁ savitāraṁ ca vājinaṁ

In pāda b read dānāya.

somaṁ rājānam avase gniṁ gīrbhir havāmahe ādityaṁ viṣṇuṁ sūryaṁ vrahmāṇaṁ ca vṛhaspatiṁ

Read 'gniṁ in b; in d vṛhaspatim before the period. The stanza is no. 5.

suhaveha havāmahe | yathā nas sarvam ij janas saṅgasatyāṁ sumānā hasāt. ||

The omission of pāda a is probably accidental; in Ç. it is indravāyū ubhāv iha. In c read sarva; the form sarvam may be due in some way to TS. 4. 5. 1. 2, where sarvam ij jagat stands. For d read saṅgatyāṁ sumanā asat.

[f. 59 a.] **tvaṁ no agna agnibhir vrahmāṇaṁ ca vardhaya tvaṁ no devatātaye rayiṁ dānāya codaya |**

In pāda a read agne; it seems very probable that vrahmāṇam in b is only a corruption of vrahma yajñam as in Ç. **vājasyedaṁ prasave sambabhūva ya imā ca viçvā bhuvanāny antaḥ utātiçchantaṁ dāmayatu prajānāṁ rayiṁ dhehi sarvavīraṁ ni yacchatam. |**

While it seems possible to read pāda a as it stands here, ending with ya, I am inclined to think that ya represents only a transitional sound of pronunciation and that the correct reading is saṁ babhūvema ca ··: in Ç. too I think we might emend to saṁ babhūvemā on the basis of dittography. For our pāda c read utāditsantaṁ dāpayatu prajānan; yacchatām in d.

dūrān me pañca pradiço dūrām urvī yathābalam. prāpeyaṁ sarvā mākūtīr manasā hṛdayena ca |

In a read duhrām, in b duhrām urvīr: in c ma ākūtīr.

gosaniṁ vācam udeyaṁ varcasa mābhy aruṇyaṁhi | āyu rundhāṁ sarvato vā tvaṣṭa pūṣāya çrīyatāṁ z 4 z

Read: gosaniṁ vācam udeyaṁ varcasā mābhy ᵗaruṇyaṁhi | ā rundhāṁ sarvato vāyus tvaṣṭā poṣāya dhriyatām z 10 z 4 z

It is possible that the end of pāda b has gotten confused with the beginning of pāda c, and that we ought to read as in Ç. mābhyudihi. The form suggested for d appears Ç. 6. 141. 1 b.

35. [f. 59 a, l. 7.]
Ç. 19. 15.

yata indra bhayāmahe tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi | maghavaṅ sakti tava tvaṁ na tudbhir vi dviṣo vi mṛdho jahi | indraṁ vayam anorādhaṁ havāmahe anūrādhyāssad dvipadāç catuṣpadā |

mā na sonāraruṣīr usa gur viṣūcīr indra druho vi nāçaya | i-
ndras trātotu vṛttrahā parampā no vareṇyāḥ | ca rakṣatā
caramatas sva
madhyatas sva paççāt sva purasthān no stu z ruruṁ no
lokam anu neṣi vidvā-
n svarva jyotir abhayaṁ svasti | ugrā ta i sthavirasya
bāhuḥ upa kṣe-
ma çaraṇā vṛhantā | abhayaṁ naṣ karaty antarikṣam a-
bhayaṁ dyāvāpṛ-
thivī ubhe | abhayaṁ paççād abhayaṁ purastād uttarā-
dhād abhayaṁ no
stu abhayaṁ mittrād abhayam amittrābhī jñātād abhayaṁ
puro yaḥ abha-
yam naktam abhayam divā nas sarvāçā mittraṁ bhavan-
tu z 5 z
anu z 7 z

In l. 10 the ms. corrects usa to upa.

Read: yata indra bhayāmahe tato no abhayaṁ kṛdhi | maghavañ çagdhi tava tvaṁ na ūtibhir vi dviṣo vi mṛdho jahi z 1 z indraṁ vayam anūrādhaṁ havāmahe anu rādhyāsma dvipadā catuṣpadā | mā naḥ senā araruṣīr upa gur viṣūcīr indra druho vi nāçaya z 2 z indras trātota vṛtrahā paraspā no vareṇyaḥ | sa rakṣitā caramatas sa madhyatas sa paççāt sa purastān no 'stu z 3 z uruṁ no lokam anu neṣi vidvān svarvaj jyotir abhayaṁ svasti | ugrā ta indra sthavirasya bāhū upa kṣiyema çaraṇā vṛhantā z 4 z abhayaṁ naṣ karaty antarikṣam abhayaṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ubhe | abhayaṁ paççād abhayaṁ purastād uttarād adharād abhayaṁ no 'stu z 5 z abhayaṁ mitrād abhayam amitrād abhayaṁ jñātād abhayaṁ puro yaḥ | abhayaṁ naktam abhayaṁ divā nas sarvā āçā mitraṁ bhavantu z 6 z 5 z anu 7 z.

36. [f. 59 a, l. 18.]

Contains RV. 1. 102. 4, 6, 9, 10.

me prehi māpa krāmaç catṛṇāṁ vedākhida | indras sapattraha bhīmaḥ saṁjayas te samānṛdhak. | tvaṁ [f. 59 b.] jayāsi na parājayāsā abhyeçv āso maghavan mahatsu ca | ugraṁ
cit tām avase saṁ siçīmahe sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍā | goji-

tā bāhū samakratūyat karmaṅ-karmāṅ çatamūcīdaṁkarā | akalpa i-
ndro pratimānam ojasa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍā | vedāham indra pri-
yam asya çevadhiṁ yad asya nāma guhyaṁ samīke | saṁyaj jayāpi magha-
vā mamāṁ praty admākaṁ vidhmo vihace havaṁ gamat. z tvā jayema tvayā
yujā vṛtā vṛdho asmākam aṅçum uta vā bhare-bhare | as-
mabhyam indra va-
rivas sugaṁ kṛdhi pra çattrūṇāṁ maghavan vṛja tvāṁ de-
veṣu prathamaṁ sam ā-
rabhe tvaṁ babhūyatha pṛtanāsu sāsahiḥ somaṁ naṣ kārum upamanyum udbhi-
dam indra karāsi prasave rathaṁ puraḥ z 1 z

Read: mā prehi māpa krāmaç çatrūṇāṁ veda ākhida | indras sapatnahā bhīmaḥ saṁjayas te sam ūṛdhat z 1 z tvaṁ jayāsi na parājaya tasā arbheṣv aso maghavan mahatsu ca | ugraṁ cit tvām avase saṁ çiçmahe sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍa z 2 z gojitā bāhū sa sam akratūyat karman-karmaṁ çatamūtiṣ khajaṁkaraḥ | akalpa indraṣ pratimānam ojasā sa tvaṁ na indra havaneṣu mṛḍa z 3 z vedāham indra priyam asya çevadhiṁ yad asya nāma guhyaṁ samike | saṁyaj jayāpi maghavā samān praty asmākaṁ tvidhmo vihacet havaṁ gamat z 4 z vayaṁ jayema tvayā yujā vṛtā vṛdho asmākam aṅçam ud avā bhare-bhare | asmabhyam indra varivas sugaṁ kṛdhi pra çatrūṇāṁ maghavan vṛṣṇyā ruja z 5 z tvāṁ deveṣu pra-thamaṁ sam ārabhe tvaṁ babhūtha pṛtanāsu sāsahiḥ | semaṁ naṣ kārum upamanyum udbhidam indra karāsi prasave rathaṁ puraḥ z 6 z 1 z

The reading given for st. 1c seems probable; but we must also consider saṁjayate samān rdhak. The general sense of st. 2 ab is fairly clear, but the exact reading I cannot get: RV. has tvaṁ jigetha na dhanā rurodhithārbhbheṣv ājā • •. In st. 3a the reading given seems possible, but in view of RV. form gojitā bāhū amitakratuḥ simaḥ we might conclude that the Pāipp. form was • • simo 'mitakratur yaḥ. In st. 4d indro vihave might be considered a possibility. St. 5 is given as it stands both in RV. and Ç. 7. 50. 4. Our stt. 1 and 4 have no parallels.

The ms. corrects to jayāmi in st. 2 and asmākam in st. 5.

37. [f. 59 b, l. 10.]

smara smaro si
devāir datto si smara | amuṣya manāssara yathāhaṁ kā-
maye tathā ço-
çocayāmya hṛdayaṁ kāma gacchāṅga jvaro dahatu çoca-
tutmanā | saṅka-
lpāstya smarantādhībhir yamāivāsya didhmo hanam anyā-
narānandāḥ
pramuthyato manumaho nāivo naṣṭakarta arṇavaḥ āveçinīṣ
pradrupo ro-
payiṣṇur etās tvābhya prāhiṇo vrahmaṇā | ṛtukantunī ṛtvidā
grāmā-
bhyāsinī svapna yacchatu dudhnā manomuha | āveçinīṣ
pradrupo ro-
po ropayiṣṇur erās tvādya prahiṇomi vrahmaṇā | indrāgnī
mittrāvaruṇā cebhyotayata | dyāvāpṛthivī mā-
[f. 60 a.] tariçvā | açvinā devas savitā bhagaç ca mana-
stūdhnayantu naram āsā tṛtrayas triṅ-
ças tvā bhūdhnaṁtu devāgniç cid yam upa te bharadvājaç
cam uta yas triṅçatāṅç chinne
vanordhvaṁ dhanā pra plavasva z etāṣ patyanty ābhyo
vārṣikīr iva vidyutaḥ tāsāṁ
tigraho bhava sāyaṁ goṣṭho gavām iva niçīrṣo nipāti-
tābhyo veçayā-
mi te | tās tvāsam uttantīr bodhayantīr upā sabhām. etās
tvādya prahiṇo-
mi vrahmaṇā striṣ prā purogavāṁ tās tvā tṛṇam iva çoka-
yām atho tvā ro-
dayā bahuḥ z z z

In f. 59 b l. 15 the ms. corrects bhya to dya: also dyo to dhyo f. 60 a l. 3.

Out of all this I have been able to emend only some few portions; the sphere of the charm is evident but the particular intent is not.

For the first stanza we might read the following: smara smaro 'si devāir datto 'si smara | amuṣya manas smara yathāhaṁ kāmaye tathā çocayāsya hṛdayam. Next we seem to have four pādas of fair cadence, thus: kāma gacchāṅgā jvaro dahatu çocatu manaḥ | saṅkalpā asya smarantādhībhir tyamāivāsya dadhmāu. In the last pāda we might possibly read yān

evāsya. The next pāda would seem to be hanam anyanarānandāḥ meaning perhaps "may I smite those women who take pleasure with other women's husbands"; and next we seem to have pramuhyato manomuho. After this I can get nothing helpful until the sixth line below where the reading might be clunne vana ūrdhvaṁ dhanā pra plavasva.

We seem to get next the following stanza: etāṣ patyanty ādhyo varṣikīr iva vidyutaḥ | tāsāṁ pratigraho bhava sāyaṁ goṣṭho gavām iva. There follows a stanza whose first two pādas parallel Ç. 1: 131. 1 ab, and our pāda a seems to be the same with that of Ç.; the hemistich might read thus: ni çṛṇato ni pattata ādhyo veçayāmi te. A bold rewriting would give a second hemistich for this stanza thus: tās tvāsau uttarāvatīr bodhayantīr upā sabhām. It looks however as if the stanza ends at the colon after vrahmaṇā: perhaps this last clause which appears three times in the hymn might be read etās tvad ādhyaḥ prahiṇomi vrahmaṇā. Out of strīṣ prā purogavāṁ I get nothing; but for the rest it seems fairly safe to read tās tvā tṛṇam iva çocayān atho tvā rodayāu bahu.

It will of course be evident that these emendations are offered with no great assurance. The amount of material would make about nine stanzas: the hymn is no. 2 in the anuvāka.

38. [f. 60 a, l. 7.]

Verses found in Ç. 4. 14; 9. 5; and Kāuç. 68, 26.

ajo hy agner ajaniṣṭa çokāt so paçyej janitāram agre | tena devā devatām āgrāyan tena rohān aroham upa medhīyāṅ-
saḥ *z* kramadhvam agnibhin nāka mekṣāṅ hasteṣu bibhrata divas pṛṣaṁ svar gatvā
miçrā devebhir ādhvaṁ | agne prehi prathamo deva etāṁ cakṣur devānām uta martyānām. | iyakṣamāṇā bhṛgubhis sajoṣasas svar yantu yajamānā
s svasti *z* svar yanto nāpekṣantantā dyāṁ rohantu rādhasaḥ agni viçvatodhāraṁ savidvāṅso vitenire | agniṁ yunajmi çavasā ghṛtena divyaṁ samudraṁ payasaṁ

ruhantaṁ | tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṁ sa ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamaṁ | imāu
te pakṣā ajarāu patattriṇāu yābhyāṁ rakṣāṁsy apahaṁsy odanaḥ tābhyāṁ patyāsmi
sukṛtasya lokaṁ yatrarṣayaṣ prathamajāṣ purāṇāḥ yadi tiṣṭho sivas pṛṣṭhe
vyomaṁn ady odanaḥ anvāyan satyadharmaṇo vrahmaṇā rādhasā saha |
pṛṣṭhāt pṛthivyām antarikṣam ārham antarikṣā divam ārhaṁ divo nākasya pṛṣṭhā
t svar jyotir agām aham. | ajo sy aja svargo si tayā lokam aṅgirasaṣ pra-
[f. 61 a.] jānan. | taṁ lokam anu pra jñeṣma yena vā sahasyaṁ vahasi yena yā sarvavedasam. temaṁ yajñaṁ no vaha svar deveṣu gantave | aja ta pacata pañca codanā | ajaṁ pañcāudanaṁ paktvā devalokān samānaçuḥ |

Read: ajo hy agner ajaniṣṭa çokāt so 'paçyaj janitāram agre | tena devā devatām agra āyan tena rohāṇa arohan upa medhiyāṁsaḥ z 1 z kramadhvam agnibhir nākaṁ mekṣān hasteṣu bibhrataḥ | divas pṛṣṭhaṁ svar gatvā miçrā devebhir ādhvam z 2 z agne prehi prathamo devayatāṁ cakṣur devānām uta martyānām | iyakṣamāṇā bhṛgubhis sajoṣasas svar yantu yajamānās svasti z 3 z svar yanto nāpekṣanta ā dyāṁ rohantu rādhasaḥ | yajñaṁ ye viçvatodhāraṁ suvidvāṁso vitenire z 4 z agniṁ yunajmi çavasā ghṛtena divyaṁ samudraṁ payasaṁ ruhantam | tena geṣma sukṛtasya lokaṁ svo ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamaṁ z 5 z imāu te pakṣā ajarāu patatriṇāu yābhyāṁ rakṣāṁsy apahaṁsy odanaḥ | tābhyāṁ pathyāsma sukṛtasya lokaṁ yatrarṣayaṣ prathamajāṣ purāṇāḥ z 6 z yad atiṣṭho divas pṛṣṭhe vyomann adhy odana | anvāyan satyadharmāṇo vrahmaṇā rādhasā saha z 7 z pṛṣṭhāt pṛthivya aham antarikṣam āruham antarikṣād divam āruham | divo nākasya pṛṣṭhāt svar jyotir agām aham z 8 z ajo 'sy aja svargo 'si tvayā lokaṁ aṅgirasaṣ prājānan | taṁ lokam anu jñeṣma z 9 z yena vā sahasraṁ vahasi yena vā sarvavedasam | tenemaṁ yajñaṁ no vaha svar deveṣu gantave z 10 z ajaṁ ca pacata pañca cāudanān | ajaṁ pañcāudanān paktvā devalokān samānaçuḥ z 11 z 3 z.

Stanzas 6 and 7 are in Kāuç. 68, the last three in Ç. 9. 5. In st. 4c I have adopted the reading of Ç. I think there

is reason to doubt whether the last part of st. 11 is really part of the hymn.

In st. 7b the ms. corrects to adhy.

39. [f. 60 b, l. 3.]

yā te prajā vihatā parābhū dhruveṇāçvitāpaṁ bharāmi | agniṣ ṭe tām ādyamaḥ punar dād vāiçvānaraḥ

Read parābhūd in pāda a; in b dhruveṇa is pretty clearly the first word, and saṁ bharāmi may be the verb, but I can get nothing more out of the pāda. For pādas cd we might read agniṣ ṭe tām ✝ādyamaḥ punar dadād vāiçvānaraḥ: pāda c lacks one syllable.

paramasmābhyo mnastaṁ patiç çivo gni dvitīyaṁ mī prajāṁ jaradaṣṭī satasva | muñcāinaṁ grāhyān niṛrtir yad abandhāgne prajāṁ prajākāmāya dhehi |

Possible readings here seem to be ‘mnas tāṁ and ‘gnir in a, dvittyāṁ me and jaradaṣṭiṁ in b: ṣādhasva is the only thing I can suggest for satasva. For cd we may read muñcāinaṁ grāhyā niṛrtir yad abadhnād agne · ·.

tvām agne vṛṣabhaṁ vāçiteyam ānyajāt putrakāmāsu paryati | tām ā roha sumanasyamānaṣ prajāpateṣ pra ṇaya reṣiṇīnāṁ |

At the end of a we might read vaçata iyam; anyajāḥ, if it may mean “ready to give birth again”, might stand in b, with pary eti. It would seem that prajāpate ought to stand in d, but reṣiṇīnām I cannot solve; enām may be at the end of the pāda.

tubhyaṁ nārī putrakāmā yam agne çuddhaṁ pūtaṁ ghṛtam ā juhoti | tā

m ani tām ani ṣkandha vīlayasva retodhā ugraḥ prajayā saṁ sṛjīnāṁ

In a we may read yad agne: in b I would read tām adhi skanda, for d retodhā ugraḥ prajayā saṁ sṛjāinām. Cf. Ç. 5. 25. 8.

parvatād divo yene gātrād-gātrāt samāçrutam. neto devasya devasmarāu parṇam iyādhāṅ

This appears in Ç. 5. 25. 1. In a read youer, in b samāṣṭam seems possible; Ç. has samābhṛtam. For c read reto devasya devās, and for d sarāu parṇam ivā dhān seems possible; Ç. has çepo garbhasya retodhāḥ sarāu parṇam ivā dadhat.

indrasya jātasya prapapāta nābhis tām ekodenaṣ prati jagrāhaṣ kāmī | tvayā vayaṁ vrahmaṇās somapās supayā s sutayāna sūyate z 4 z

The first letter of the last line is not certain. I can do no more with this than the division of words indicates. The stanza is no. 6 and the hymn no. 4.

This is clearly a charm for successful conception, and it seems to be intended to help obtain a child in place of one lost.

40. [f. 60 b, l. 14.]

tyajanān tyajanaṁ jātaṁ tyajanaṁ jāyate çara | na eṣati na çocati yas tvā bibharti tejana pāutram asi tejanaḥ pāutraṁ te prabhañjanaṁ pāutro stu so kāmo yena mūrchām ayāmahe z yā doṣaç çaro stv odanebhyaṣ kṛṇavadbhyāṁ tāva doṣa tvaṁ tejanas tyajanaṁ maruto dadham. tyajanaṁ me viçve devās tyajanaṁ pitaro dadham. tenāham anyeṣāṁ striyo tyāksaṁ purā madhyadināḍ uta | purā sā-

[f. 61 a.] **yityādi tyāksaṁ tejane ya mahad vilaṁ | asthād dyāuṁr asthāt pṛthivy asthād viçvam idaṁ jagat. asthād dvihvṛdevās tiṣṭhāt kāmo ayaṁ tava z 5 z a 8**

zz zz ity ātharvaṇikapāipalādaçākhāyāṁ tṛtīyaṣ kāṇḍa s samāptāḥ zz zz

Read: tyajanāt tyajanaṁ jātaṁ tyajanaṁ jāyate çara | nāiṣati na çocati yas tvā bibharti tejana z 1 z pavitram asi tejana pavitraṁ te prabhañjanam | pavitro 'stu sa kāmo yena mūrchām āyāmahe z 2 z yāvān doṣaç çaro 'stv odanebhyaṣ karṇavadbhyām | tāvān doṣas tvaṁ tejana tyajanaṁ maruto dadhan z 3 z tyajanaṁ me viçve devās tyajanaṁ pitaro dadhan | tenāham anyeṣāṁ striyo[* * * *] z 4 z [* * *] tyākṣaṁ purā madhyamdināḍ uta | purā 'sāyityādi tyāksaṁ tejane yan mahad bilam z 5 z asthād dyāur asthāt pṛthivy asthād viç-

vam idaṁ jagat | usthād vihvarita eva tiṣṭhāt kāmo ayaṁ tava z 6 z 5 z anu 8 z

ity ātharvaṇikapāippalādaçākhāyāṁ tṛtīyaṣ kāṇḍas samāptaḥ zz

In st. 1 b çaraḥ seems entirely possible though not necessary. The reading given for 3 ab seems possible, but the word odanebhyas creates doubts; I should think that something like dhanubhyaṣ karṇavadbhyaḥ would fit the context better. The ms. gives no hint of the lacuna I have indicated in stt. 4 and 5 but I am fairly sure that my arrangement is correct. In st. 5 c çayitvād u would be good if we may take çayitva to mean "bed-time". St. 6 ab appears Ç. 6. 44. 1 ab and 6. 77. 1 ab; the conjecture for pāda c fits in so neatly that I have ventured to write it as a sure correction. But after all is said this hymn is left in an uncertain state.

POSTSCRIPT.

In each of the following stanzas the first line of transliteration does not correspond exactly with the ms. in spacing: in hymns 8. 5; 12. 8; 16. 3; 18. 3; 22. 4; 25. 12; 34. 8. In each case the line of transliteration should be indented a little to indicate that the first word of the line is *not* at the left margin of the ms.

This postscript seems the best way to correct these errors, which will probably cause no serious confusion.

The Vedic hapax sušišvi-s. — By Edwin W. Fay, The University of Texas.

In *RV.* 1. 65, which is addressed to Agni, we find the following *pādas:*

2 *c* várdhantīm ápaḥ panvá súšišvim
d ŕtásya yoná gárbhe sújātam,

of which the first means in Latin something like

augent cum lymphae laude (?) *sušišvim*

But what does *sušišvim* mean? Oldenberg (*Sacr. Books of the East*, 46, 54) renders by 'the fine child' and Griffith's rendering is 'the growing babe'. I suggest that *sušišvis* is rather the result of spirant shifting, in which popular etymology played a rôle, for *šuṣi-švis.* Native authorities define *šuṣi-*, for which *suṣi-* is a frequent variant (cf. also *suṣi-rá-s* (1) 'cavus', (2) 'reed, bamboo'), by (1) *šoṣa-* 'ariditas'; and actual usage attests (2) 'cavum'. For (1) cf. *šúṣka-* 'aridus', noting *RV.* 1. 68. 2 *b*:

šúṣkād yád deva jīvó *jánišṭhāḥ*
arido <digno> cum dive vivus natus es.

With these facts before us the interpretation of *sušiš-švis* as 'in arido <digno> turgens' is self-suggesting, and the interpretation gains point for 1. 65. 2 *c* by the juxtaposition of the 'waters' with the 'dry'. The production of fire by the drill and the use of dry twigs as kindling need but to be noted, and I have elsewhere interpreted Skr. *óṣa-dhi-s* 'plant' as generalized from an original 'Brenn-Pflanze' (*TAPA.*, 41, 25). If, however — and this I did in *KZ.*, 37, 154, to the satisfaction of as sane a mythologist as the late V. Henry — we can trace the Prometheus myth in the *Brāhmaṇas*, we must ask ourselves whether the 2d meaning of 'cavum' is not rather to be recognized in *sušiš-švis.* Then the epithet will refer to the hollow reed of the Prometheus fire-myth. Even so, the reed is probably but an allotropic designation for the socket slab

wherein fire was begotten. The idea of 'hollow' in *sûśi-śvis* lends point to the two references in 1. 65. 2*d* to the womb wherein Agni was born.

For the posterius, *-śvi-*, only a word need be said: it is a weakest grade rootnoun used as a compounding final. The root is Skr. *śvā(y)-*: Av. *spā(y)-* 'turgere'. In the Agni-epithet *Matari-śvan-* which, as I am explaining in *KZ.* 45, 134 meant 'in materia turgens' (= 'materiae puer'), we have a cognate posterius *-śvan-* from the same root. As for the development of *mātari-*: Lat. *māteria* from *mātar-* 'mother', *credat Judaeus Apella.* But if I am right in deriving *māteria* from **(t)mater-* 'cutter' (of timber), it is possible that **māter-* 'mother' also comes from *(t)mater-* 'cutter'. Testimony to the activity of woman in wood-cutting in the savage and semi-savage races could doubtless be found in abundance (see, e. g., Mason, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, pp. 32, 153), but the function of woman as a 'cutter' is better displayed, we may think, in the following: "The husband has slain the deer .... and there his share of the operation ends. The woman .... removes the skin ... and then divides the carcass for immediate consumption or to be dried. In these (*sic*) she is a butcher, and the whole earth are (*sic*) her shambles. This meat she then proceeds *to apportion according to the rules of her tribe and her clan*" (*ibid.* p. 27). In Germany, if my limited observation goes for anything, woman is still the carver. — In the final shaping of **(t)māter-* the inevitable fusion therewith of the babbling child's *mamma* is not to be lost to sight.

Postcript.

For the explanation of Skr. *śvadhis* as 'brenn-pflanze' cf. *φρύγανον* (: *φρύγω* 'roasts'), which became a regular designation, in the botanical classification of Theophrastus, for the class of shrubs.

In *sûśi-śvis* the posterius should perhaps be written *-śiśvis*, with reduplication, cf. *sam-śiśvarī* (in *K. Z.* l. s. c.).

Sanskrit dhénā = Avestan daenā = Lithuanian dainà. — By Dr. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

The two objects of this paper are, first, to determine the meaning of the Sanskrit *dhénā* and then to establish the equation that gives its title.

The word *dhénā* is found fifteen times in the *RV.* In the later Vedic and Brahmanic literature we find seven[1] of these passages repeated a total of seventeen times. The word is found also in two compounds in the *RV.* One of these occurs twice only and in the same *sūkta.* The other occurs once in *RV.* and twice in the later literature. Two other instances, not in the *RV.*, are found later, one occurring in six different works[2] and the other in three[3]. Elsewhere it is found, — so far as the writer has discovered — only in Nāighaṇṭuka I, 11, in the *Unadiganasutra* (268[a]) of Hemachandra[4] and in Sāyaṇa.

The *PWB.* defines *dhénā* in the sg. as "milchende Kuh" and in the pl. as "Milchtrank", in all passages of the *RV.*, except three. For I, 101, 10 and V, 30, 9, it says, "viell. Stute" and for I, 2, 3, "viell. vom Gespann Vayu's zu verstehen ist". Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* has the definitions "Milchkuh, Stute,

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[1] Thus *RV.* I, 101, 10[b] = *Nāigh.* 6, 17; *RV.* III, 34, 3[d] = *AV.* XX, 11, 3[d]; *Vāj. S.* 33, 26[d]; *RV.* IV, 58, 6[a] = *Vāj. S.* 13, 38[a]; 17, 94[a]; *KS.*, 40, 7[a]; *Taitt. S.*, 4, 2, 9, 6[a]; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17[a]; *Taitt. Ār. A.*, 10, 40[a]; *ĆB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11; *Āp. Ć.*, 17, 18, 1[a]; *RV.*, V, 62, 2[c] = *MS.*, 4, 14, 10[c]; *TB.*, 2, 8, 6, 6[c]; *RV.* VII, 94, 4[c] = *SV.*, 2, 150[c]; *RV.*, X, 48, 6[b] = *AV.*, XX, 17, 6[b]; *RV.*, X, 101, 3[c] = *AV.*, XX, 25, 2[c], 33, 2[c].

[2] *Dhenu bṛhaspateḥ* in *MS.*, 1, 9, 2; *KS.*, 9, 10; *GB.*, 2, 2, 9; *Taitt. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1; *Vait. S.* 15, 3; *Āp. Ć.*, 11, 3, 14.

[3] *Dhenābhiḥ kalpamānāḥ* in *MS.* 4, 13, 4; *KS.*, 16, 21; and *Taitt. Br.*, 3, 6, 5, 1.

[4] The reference in *PWB.* to the *Anekārthasaṅgraha* (2, 271) of this author seems to be an error, as the edition of Zachariae (2, 267) defines *dhena* and *dhenī* but has no mention of *dhenā*.

Milchtrank" and in ten instances agrees with *PWB.* in their distribution, but not in the other five. Commentators and translators differ widely in their interpretations. Sāyaṇa gives six different definitions of the word. Grassmann in his *RV.* disagrees with himself in his *WB.* in five instances, withdraws "Stute" and enters "Lippen", "Weiber" and "Gewässer". Griffith's translation agrees in general with Sāyaṇa, but adds one definition and withdraws another. Ludwig consistently renders in all instances by "Stimme", "Lieder" or "Schall", but considers this difficult in V. 62, 2 and desiderates "Ströme". Geldner in *Ved. Stud.* II. 35 ff. has made a special study of the word and, as the result, propounds the definitions: 1. Schwester, viell. auch Geliebte, Frau. 2. Weibliches Tier, Kuh. 3. *a.* Zunge, *b*, Stimme, Rede, Lob. In all but three instances he practically agrees with Sāyaṇa. Oldenberg in his *Vedaforschung* 93 ff., has a special excursus on the word and concludes that in all but two instances its meaning is "Milchströme", either literally or figuratively, and in those two instances it still refers to potable fluids.

The table opposite shows at a glance the various renderings proposed in each instance.

In view of this diversity of interpretation which attaches several incongruous meanings to what would seem a single word, it has seemed advisable to study the word anew to establish its fundamental signification and to trace its semantic development.

In Nāighaṇṭuka (*l. c.*) we find *dhenā* listed as one of the fifty-seven synonyms of *vāk*. This is the one meaning most frequently given by Sāyaṇa and best supported by native tradition as will appear in the sequel. It lends itself to our equation. So we start with it in the consideration of the several passages.

Among these we find the greatest degree of unanimity in X, 104, 10—

vīrāyaḥ kratur indraḥ śuçastir
utāpi dhenā puruhūtam īṭṭe |

(Heroic strength and goodly praise is Indra. Yea, also *dhena* praises him, invoked of many).

It seems clear as Ludwig observes "daß es nicht Kuh oder Milch bedeuten kann". So Grassmann's sober second thought leads him here to substitute "Lippen" in his *RV.* for the "Milch-

R. V.	PWB.	GWB.	Sāyaṇa	Ludwig	GRV.	Griffith	Geldner
I, 2, 3	Gespann Vayu's	Milchkuh	vāk	Schall	Milchkuh	Voice	Rede
I, 55, 4	Milchende Kuh	"	stutilakṣaṇām vācam	Stimme	Milchtrank	"	Stimme, Rede
I, 101, 10	Stute	Stute	jihvopajihvike	Stimmen	Lippen	Lips	Zunge
I, 141, 4	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	vācaḥ	Lieder	Kühe	Songs	Reden
III, 1, 9	"	Milchtrank	vācaḥ	Stimmen	Tränke	Voices	Stimme, Rede
III, 34, 8	"	Milchkuh	gā	"	Kühe	Milch-kine	Schwester
IV, 58, 6	"	Milchtrank	nadyas (?)	Lieder	Tränke	Oblations	Reden
V, 30, 9	Stute	Stute	striyān	Stimmen	Weiber	Voices	Geliebte oder Frauen
V, 62, 2	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	dyutiḥ	"	Kühe	"	Kühe
VII, 21, 3	"	Stute	nadyas	Lieder	Gewässer	Rivers	Schwester oder Geliebte = Gewässer
VII, 94, 4	"	Milchtrank	vāk	Stimmen	Trank	Words	Stimme, Rede
VIII, 32, 22	"	"	stutiḥ	"	"	Voice	" "
X, 43, 6	"	"	"	Lieder	Milchgetränk	Songs of praise	" "
X, 104, 3	"	"	stutivācaḥ	Stimmen	Milchtrank	Voices	" "
X, 104, 10	Milchende Kuh	Milchkuh	"	Lied	Lippen	Song	" "

kuh" of his *Wörterbuch* and Bergaigne (*La Rel. Ved.* II, 278, n. 1) says: "La vache qui 'invoque' Indra ne peut être que la prière".

The worshipper's voice uplifted in the adoration of song or prayer would seem a better subject for the verb *itte* than the lexicographers' "cow" or Oldenberg's "oblation of milk". Moreover, this assumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the ninety-five passages in the *RV.* that contain this verb. In sixty-three of these it may not be indubitably clear whether the praise, honor, worship, etc., expressed by the verb were manifested by thought and its expression in song, prayer, etc., or by the oblation, offering, etc. As a matter of fact, of course, both were integral parts of the sacrifice. In the great majority of these instances it would seem to the writer that the dominant idea in the verb is that of song or prayer. This may, however, be due to the more or less unconscious bias of one defending a thesis. So let us examine only the thirty-one instances — exclusive of our passage — in which there is an absolutely clear expression. In seven passages the subjects are decisive; *viz.*, I, 142, 4, *matir;* VII, 24, 5, *arkā;* 45, 4, *giraḥ;* 91, 2, *suṣṭutir;* 93, 4. *gīrbhir viprāḥ;* 94, 5, *viprāsa*, with *tā gīrbhir* in 6; VIII, 60, 16, *saptā hótāras.* In no passage in the *RV.* is *havís* or any word meaning "oblation, offering", etc., used as the subject of this verb. In three passages, — VIII, 43, 22, 24; 44, 6 — the immediate juxtaposition of the verb *çru* shows that song or prayer is meant and in X, 66, 14, the same is clearly shown by *vácam.* In thirteen passages the expressed instruments of the action are *sūktébhir vácobhir* (I, 36, 1), *gírā* (II, 6, 6; III, 27, 2; VIII. 19, 21; 31, 14), *gírbhir* (III, 52, 5), *námasā* (V, 12, 6; X, 85, 22), *námobhir* (V, 1, 7; 60, 1), *námasā gírbhir* X, 85, 21), *stómāir* (VII, 76, 6) and *gāthābhīḥ* VIII, 71, 14).

In five passages the expressed means are *haviṣā ghṛténa* (I, 84, 18), *havírbhir* (III, 1, 15), *srucā* (V, 14, 3) and *havyébhir* (VII, 8, 1; VIII, 74, 6). In the remaining two the expressed means are *námobhir haviṣā* (V, 28, 1) and *yajñébhir gírbhir* (VI, 2, 2). Excluding these last two passages as neutral because of their participation in both classes, we have a total of twenty-four passages that clearly associate thought, song, or prayer, with the verb and only five that so associate oblation, etc. If then *dhénā* could be either song or ob-

lation, the mathematical probabilities are about five to one in favor of song.

In the third stanza of this same hymn we have —

índra dhénābhir ihá mādayasva
dhībhír víçvābhiḥ çácya gṛṇānáḥ ||
(Rejoice thou here, O Indra, in our songs,
Hymned mightily in all our thoughts).

We should on *a priori* grounds expect the word to have the same meaning here as in 10 below and we fail to find any reason for thinking otherwise. It is certainly as reasonable to interpret *dhénābhir* as the worshippers' voices uplifted in song as to substitute the "Milchtrank" of *GRV.* and the lexicographers. This harmonizes nicely with the general context of the hymn, which is replete with the idea of song and praise. *Cf. giro* 1[c], *ukthavāhaḥ* 2[d], *dhībhir* ... *gṛṇānáḥ* 3[d], *gṛṇántaḥ* 4[d], *stotára* 5[d], *brāhmāṇi* 6[a], *suvṛktim* 7[b], *giro* 7[c], *huvema* 11[a], *çruvántam* 11[c]. There are references, expressed or implied, to the oblation of soma in 1[ad], 2[bc], 3[b], 6[b] and 7[b], but more than half of these are in the first two stanzas and they do not dominate the entire hymn as do the former.

As Oldenberg (p. 98 f.) feels that the verb *mad* supports the idea of "drink", we may add that this verb is predicated of Indra, relative to *stómebhir*, in I, 9, 3 and, relative to *gírbhir*, in I, 51, 1; of the devás, relative to *stóme*, in III, 54, 2; of the worshippers of Indra, relative to *gírbhir*, in III, 53, 10 and V, 36, 2. Hence the verb is appropriate enough with *dhénābhir* as songs in the passage before us.

That Indra rejoices in the songs of his worshippers is shown by many passages in the *RV.*; *e. g.*, I, 5, 7, 10; 9, 3, 9; 10, 3, 5, 9, 12; 16, 7; 30, 4, 10, 14; 51, 1; 54, 7; etc. In fact, every *sūkta* in his honor proves it and we have his own word for it in I, 165, 4. So he naturally takes note of such songs and looks with favor upon them. Thus in X, 43, 6—

viçam-viçam maghávā páry açāyata
jánānām dhénā avacākaçad vṛṣā |
(Maghavan came to all the tribes in turn,
And of the songs of men the Bull took note).

and in VIII, 32, 22—

ihi tisráḥ parāvāta
ihi pāñca jánāṁ áti |
dhénā indrāvacākaśat ||
(Over the three great distances,
Beyond the peoples five, thy way pursue,
Taking note, O Indra, of our songs).

Oldenberg (p. 98) finds little difficulty in these passages. Their evidence is clear enough. "Wären die *dhénāḥ* Preislieder, so wäre das 'Herabblicken' zwar nicht undenkbar, aber viel näher läge es doch, ein 'Hören' erwähnt zu finden. Wo im Veda werden die *dhénāḥ* 'gehört'?" In reply to this question I trust it will appear that *dhénāḥ* are heard in every passage in which the word occurs in the *RV.* In controversion of his statement that "Herabblicken" is quite unthinkable in reference to songs of praise we would state that *brāhmāṇi ṛṣīṇām* is the object of *abhicakṣāthe*[1] in VII, 70, 5; that *stómān* is the object of *upadarçathaḥ*[2] in VIII 26, 4; that *stómā* is the subject of the medial passive *pratyadṛkṣata*[3] in VIII, 5, 3; that *dṛçīkam* is an epithet of *stómam* in I, 27, 10 and *paricákṣyāṇi* of *vácāṁsi* in VI, 52, 14. It is then a case of the Ṛṣis against Oldenberg as to whether it is so "unthinkable" that songs of praise could[4] be seen or "looked at". Our next passage is VII, 94, 4—

índre agnā́ nāmo bṛhát
suvṛktím érayāmahe |
dhiyā́ dhénā avasyávaḥ ||
(To Indra, Agni too, we raise
Our homage high and excellent hymn,
Our songs with prayers, their favor seeking).

Dhénāḥ as "songs" continues the *nāmo* of *a* and *suvṛktim* of *b* and forms part of the dominant thought of the entire hymn. This is expressed also in *mānmana pūrvyástutiḥ* of

---

[1] *çaçruvāṁsā cid açvinā purūṇy*
abhí brāhmāṇi cakṣāthe ṛṣīṇām |
(Having heard, O Açvins, look upon the many prayers of the Ṛṣis).

[2] *úpa stómān turāṣya darçathaḥ çriyé*
(For his glory, look ye on your zealous worshipper's lauds).

[3] *yuvábhyāṁ vājinīvasū práti stómā adṛkṣata*
(By you, lords of the swift steeds, our lauds were beheld).

[4] The very name Veda shows that the fundamental idea is that the songs have been "seen" by their composers.

1 [ab], *çrutâm jaritûr hâvam* of 2 [a], *vânatam giraḥ* of 2 [b], *pipyatam dhîyaḥ* of 2 [c], *ilata viprâsa* of 5 [ab], *girbhir ... havemahe* of 6 [ab], *ukthêbhir* 11 [a], *girâ* 11 [b] and *âṅgûṣâir* of 11 [c]. Only in 6 and 10 is there any reference to the oblation. Even Oldenberg (p. 98) is forced to admit that song is implied in *dhênâ* here, not directly, he adds, but only as the libation is joined with it or in so far as it represents the libation. But in the light of the context it would seem a strange perversion to say that "song" rather than "libation" is the implicit thought.

In I, 141, 1—

yâd îm ûpa hvârate sâdhate matir
rtâsya dhênâ anayanta sasrûtaḥ | |
(Whene'er he bends thereto, well speeds the hymn;
The songs of Rta bring him as they flow).

Oldenberg (p. 97) argues that *sasrûtaḥ* plainly shows that "etwas Fließendes gemeint ist". This word, however, is found elsewhere in the *RV.* just twice, once as attributive to *apâs* (IV, 28, 1) and once as attributive to *giras*[1] (IX, 34, 6). The latter proves that songs may flow as well as "streams of milk" and that the passage is no more a bulwark of defence for his position than his "unthinkable" cases above.

In I, 67, 7 [b]; V, 12, 2 [b]; VII, 43, 4 [b]; VIII, 6, 8 [c]; IX, 33, 2 [b]; 63, 4 [c], 14 [b], 21 [b], we have mention of the *dhârâs* of Rta; in I, 79, 3 [a] and III, 55, 13 [c], of the *pâyas;* in I, 73, 6 [a] of the *dhenâvas;* in I, 84, 16 [a], of the *gâs;* in IX, 77, 1 [c] and X, 43, 9 [b], of her *sudûghâ*. On the other hand, we have in I, 68, 5 [a]; 71, 3 [a]; IV, 23, 8 [b]; IX, 76, 4 [b]; 97, 34 [b]; III, 2 [c], mention of the *dhîti* of Rta; in III, 31, 1 [b]; IV, 2, 16 [c]; IX, 102, 1 [b], 8 [c], of the *dîdhiti;* in IV, 23, 8 [c] of the *çlôka* of Rta. So the mention of the prayers, holy songs, etc., of Rta is almost as frequent as that of her oblations of milk. Thus Vedic usage presents no difficulty to the interpretation of *dhênâ* as songs in this passage.

The *dhênâ* flow also in IV, 58, 6—

samyâk sravanti saritô ná dhênâ
antâr hṛdâ mánasâ pûyámânâḥ |
etê arṣanty ûrmáyo, ghṛtásya
mṛgâ iva kṣipaṇór îṣamâṇâḥ | |

[1] *gîro arṣanti sasrûṣaḥ* (The streaming songs flow on).
Cf. „Bathing in streams of liquid melody". Crashaw.

(Our songs, like streams, flow on together,
Cleansing themselves 'twixt heart and mind.
These waves of ghee flow on apace
E'en as wild beasts that flee before the bowman).

Oldenberg (p. 97) deems this passage "besonders wichtig" for his theory. His reasons are (1) the *dhénāḥ sravanti*; (2) "the entire hymn praises the streams of *ghṛta*; (3) *dhārāḥ* is found "four times" in the hymn. We have already shown that songs may "flow". They are here expressly compared with "streams". In VIII,[1] 49, 6 *dhītáyaḥ* "flow" and are compared with a copious gushing spring. They flow also in VIII,[2] 50, 4. A *gír* is described as "flowing" in 1,[3] 181, 7, and if Aufrecht's reading in IX,[4] 108, 7 is correct, a *stóma* may be "pressed" and "poured out". These passages, with the one previously cited, amply demonstrate the fluidity of songs in the *RV.* and dispose of his first defence. To pass to his third point, we observe that *ghṛtásya dhárāḥ* is found five times, one more than Oldenberg claimed, in the hymn. It is in 5[3], 7[4], 8[6], 9[4], and 10[4], always in the third or fourth *pāda*. In 6[5], in exact formal correspondence with these, we find *úrmáyo ghṛtásya*. The streams of *ghṛtá* are mentioned in every *ṛc.* of the *sūkta* from 5 to 10 inclusive, but in 6 *úrmáyo*, not *dhénā*, represents the *dhárāḥ* of the others. To return to his second point, it is true that the hymn is in praise of the *ghṛtá*, of

---

[1] *sádīva vajrinn avató ná siñcate*
kṣárantīndra dhītáyaḥ | |
(As a copious spring, O thou of the thunderbolt, gushes forth, our songs of adoration flow to thee, O Indra).

[2] *anehásaṁ vo hávamānam ūtáye*
mádhvaḥ kṣáranti dhītáyaḥ |
(To the peerless one that calls you for aid,
Songs of adoration, sweet as honey, are flowing).

[3] *ásarji vāṁ sthávirā vedhasā gír*
bāḷhé açvinā tredhá kṣáranti |
(Your strong laud, ye pious, was sent forth,
flowing threefold, in mighty flood, ye Açvins).

[4] *á soté pári siñcata*
áçvaṁ ná stómam aptúraṁ rajastúram |
(Press, pour forth as a steed, the song of praise, strong and piercing the air).
We may add also that in VIII, 13, 8, songs even dance like waters, — *kṛṇánty asya sánitā ápo ná.*

the strange, mystic and symbolically zoomorphic *ghṛtá*, as well as of the streams of *ghṛtá*. It is one of the most mooted of all the hymns of the *RV.* by the native commentators. It has several peculiar formal correspondences, arranged with almost mathematical precision. One of these has just been noted. We now have another. In 2^{abc} we read —

vayáṁ náma prá bravāmā ghṛtásya
asmín yajñé dhārayāmā námobhiḥ |
úpa brahmá śṛṇavac chasyámānam
(Let us tell forth the name of *ghṛtá;*
let us at the sacrifice uphold it with our homage;
let the Brahman hear it sung).

This is immediately followed by the description of the *ghṛtá* in bizarre animal form. In 6^{ab}, the mathematical center and the summit of the hymn, we have our passage, the next reference to the song of 2. In 10^{ab}, at the same distance from the medial summit, in the only other reference to song, the gods are asked to reward the singers, —

abhy árṣata suṣṭutíṁ gávyam ājím.
asmásu bhadrá drāviṇāní dhatta |
(Send to our hymn of praise a herd of cattle;
bestow upon us goodly possessions).

Ghṛtá is dominant. Stanza 1 is a prelude but in *c* it has reference to the *náma gúhyam* of *ghṛtá*. In 2^{abc} the singers are going to tell it forth in song. In 2^{d} and 3 they describe the mystic *ghṛtá*. In 5^{c}, 6^{c}, 7^{c}, 8^{c}, 9^{d}, 10^{d} the hymn masses effectively its mention of the streams of *ghṛtá*. In 10^{ab} the singers ask their reward, 10^{cd} and 11 are a postlude, but still emphasize the *ghṛtá*. In 6^{a-b} the song announced in 2 is described as in full flow and in 10 it is practically over. We believe then the *dhénā* of 6^{a} is the song promised in 2 and the *suṣṭutím* for which the reward is asked in 10.

Oldenberg, for the benefit of his argument, has wisely refrained from any attempt at the exegesis of 6^{b}, which seems so admirably to sustain our interpretation. The commentator on *Vāj. S.* 17, 94, glosses *dhénā* by *vācaḥ* and places it among the *vāṅnāmasu* with reference to Nāigh. (*l. c.*). He adds — *kīdṛçyo dhenāḥ antar hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ çarīrāntarvyavasthitena hṛdā pāvanasthānīyena manasā ca pūyamānāḥ çabdadoṣebhyo vineyamānāḥ*, *i. e.*, they cleanse themselves, separate themselves, from the defects of speech in the mind which has a

pure place and in the heart which is situated in the interior of the body. Here we seem to have the native way of expressing the noble thought that the worshippers are striving in their adoration to clothe the thoughts prompted by the heart and conceived by the mind, both pure, in a noble form, pure from the defects of ordinary speech. However that may be, it is quite certain that the collocation of *hṛdā* and *mānasā* points to thought, song, etc., rather than to libations of melted ghee. In fact, we have a close parallel in I, 61, 2 —

indrāya hṛdā mānasā manīṣā
pratnāya pitye dhiyo marjayanta ||
(For Indra, ancient lord, they cleanse their songs,
In heart and mind and spirit).

It is appropriate that the songs should be purified and cleansed in heart and mind, for it is here that they are fashioned also, as shown by I, 171, 2—

eṣā va stómo maruto námasvān
hṛdā taṣṭó mánasā dhāyi devāḥ |
(To you, ye gods of storm, this land, in homage rich,
and fashioned in heart and mind, is brought).

Nowhere in the *RV.* does the phrase *hṛdā mānasā* (VI, 28, 5; VII, 98, 2; X, 177, 1) or *hṛdé mánase* (I, 73, 10; IV, 37, 2) suggest even the possibility of Oldenberg's theory.

But in *Tāit. S.* IV, 2, 9, 6, we have

sám it sravanti saríto ná dhénāḥ
antár hṛdā mánasā pūyámānāḥ |
ghṛtásya dhārā abhí cākaśīmi
hiraṇyáyo vetasó mádhya āsām ||

This is a composite of *pādas a* and *b* of our stanza and of *c* and *d* of the preceding, in this order. This same *contaminatio* is found also in *Vāj. S.* 13, 38; *KS.*, 40, 7; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17; *ÇB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11 and *Ap. Ç.*, 17, 18, 1. The commentator on *Tāit. S.* glosses *dhénāḥ* by *pānayogyāḥ dadhimadhvavayavāḥ* (portions of curd and mead, fit for drinking). The commentator on *Vāj. S.*, who on two other[2] occasions, of which one is this same passage, gives *vācas* as the gloss of *dhénā*, here gives instead *annāni . . . hvayamānāni haviṁsi* (food . . . libations that make *invocation*), and the *ÇB.* gives *annam*, for

[1] Clearly do I behold the streams of ghee,
The golden reeds in the midst of them.
[2] Viii. n. 1, on first page.

"the food is indeed purified by the heart and mind within him that is righteous".

Here only in the ancillary Vedic do we find a note out of tune with our interpretation. The *Vāj. S.* seems to have some glimpse of the connection between *dhēnā* and voice as it has *hvayamānāni* and, as we have said, on each of the later occasions in which the word is used, has *vācas*. If it is once wholly or partly against us, it is twice quite positively for us. We can easily believe that in this "contaminated" version the unusual or rare word *dhénā* has been misunderstood, possibly through *contaminatio* with the masculine [1]*dhenas*, or *dhenī* or the frequent *dhenavas* or possibly because used with such verbs as *nad, srj, pinv, āviṣkr.* etc. and the fact that songs as well as food and drink actually "strengthen" Indra and the *devās*.

In I, 55, 4—

sā íd vāne namasyúbhir vacasyate
cāru jáneṣu prabruvāṇā índriyam |
vṛṣā chándur bhavati haryató vṛṣā
kṣémeṇa dhénām maghávā yád invati | |

(He, truly, in the wood is called by worshippers;
When his fair Indrahood he shows 'mong men.
The Bull is lovely; one to be desired is he, the Bull,
Whene'er with peace the Maghavan promotes our song).

Sāyana glosses *dhénām invati*, 1st by [2]*stutilakṣaṇām vācam prerayate*, and 2d by [3]*yajamānāiḥ kṛtāṁ stutim vyāpnoti*. Either of these makes excellent sense. The former is supported by such a passage as I, 10, 4—

éhí stómāṁ abhí svara
abhí gṛṇīhy á ruva |
(Come thou, laud our song of praise,
praise it, acclaim it).

also, VIII, 13, 27—

ihā́ tyá sádhamādyā́
yujānáḥ sómapītaye |
hárī índra pratādvasū abhí svara | |

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[1] Hemachandra *Unādigaṇasutra* 268[a] glosses *dhenaḥ* by *samudraḥ* and his *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, 2, 267 (Zach.) gives the same and adds *dhenī = nadīyām*. Medinīkoṣa n. 12 has both *dhenī* and *dhenas* (m.) as *nadī*.

[2] Sends forth his commending voice.

[3] Promotes the laud made by the worshippers.

(Having yoked those feast-sharing,
wealth-increasing, dun steeds,
for drinking the soma come hither singing).

The second is supported by such parallels as VIII, 13, 32[c]—

vṛṣā yajñō yám invasi vṛṣā hávaḥ

(Strong the worship that thou dost promote, strong the invocation).

and X, 188, 3[c]—

tábhir no yajñám invatu

(With these may he promote our worship),

and I, 18, 7—

sá dhīnáṁ yógam invati

(He promotes the work of our psalms).

The latter is the better supported by such parallels as we have found, but our interpretation of *dhēnām* is safe with either.

The passages I, 10, 4; VIII, 13, 27, cited above and many others give us the friendly, peaceful songs of Indra. The war-songs of his pealing thunder as it reverberates among the mountains, are called *dhēnā* in VII, 21, 3—

tvám indra srávitavā apás kaḥ
páriṣṭhitā áhinā çūra pūrvíḥ |
tvód vāvakre rathyò ná dhēnā
réjante viçvā kṛtrimāṇi bhiṣá ||

(O Indra, thou didst cause the waters flow,
The many waters, hero, that by Ahi were encompassed.
Thy war songs rolled from thee as if on chariots borne:
And all created things did quake with fear).

Of all translators and commentators, Ludwig alone is right with his "<ihre> tönenden lieder". The nearest we can get to the *nadyas* of Sāyaṇa and his followers would be to interpret *dhēnā* as referring to the roar of the liberated waters. Such a parallel, however, as [1]I, 80, 14, is against it. There are

---

[1] *abhiṣṭanè te adrivo*
yát sthó jágac ca rejate |
tváṣṭā cit tāva manyáva
índra vevijyáte bhiyá
(At thy deep roar, O hurler of stones,
Whate'er is fixed and what is moved doth tremble:
E'en Tvashṭar at thy mighty wrath,
O Indra, was all aquake with fear).

numerous references to Indra's roar, but they need not be cited here. As Oldenberg (p. 97), however, finds support in *rathyò ná*, we shall quote two passages which show that this comparison supports also our interpretation of *dhénā*. These V, 61, 17—

etám me stómam ūrmye
dārbhyāya párā vaha |
gíro devi rathír iva ||
(O Ūrmyā, bear thou far away
For me this song of praise,
O goddess, songs as if on chariots borne).

and VIII,95, 1—

á tvā gíro rathír iva
ásthuḥ sutéṣu girvaṇaḥ
(To thee, O lover of song, our lauds
Arise, as if on chariots borne,
Whene'er we press the soma).

One more reference to Indra's *dhénā* is found in I, 101, 10—

mādáyasva hāribhir yé ta indra
ví ṣyasva çipre ví ṣrjasva dhéne |
á tvā suçipra hárayo vahantu
uçán havyáni práti no juṣasva ||
(Rejoice in these dun steeds of thine, O Indra;
Ope thou thy jaws; let loose thy voices twain.
Let thy dun steeds thee bring, O fair-cheeked god,
And graciously take thy joy in our oblations).

Sāyaṇa interprets the dual *dhéne* as *pānasādhanabhute jihvopajihvike* (tongue and epiglottis becoming effective for drinking). He would have been more consistent had he said "effective for speech". Oldenberg (p. 94) ridicules Geldner's "Zunge" as not accounting for the dual, but when he comes to the interpretation of the passage (p. 99) he finds the dual difficult and dismisses it with the question, — "Sind die *dhéne* also vielleicht Soma und Wasser?".

We note that *sṛj* is not rare in reference to songs, etc. Thus we have *ásṛgram . . . giraḥ* (I, 9, 4), *ávasṛjatam . . . dhiyo* (I, 151, 6), *ásarji . . . gír* (I, 181, 7), *úpastutim . . . ásṛkṣy* (VIII, 27, 11), *sárgāñ iva ṣṛjatáṁ suṣṭutír úpa* (VIII, 35, 20); *stotúr medhá asṛkṣata* (VIII, 52, 9); *ghóṣā ásṛkṣata* (VIII, 63, 7), etc.

We have seen, in the foregoing, ample citations showing that Indra had two distinct *dhénā*, that of gracious commendation of his worshipper's praises and that terrifying, thundering battle shout. This gives one interpretation of our dual. An examination of the hymn suggests also another. In *pāda d* of each *ṛc* from 1 to 7 inclusive, in 8* and 9*, Indra is invoked to come with his Marut band. Now the Maruts are great singers as shown by I, 19, 4; 24, 8; 37, 10, 13; 85, 2; 87, 3, 5; 165, 1; 166, 7, 11; V, 30, 6; etc., etc. Hence, as Ludwig has suggested, the *dhéne* here are probably that of Indra himself and that of the Maruts. This would seem supported by 11*—

marútstotrasya vṛjánasya gopā

in which the worshippers speak of themselves as the "guardians of the camp that is Marut-praised". Hence we may consider the two *dhénā* as the gracious, approving song of Indra and the Marut's song of praise.

We have the dual again in V, 30, 9—

striyo hí dāsā áyudhāni cakré
kím mā karann abalā asya sénāḥ |
antár hy ákhyad ubhé asya dhéne
áthópa praíd yudháye dāsyúm índraḥ ||
(The Dāsa made his women his weapons.
What do his feeble armies do to me?
Indra distinguished both his voices
And then went forth to fight the Dāsa).

Oldenberg thinks the *dhéne* are the liquids that play so great a part in the Namucci myth. This fits his general interpretation of *dhénā*. Ludwig and Griffith think that Indra distinguished between the voice of Namucci and that of his women and knew from the latter that he had to contend with no army of demon warriors. This fits our general interpretation of the word and is parallel in usage with the word in the latter interpretation of the passage immediately preceding (*i. e.* I, 101, 10). An interpretation parallel to the former of the preceding would be to consider the *dhéne* as the war songs or yells of Namucci and his words cheering on his women. Either makes good sense and harmonizes with our interpretation of the word. As we had some preference for the latter interpretation in the preceding we have the same

for the corresponding interpretation here, the *dhénā* of Namucci and that of his women.

We have a reference to the song of Vāyu in I, 2, 3—

vāyo tāva prapṛñcatī
dhénā jigāti dāçúṣe |
urūcī sómapītaye ||
(Vāyu, thy penetrating voice
goes unto the worshipper,
wide spreading unto the soma drink).

In 1 Vāyu is summoned to hearken unto the *ṛṣi's* invocation (*hávam*); in 2 the singers call him with their hymns of praise (*ukthébhir*). Here in 3, according to Sāyaṇa, his approving voice is heard in reply, "O worshipper, I will drink the soma given by thee". This harmonizes well with the context and we have already cited or quoted several passages that establish such commending voices of the gods. Vāyu is summoned and his *dhénā* comes. This then must be an essential characteristic that may be used as a metonym of the god. This could be no libation, but in the list of "wives" of the deities given in *Taitt. Ār.* 3, 9, 1, *vāk* is the wife of Vāyu and hence such a peculiar adjunct as would best represent him here.

In III, 1, 9, the reference is to the celestial Agni, —

pitúç cid údhar janúṣā viveda
vy ásya dhārā asṛjad ví dhénāḥ |
(From birth he knew his father's bosom,
Sent forth his streams, his voices uttered.).

Sāyaṇa explains *údhar* as the firmament, *dhārā* as streams of rain, and *dhénāḥ* as the voices of thunder (*mādhyamikā vācas*). This seems more probable than other interpretations, though this is one of Oldenberg's star passages to prove that *dhénā* means "streams of milk". He lays special emphasis upon *údhar* and *dhārā* and the striking comparison of IV, 22, 6,—

prá dhenávaḥ sisrate vṛṣṇa údhnaḥ

as showing the synonymity of *dhārā* and *dhénā* in this passage. Here, however, *dhārā* replaces *dhenávas* there and it is clearly distinguished from *dhénā*.

We would quote as parallels in our favor such passages as VIII, 6, 8, in which *dhītáyaḥ* and *dhárayā* are associated; IX, 10, 4 in which *girā* and *dhárayā* are associated; IX, 44, 2,

in which *matí*, *dhiyá* and *dhárayā* are associated; IX, 63, 21, in which *dhíbhir* and *dhárayā* are associated; etc. Such passages show how natural the connection of *dhénā* as "songs" with *dhárā* would be in the passage before us.

As for the *údhar* end of the argument, we may quote V, 44, 13—

viçvāsām údhaḥ sa dhiyám udáñcanaḥ
(The udder and bucket of all holy psalms).

The *údhar* of the firmament is not a rare figure. *Cf. e. g.* VII, 101, 1; IX, 107, 5; X, 100, 11; etc.

Our next passage is III, 34, 3—

índro vṛtrám avṛṇoc chárdhanītiḥ
prá māyínām aminād várpanītiḥ |
áhan vyáṅsam uçádhag vánеṣu
āvír dhénā akṛṇod rāmyāṇām ‖

(The leader of his host, Indra encompassed Vṛtra;
Assuming shapes of those in magic skilled, he minished him.
Intensely burning in the woods, he slew Vyaṅsa
And made the voices of the nights apparent).

That *āvír akṛṇod* may be predicated of song is proved by IX, 3, 5—

āviṣ kṛṇoti vagvanúm
(He makes his voice heard).

and IX, 95, 2—

devó devānām gúhyāni nāma
āviṣ kṛṇoti barhiṣi pravāce ‖
(As god, he makes heard the secret names
of the gods, to be told forth on the sacred grass).

That the "nights" have a voice is sufficiently shown by II, 2, 2,

abhí tvā náktīr uṣáso vavāçire

(The Nights and Dawns bellow to thee), and by VIII, 96, 1—

asmā uṣása átiranta yámam
indrāya náktam ūrmyāḥ suvācaḥ |
(For him the dawns lengthened their courses;
By night, the nights became sweet-voiced for Indra).

This latter passage is a good commentary on the text before us as it, too, is from a *sūkta* that deals with the conflict of Indra and the demons. Otherwise we may think of the *dhénā* here as the shouts of the demonic foes, or the thunderings of Indra in the darksome night of battle, or we may endorse the commentator on *Vāj. S.* 33, 26, who thinks the

dhénā here are the *stutirūpā vācaḥ* of *yāyajūkās*, or those who worship frequently, even singing their adoration in the seasons of the nights.

Oldenberg (p. 95 f.) considers our next passage so strongly corroborative of his interpretation of *dhénā* that he has made it the foundation upon which he has reared much of his superstructure. This is V, 62, 2—

tát sú vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvám
īrmā tasthúṣīr áhabhir duduhre |
viçváḥ pinvathaḥ svásarasya dhénā
ánu vām ékaḥ pavír á vavarta ||
O Mitra, Varuṇa, this is your greatness;
(Each day they have milked the kine that stand here.
You have caused to swell all songs of the *svasara*;
Your single tire hath rolled along hither).

At first sight *pinvathaḥ* and *svásarasya* may seem to favor the synonymity of *dhénā* with *dhenú* but we find the verb *pinv* is used also with *dhíyaḥ*, the synonym of *dhénāḥ* according to the interpretation we have given throughout. Thus we have in IX, 94, 2—

dhíyaḥ pinvānāḥ svásare ná gávaḥ.

Also in I, 151, 6—

áva tmánā srjátam pínvatam dhíyo

and VII, 82, 3—

'pinvatam apītáḥ pinvatam dhíyaḥ

we have the act predicated of Mitra Varuṇa as in our passage. The Açvins are the subject in X, 39, 2—

codáyatam sūnṛtāḥ pínvatam dhíya.

Hence the argument from the verb fails, as it will support either interpretation. These *dhíyaḥ* in IX, 94, 2, even "bellow forth" (*abhi vávaçra*) "a greeting to soma". This shows how completely the same words may be predicated of both "cows" and "songs".

It is here that Ludwig while still consistently rendering *dhénā* by "Stimmen" thinks the association with *svásara* difficult and desiderates "Ströme". Only in this passage does Geldner render *dhénā* by "Kühe" and that because of *svásara*. These have taken the word in the sense of "cow-pen, stall", etc. But Geldner (*op. cit.* III, 113 ff.) has more recently argued that this word signifies a time of day, identical with the

saṅgavá or morning milking-time, which according to *Tāit. Br.* I, 5, 3, 1, belongs to Mitra. We believe this is correct for it brings unity instead of diversity. The older translators required three meanings for the word, as in *GWB.* This, however, gives one meaning that makes very good sense in each of the thirteen passages in which the word occurs in the *RV.* In only five of these are kine in any way mentioned in connection with the *svásara.* In three of these five and in six others the gods are associated with the *svásara.* In four passages, exclusive of the one under discussion, there are references to songs, etc., to the gods. Thus in II, 2, 2, Night and Morning bellow greeting to Agni; in VIII, 88, 1, Indra is addressed with *gīrbhir*; in VIII, 99, 1, Indra is invoked to hear the *stómavāhasām*; the *dhíyaḥ pinvánīḥ* of IX, 94, 2 are cited above. In III, 60, 6, the *svásarāṇi* bring to Indra the *vratā devánām mānuṣāṇ ca.* We see as analogous to these a reference in our passage to the adoration of the worshippers at the early morning sacrifice. Mitra and Varuṇa make the cows swell with milk in the next stanza. The same idea is not needed here. Whether, however, *dhénā* in this mooted passage are, as we believe, the songs of adoration at the morning sacrifice, or the bawling of the cows at the pen for their calves, or, as Griffith thinks, "the voices of the thunder and the roar of the rushing rain from the vast aerial stall that holds the milchkine of the firmament, the word is in general accord with the interpretation we have given it throughout.

Three other passages in the *RV.* contain *dhénā* as the deuterotheme of a compound. These are not at all inconsistent with our meaning of the simple word. Thus in VII, 24, 2

visṛṣṭadhenā bharate suvṛktir,
iyám índram jóhuvati manīṣā ‖
(This hymn of out-poured song is brought,
Invoking Indra with its prayer).

We find this word also in *KS.* 35, 9[a]—

visṛṣṭadhenāḥ salilā ghṛtaccutaḥ
(Streams of song outpoured, distilling ghee).

and again in *Āp. Ç. S.* 14, 28, 4[a] with *saritā* for *salilā.* That *ghṛtaccut* is applied to songs also, is shown by VIII, 51, 10—

turaṇyávo mádhumantaṁ ghṛtaccútaṁ
víprāso arkám ánṛcuḥ |

(The zealous singers sang a song, distilling ghee and richly sweet). Cf. also II, 11, 7.

The other compound, *viçvádhenā*, is found only in IV, 19, 2—

áhann áhim pariçayānam árṇaḥ
prá vartanir arado viçvádhenāḥ ‖
(Thou slewest Ahi who beleaguered the waters,
And thou didst open their courses all aroar in song),

and 6

tvám mahím avánim viçvádhenām
turvítaye vayyáya kṣarántīm |
(For Vayya and Turviti thou didst stay
The mighty stream, on flowing, aroar with song).

We take it that the rivers were roaring forth their songs of joy and praise at their liberation. This idea suits the entire context quite admirably. It has been shown that waters sing and dance in the *RV*.

In the ancillary Vedic literature we find in *Tāit. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1—

senendrasya | *dhenā bṛhaspateḥ* | *pathyā*
pāṣṇaḥ | *vāg vāyoḥ* | *dīkṣā somasya* | *pṛthivy-*
agneḥ | *vasūnām gāyatrī* | *rudrāṇām triṣṭuk* |
ādityānām jagatī | *viṣṇor anaṣṭuk* ‖ ı ‖

We have already listed the other five works in which this is given in whole or part. Some of these, as the *GB*, 2, 2, 9 give *senendrasya patnī*, etc., and thus, by supplying the missing word, make it clear that we have here a list of the "wives" of the several deities. An examination of this "Catalogue of Wives" reveals how truly each is the necessary complement of her lord and his practically constant companion. Indra, warrior god, and his army; Vāyu, the god of wind, and his voice, etc.

This passage in itself may be said to clinch the whole question, for our interpretation of *dhenā* makes it a vastly better complement or wife of Bṛhaspati than the "libation of milk". The word is actually the equivalent of the *bṛhas* in *bṛhaspati*, as Professor Bloomfield once remarked.

In *Tāit. Br.* 3, 6, 5, 1; *MS.* 4, 13, 4 and *KS.* 16, 21, we have *dhenābhiḥ kalpamānaḥ*, „aided by songs", or "furnished with songs".

Nāigh. 6, 17, quotes *RV.* I, 101, 10 and adds — *dhenā dadhāteḥ*, — "*dhenā* is derived from the verb *dadhāti*". As he has already defined *dhenā* by listing it as a synonym of *vāk*, it would appear that he uses *dadhāti* here in its sense of "fix in thought, as a prayer, etc."

Lastly Hemachandra's *Unādiganasutra* 268[1] has the gloss —

dhenā sarasvati mātā ca | dhenaḥ samudraḥ

Of this the only consistent[1] interpretation is that *sarasvatī* is the goddess of eloquence, the daughter of Vāk (?).

We consider *dhénā* a guṇated form from the root *dhī*, "think", and a synonym of *dhītī* and *dhī*, with which words we have found it associated. As these words may pass in meaning from pure thought to its expression by the voice in prayer and psalm, so *dhénā* regularly in the Veda is the outward form in which the inward thought is expressed by the voice. In the case of human beings, it is a song of joyous praise or holy invocation to the gods. In the case of gods, it is their gracious words, commending the worshipper and expressing their appreciation of the strength imparted to them by the songs, or their war-cries and battle-shouts as they engage in combat with their foes. The streams, too, sing their joy at their release and roar in praise of the great deity that effected it.

Dhénā is the exact phonetic[2] equivalent to the Avestan *daēnā* and the Lithuanian *dainà*. The *daēnā* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man, the mental λόγος. Cf. Bartholomae, *WB. s. v.*

The Lithuanian *dainà* is a folk song, but these folk songs contain the best and highest expressions of the native heart and mind. They are frequently the media of expressing their religious sentiments and their philosophical reflections. Their whole philosophy of life is enshrined in these songs which

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[1] Unless *dhenā* is masc. dual; then *sarasvatī* is the river and the references has no connection with our subject. Cf. n. p. 403.

[2] Cf. Sk. *tejas*, Av. *taēša*, Lith. *staigà*,
" *meṣās*, " *maēša*, " *maiszas*,
" *reṣa*, " *raēša*, " *raiszas*,
" *vedas*, " *vaēdā*, " *vaidas*,
" *heḍas*, " *zaēša*, " *áuzdà*, etc.

constitute their poetic literature. Here is expressed their thought about the great anonymous Dēvas, the moon god and the sun maiden, the morning and the evening star, Perkūnas, the god of thunder, etc., beliefs which transport us back to the primal days of our race. Like the Sanskrit *dhénā*, the Lithuanian *dainà* is a voiced *λόγος*, but unlike the former it frequently descends from the divine heights and becomes of the earth, earthy. Thus *dhénā*, *daēnā* and *dainà* are all thought, but thought in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and semantics proclaim them own sisters in the old Indo-European family circle.

By way of summary we may say that in every passage in which *dhénā* occurs in the *RV.* it may consistently be interpreted as voice, song, etc. In several instances the context decidedly favors this against Oldenberg's rendering. Every adjective that modifies it and every verb of which it is subject or object is used in other *RV.* passages in reference to words that indubitably signify songs, prayers, etc., but not all are so used with *havís* or its synonyms. It is so completely identified with Vāyu that it is metonymic of him. Our interpretation is supported by Nāighaṇṭuka, Sāyaṇa and *Vāj. S.* It has the irrefragable support of the "Catalogue of Wives". Only in the commentators on a "contaminated" version of one Vedic passage, plus five passages in Sāyaṇa, does it fail in support of the ancillary Vedic literature. It is not difficult to posit reasons for this. It furnishes the Sanskrit member, otherwise missing, of an equation with the Avestan and the Lithuanian. Passages which Oldenberg finds difficult become easy. Every argument he uses against it, is amply refuted by the passages quoted from the *RV.* The cumulative effect is overwhelming for *dhenā* as a synonym of *dhī*, *vācas*, *gīr*, *stoma*, *arka*, etc.

Vedic, Sanskrit, and Prakrit. By Walter Petersen, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas.

It will be the object of this paper to point out some difficulties in the ordinary view of the relation of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit to the popular or Prakrit dialects, and, if possible, to suggest another theory which will avoid these difficulties. And in making this attempt, instead of starting with a discussion of "What is Sanskrit?", a procedure which seems to have led to no definite result[1], I shall begin with the consideration of the question as to what is "Mittelindisch" or Prakrit[2], hoping that if a satisfactory solution of this question is reached, the problem of the origin of Sanskrit will be materially simplified.

The normal view of the relation of Prakrit and Pali to the Vedic and Sanskrit is that suggested by the word "Mittelindisch" itself, namely that Prakrit is the direct lineal descendant of "Altindisch" or the language of the oldest stage of the transmission[3].

And since this oldest stage is found in two distinct forms, namely the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, the inference is that Prakrit is derived either from the Vedic language[4] or the Classical[5], or at least from popular languages to which the Vedic or Classical Sanskrit was related like all literary lan-

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[1] *Cf.* e. g. the widely divergent opinions of the British scholars in the JRAS. 1904. 457—487 on the article of Rapson "In what degree was Skt. a spoken language", ib. p. 435 ff.

[2] For want of a better term Prakrit below is often used to include the earlier or Pali stage of "Mittelindisch" as well as the later stage to which it is ordinarily applied.

[3] See the language tree of Thumb, Handbuch des Skt. 19.

[4] See notes 2 and 3 p. 415.

[5] So Hoefer, De Prakrito Dialecto 8; Lassen, Institutiones Linguae Prakritae 25 f.; Monier Williams, Nalopâkhyânam Intr. p. V; Jacobi, KZ. 24. 614.

guages to the nearest popular dialects from which they are taken. The latter alternative, however, we may dismiss once for all. The number of phonetic as well as morphological peculiarities[1] which are common to the Vedic and Prakrit but unknown to Sanskrit, prove definitely that Prakrit is much nearer to the Vedic than to the Classical Sanskrit, and that direct origin from the latter is no longer to be thought of. There remains the supposition that Prakrit is derived either from Vedic dialects[2] or from contemporary dialects which are close to the Vedic in character[3].

To this latter view, however, there are grave and unanswerable chronological difficulties on every hand. In the first place, it is a well-known fact that the Vedic hymns already contain a number of Prakritisms[4], forms which distinctly belong to the "middle-Indian" period and do not represent the normal status of the Vedic sounds, but are exceptional cases and consequently borrowings from a different dialect. Thus Wackernagel, loc. cit., quotes as examples words with a cerebral, e. g. kāṭá "Tiefe": kartá "Grube"; words with ṇ (< n), e. g. maṇi "Perle"; words with ṣ (< rs, rṣ, ḷs, ḷṣ), e. g. AV. kaṣati "kratzen": Lith. karšzti; práuga = *práyuga, titau = *titasu, etc. To quote Wackernagel himself: "Daneben (sc. der priesterlichen Sprache) aber war (wenigstens in bestimmten Volksschichten) schon zu der Zeit, da die uns erhaltenen Hymnen entstanden, eine Sprache gebräuchlich, die über jene priesterliche Sprache weit hinaus entwickelt war, und die Haupteigenheiten der ältesten Phase des Mittelindisch, der sogenannten Palistufe, an sich trug". The conclusion therefore can not be avoided that during the period of composition of the Vedic hymns two distinct groups of Indian dialects were developed and separated by an uncrossable gulf[5],

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[1] So e. g. the Nom. Pl. ending Ved. -ɜsaḥ = Prkt. -aho, Instr. Ved. -ebhiḥ instead of -aiḥ = Prkrt. ehim, ḷ and ḷh for ḍ and ḍh in both Veda and Prakrit. Cf. Pischel, Gram. d. Prakrit Spr. 4 f.; Franke, Pali u. Skt. 150; Thumb, op. cit. 19.

[2] Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. 2. 110 f.; Franke, loc. cit.

[3] Cf. Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 673 ff.; Thumb, loc. cit.

[4] Cf. Wackernagel, Al. Gram. 1. XVII.

[5] Squarely opposed to this, but certainly not justifiable, is the statement of F. W. Thomas, JRAS. 1904. 461, that during the centuries preceding the Christian era Sanskrit and the vernaculars (Prakrit) were so

on the one hand the priestly language of the Veda, on the other hand the popular dialects, which later became "Pali" and "Prakrit"[1]. From this fact it follows again that Prakrit can not be a direct lineal descendant of the Vedic of the hymns or of a contemporary dialect which was close to the Vedic in its character.

If, then, Prakrit is nevertheless derived from the Vedic, it must have been at a time considerably antedating the hymns themselves. And here the question immediately arises whether time enough had elapsed since the separation of the Indian and Persian dialects so that such large differences as exist between Vedic and the earliest "Pali" could have been developed in addition to the equally large ones between the Avestan and Vedic. As Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 672, remarks, it is a question of how long a period we allow to have elapsed between the period of Indo-Iranian unity and the Veda. If we place the latter long after the former, there is nothing impossible about assuming that the popular dialects had been developed in Vedic times and that the Vedic poets borrowed certain words from these vernaculars. Now Bradke himself believes that the time could have been amply sufficient. He declares that the oldest stages of the Indian and Iranian languages are no closer to each other than Italian and French, and yet these two languages are fifteen centuries apart[2]. He seems to believe that in the time thus gained it is possible for the old Aryan language to have developed successively first into "Altindisch" and then into the earliest stages of "Pali". But this argument really contains a circulus vitiosus. In the first place, to those who maintain that the Vedic period can not have been too long after the period of Indo-Iranian unity because of the close resemblance of the earliest Indian and Iranian he interposes the objection that Italian and French are no farther apart and yet it took fifteen hundred years to

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close to each other as to preclude comparison with Latin even in countries where Romance languages were spoken, unless indeed he means only the most developed stages of the Romance languages.

[1] When Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 445, therefore maintains that Prakrit can not be traced even to Yāska (about 500 B. C.), he would be undoubtedly wrong if he had not meant by Prakrit merely the language in the exact form in which it was later known by that name.

[2] ZDMG. 40. 669.

develop the difference, that consequently it might take just as long to develop the difference between Indian and Iranian. In the second place, into these fifteen hundred years thus gained is to be put also the development of Pali from "Altindisch", presumably on the ground that fifteen hundred years would be amply sufficient for even such large dialectical differences to arise! First a large period of time is claimed as being probably needed to develop comparatively small differences, then this large period is in turn used as proof that comparatively large differences may have developed in the same. But we could as well counterargue that six hundred years are needed to develop the Classical Sanskrit from the Vedic[1], and the difference is very slight, how much more would we then expect for the large difference between either Classical Sanskrit or Vedic and even the earliest stages of Pali? Adding to this the fifteen hundred years assumed by Bradke for the development of Vedic from primitive Aryan, how many milleniums after the period of Indo-Iranian unity would the Veda be placed? And the earlier we place the latter the worse the difficulty would become for the Classical Sanskrit. If we accept Jacobi's date for the Rigveda we should have to assume at least five millenimms to account for the comparatively slight difference between the Avestan and the Classical Sanskrit. When, however, we omit precarious arguments of this kind, and seek other criteria, we find that it is really very hard to believe that the Rigveda was enough later than the period of Indo-Iranian unity to account for the large change from primitive Aryan to Pali; for the fact that the Rigveda is yet full of reminiscences of the conquest of the Panjāb, and that the larger part of the later Aryan India had not yet been settled[2], would make it exceedingly improbable that the Indian Aryans had been in the Panjāb a very long time before the hymns were composed. We would hardly expect a conquering people suddenly to stop for centuries in their process of expansion, and then to resume it later. Nor would it be credible that a very long period had elapsed between the time of Indo-Iranian unity and the conquest of the Panjāb. As long as the Indian Aryans dwelt together

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[1] So Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 477, though for a different purpose.

[2] Cf. Macdonell, Hist. Skt. Lit. 139 ff.; Thumb, op. cit. 14.

with the Iranians toward the northwest of the Panjab, they were virtually one people[1], and only after they separated in order that one part might invade India did large differences of language develop. The difficulty then becomes greater and greater: it is impossible for me to conceive how Prakrit could have had time to develop from "Altindisch" in the usual way at a time when the Veda evidently shows that is must have existed.

But let us assume for argument's sake that there nevertheless was ample time, in what relation then would we conceive the language of the Rigveda to stand to these vernaculars? The first alternative that might occur to us is that Vedic, like the later Classical Sanskrit, was already a petrified language, kept alive only by the priests and literary men. But to this idea there are several grave objections. In the first place the character of the Vedic language and literature is such that scarcely any one has seriously doubted that it was close to the living language of the time of the poets.[2] There may have been dialect mixture and archaisms and poetic peculiarities of diction, and the actual spoken language differed from that of the hymns as the Greek vernaculars of the Homeric age differed from the language of the Homeric poets, or as the popular languages to which any literary dialects owe their origin differ from the latter, but no more. Moreover, if Vedic was a dead language when the hymns were composed, how can we assume that this old language escaped complete obliteration in so long a time? A dead language is perpetuated only in its literature, and when it dies before a literature is produced, as it would have to in this case, it will be forgotten before it has a chance to perpetuate itself. It is

[1] How close this period probably is to the Vedic can be seen from the retention of intervocalic *s* instead of the change to *h*, one of the most characteristic changes of the Persian group, in a word identical with the Vedic Násatya found in the recently discovered inscription of Boghazköi. The retention of the *s* in the Iranian word thus points virtually to the period of Indo-Iranian unity, and that about 1800 B. C. On the other hand few would put the Rigveda much later than 1200 B.C. Cf. Keith, JRAS. 1909. 1100 ff. Like Keith, I assume that E. Meyer, not Jacobi, has drawn the correct chronological conclusions from the inscription.

[2] Cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram.[2] XV; Wackernagel, op. cit. XVII; Macdonell, op. cit. 20; Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 471.

thus evident that at least the beginning of the literary Vedic period must have antedated the petrification of the language. But there is another and still more conclusive reason why the Vedic of the hymns could not have been a dead language. There is no one who could affirm that the art of writing was known at such an early date.[1] Now let us try to picture to ourselves how this older language (supposing it to have been established as a fashionable language so early) could have been transmitted orally. It might be possible for traditions as to new and old forms and phonetic doubles to be transmitted from one generation to another by means of oral instructions: for such changes are recognized by every one most easily, since the new and old forms continue to exist side by side, at least temporarily. But when we come to sound changes that do not result in phonetic doubles, particularly the spontaneous unconditioned sound changes, the question is altogether different. These are so gradual that no one notices the fact that he is pronouncing a certain sound differently than formerly or differently than the older members of the linguistic community. It follows that a consciousness of change never appears,[2] and that the old pronunciation thus will no longer be a norm with which to compare the new, since the whole community will keep so close together that no one notices a difference, and when the end of the development has finally been reached the old original pronunciation, no matter how different from the new one,[3] will be forgotten with no possibility of recovery. In case of a written language directions for the pronunciation of certain letters might reveal the change to later generations, but in a language which is spoken only, there is no possibility of establishing a previous sound change of this kind except by comparative philology. Thus the change of I. E. o to Germanic a has been so universal[4] that not a single trace of the old pronunciation could possibly have existed to the speak-

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[1] Cf. Macdonell, op. cit. 15 f., who quotes Buehler for the date 800 B. C. for the introduction of writing.

[2] Cf. Delbrück, Einleitung[3] 154 f.

[3] Every new nuance created in this way in fact displaces the older one. Cf. Sievers, Phonetik[5] § 728.

[4] Universality in fact is a characteristic of all gradual changes. Cf. Sievers, op. cit. § 731.

ers of the language after it had taken place, and since it was a gradual change, even those that lived while it took place were unconscious of it. In the same way Skt. n became Prakrit ṇ spontaneously[1] and under all circumstances (except before dental stops), and there was no way for the speaker of the latter sound to find out that he was pronouncing a different sound than his ancestors. But not only in case of spontaneous sound changes, but everywhere where no phonetic doubles result the old pronunciation is lost beyond recovery just as soon as the new is established. So it is with the dropping of the y in pṛâuga < pṛâyuga, or with the change of rt>ṭ, rs>ṣ, etc. The development of all of these new pronunciations should have completely obliterated the old, if really, as is claimed, Vedic and Prakrit were successive steps in the development of the same language. The existence of Prakrit forms with the above mentioned peculiarities in the Rigveda proves conclusively therefore from this point of view also that the two can not have been chronologically successive stages of one and the same language.

It follows that Vedic and Prakrit are sister dialects instead of being related as mother to daughter. In some way or other they must have been differentiated from their common ancestor, so that both could continue to exist side by side. It is obvious, however, that this differentiation can not have been local, i. e. Vedic and Prakrit can not have been contemporaneous dialects which arose in different localities; for it is incredible that all people in one section of the country should be so conservative in their pronunciation that they continued to speak a language very close to the primitive Aryan, while in other places, near by and not separated by any linguistic barrier whatsoever, they were so prone to innovations that it would appear as though the language they spoke was immeasurably a more recent or modern stage than that of the former. We should in vain look for analogies to this. Evidently the cause of the differentiation must be sought in different social strata of the same communities, one a strongly conservative

[1] In the light of the following these changes were not gradual, but due to the substitution of one sound for the other. Here we argue from the standpoint of those who maintain that Prakrit is a direct descendant of Vedic. If that be true, these changes must be gradual.

element, another offering no opposition to the tendency to innovation. At first sight this postulate, however, would seem to lead to the view held by Wackernagel and quoted above, namely that Vedic was merely a priestly language, jealously guarded by the priestly aristocracy in its pristine purity, while the natural development of the language resulted in the popular dialects. To this view, however, the objection will also hold that this presupposes a consciousness of difference, while on the other hand this very theory would presuppose that those characteristics of Prakrit which were already developed in Vedic times were largely due to spontaneous sound changes,[1] of which the priests no less than the common people must have been unconscious even while they were in the process of becoming. Whatever theory accounts for the difference between Vedic and Prakrit must show how the differentiation could take place through causes not controlled by the human will.

This as well as all the other above mentioned difficulties will disappear if we assume that Vedic and Prakrit were caste-languages from the beginning, and that the differences originated with the differences between the castes. And since the origin of the castes was intimately connected with the difference between Aryan and not-Aryan, we may say that Vedic was the language of the higher or Aryan castes,[2] while Prakrit was the language of the lower or non-Aryan castes. As the old Aryans invaded the Indian peninsula and conquered certain aboriginal tribes, they would impose their language upon those whom they enslaved[3] and which consequently formed a part of their society.[4] But since these black aborigines had organs of speech as well as linguistic habits that differed widely from those of the Aryan invaders, they were unable to learn the language in the same form as the one in which it was spoken by their conquerors, and it was modified to suit their own characteristics in much the same way as the

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[1] Cf. foot-note p. 420.

[2] Cf. Baden-Powell, JRAS. 1899. 328, who states that the middle and lower castes were either not Aryan at all or badly mixed, while the higher castes were predominantly Aryan.

[3] Cf. Hirt, Die Indogermanen 101.

[4] Cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 51. 275: "Schon das rigved. Altertum hat die dunkelfarbigen Aboriginen nicht allein als Feinde, sondern auch als der arischen Gemeinschaft attachierte Unterworfene gekannt".

American negro has modified the English language through his own physiological and mental peculiarities. And just as many peculiarities of the negro dialect are common to the whole large area of the South or his original American home, since the peculiarities which cause these aberrations are common to the whole race, just so a number of phonetic changes in Prakrit were common to all of the widely scattered areas where these popular dialects were spoken, since here also common racial peculiarities would cause common effects. And since these peculiarities primarily affect the phonological aspect of a language, it is intelligible that the Prakrit peculiarities in the Veda are exclusively phonological.[1] Moreover, since these sound-changes from primitive Aryan to the earliest Prakrit were not due to gradual change of pronunciation, but to the substitution of one sound for another, if this t ory is correct, we need not expect larger periods of time to account for such a thoroughgoing change of phonetic aspect, and it is therefore not surprising that Prakrit and Vedic should have been virtually coexistent not only from the beginning of the transmission, but ever since the Aryans first invaded India and began enslaving the aborigines.

The conclusion that the phonetic character of the Prakrit dialects is due to imposing the Aryan language upon an inferior race is further strengthened by the character of the sound changes. Franke, Pali und Sanskrit 141 ff., calls attention to the fact that many peculiarities common to all "Pali" are similar to the mistakes of children. The same assimilation or simplification of consonant groups, the same substitution of familiar for unfamiliar sounds is common to both. Franke compares e. g. from the German: tüschen for zwischen, woore for Worte, aam for Arm, golle for Golde, bume for Blume, daitipf for Bleistift. This want of discrimination between different sounds, usually characteristic of childhood, is just what we would expect of a race inferior in intelligence learning a language so largely different from its own.[2] In

[1] Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit. XVII: „Keine sichere Spuren mitteindischer Formenbildung sind (sc. im Veda) erhalten".

[2] It is of importance that those Skt. sounds for which others are substituted in Prakrit are largely those which to a great extent are characteristic of Sanskrit, and so probably would not be known to the non-Aryans. Thus, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, āi, āu, and ḥ are all lacking in Prakrit.

fact the latter factor alone might cause similar changes even in case of a people of high intelligence, as can be seen particularly by a study of borrowed proper names. Thus in all of the following Greek borrowings from the Egyptian certain unfamiliar sounds or combinations of sounds have been replaced by sequences which were familiar to the Greek: Pa-Uat't became Βουτώ, Chufu became Σοῦφις, Σαῶφις or even Χέοψ, MeNKaURA became Μυκερῖνος, Bokenrenf became Βόγχωρις (Βόκχωρις), SCHaBaK became Σαβάκων, UaHABRA became Ἀπρίης, AAHMeS became Ἄμασις.

If the above explanation of the origin of Prakrit is once accepted the problem as to the origin of the Classical Sanskrit becomes much simplified. There is no longer any necessity for assuming that a certain locality was so much more conservative than other neighboring ones that it was enabled to retain a language with such old characteristics,[1] while all other communities were many centuries ahead in the development of their speech. Classical Sanskrit was rather the direct lineal descendant not of the Vedic[2] in its literary form,[3] but of the spoken dialects of the Vedic age, which differed from it only very slightly and may with propriety, as they are below, be designated as "Vedic". It was natural after the difference between Vedic and Prakrit had once been developed, that the old Aryan aristocracy of priests and soldiers should be proud of their language, which formed one of the principal distinctions between themselves and the despised conquered Dāsas, that they should therefore guard it most jealously from all change. Since, however, the Aryan speakers of the Vedic dialects continually had practical relations with the enslaved speakers of the Prakrits, it became necessary that they should have an acquaintance with Prakrit also, and sometimes, perhaps, they would even condescend to use it themselves, e. g. to make a command clearer. In this way there was a bridge

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[1] Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 73, Pali u. Skt. 88; Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 450 ff.

[2] So Franke, BB. 17. 82; Rapson, loc. cit. According to our view the Vedic had only one direct descendant and did not split up into two streams, as is claimed by Weber, Ind. Stud. 2. 110 f.; Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 472.

[3] The absence in Skt. of the Vedic change of intervocalic ḍ > ḷ shows that the former is not directly descended from the dialect of the hymns. Cf. Thumb, Hdb. d. Skt. 91.

by which the Prakrit could gradually encroach on the Vedic or Sanskrit. Those Aryans who were less fortunate and did not succeed in becoming a part of the aristocracy gradually lost their racial pride and came to use the Prakrit language exclusively. In the same way the Aryan women, whose more menial duties brought them into more continual and closer contact with the lower classes, gradually let the Prakrit take the place of their pure Aryan mother tongue. In the beginning, however, it was not thus. All the Aryans, women[1] as well as men, spoke the pure Aryan language when the enslaved Dāsas first tried to learn the language of their conquerors.

As the circle of the speakers of the original Vedic languages became more and more narrow, they more and more took upon themselves the character of polite languages, with the result that the conservatism of the speakers also increased, and Vedic gradually became Classical Sanskrit. In this way is explained both the continuity of development between Vedic and Sanskrit in literature, which is the unanswerable objection against those who maintain that Sanskrit was a late artificial product and never was a spoken language,[2] and at the same time the growing stability of the same, with the proscription of all new formations.[3] As in all polite languages, the speakers, who prided themselves on the correctness of their speech, sought for norms which should insure them correct principles of speaking, and this on the one hand led to the stationary nature of the Sanskrit, since all new formations are, of course, to begin with mistakes, on the other hand it led to the study of the grammar, which ended in the canonization of the whole grammatical system by Pāṇini,[4] after which the language became permanently crystallized and no longer showed even a semblance of growth.

The above view, then, agrees on the one hand with those who maintain that Sanskrit was in origin not only a living language like any other polite language,[5] but even a vernac-

[1] Cf. Ludwig, Rigveda 3. 44 f.

[2] Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 86; Rapson, JRAS. 1904. 441.

[3] Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit. XXIII.

[4] Cf. Franke, BB. 17. 80.

[5] That Sanskrit was a spoken language, but not really a living language is maintained by Grierson, JRAS. 1904. 472. Similarly M. Senart, quoted p. 471 of the above. Dr. Grierson's statement (p. 476) that Skt.

ular, though only of certain strata of society, but by these it was not learned as an additional language to their own Prakrit vernacular,[1] but it was rather an inheritance from ages long past, while originally, if these persons also spoke Prakrit, it was the latter that was learned as a second language. On the other hand, in course of time the growing ascendancy of the Prakrits with all except the haute-volée may have caused this condition to have been reversed, and at any rate Sanskrit became more and more stereotyped until it may properly be said to have become a dead language.[2] This was, however, an exceedingly gradual development, mainly due to natural causes, though perhaps hastened by Panini's canonization, and it would be impossible to fix upon a single point in time and to say its life ended here even if we were in possession of all the facts of the history of the language. Its development from the Vedic moreover was also a natural development, by an ultra-conservative society, it is true, but yet a development from which even sound change was not altogether excluded, as Wackernagel, loc. cit., maintains; for on the one hand he himself mentions the change of iy to y and of uv to v, on the other hand he has failed to point out the probability of certain sound changes which do not appear in the spelling, sc. the change of I. E. ai (doubtless still so pronounced in the early Vedic period) to ē,[3] similarly of au to ō, āi with long ā

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could never have been a living language because it had to borrow or imitate Prakrit words for objects of every-day life, is not well taken. In the ordinary life of the Sanskrit-speaking aristocrats there was no call for words designating every-day objects, and when they were needed Sanskrit naturally borrowed from the Prakrit or language of the common people, in the same way as every living language uses borrowed words for ideas hitherto unfamiliar. As well might we argue that the Germanic languages are dead because many words designating objects which are now familiar are Latin borrowings.

[1] Cf. Grierson, p. 480 of the above.

[2] Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddha Dec. 1903 p. 254 f.

[3] The fact that the Prātiśākhyas classify e and o as diphthongs, even though their rules for pronunciation imply simple sounds, together with their treatment in euphonic changes, implies that they were true diphthongs in the Vedic period. The Prātiśākhyas must have received a tradition in this respect, and this tradition certainly could not have antedated the Veda, since grammatical studies originated in the very desire to interpret the Veda. Cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram. § 28 a; Macdonell, op. cit. 38 f.

to ai[1] with short a, similarly āu to au, and finally the thoroughgoing change of accentuation from the Vedic accent to that of the Classical Sanskrit, which is pointed out by Wackernagel himself, op. cit. 296 f. All of these changes are certainly phonetic changes and point to a living spoken language.

If Sanskrit was the only direct lineal descendant of the Vedic and in turn of the original language of the first Aryan settlers of India, it was not necessarily a local dialect, but we should a priori expect that wherever there was an Aryan people in the ascendant we would find the Sanskrit language or some language differing from it only by minor dialectic variations spoken by the kings and priests with their racial pride in their Aryan blood; it is to be expected that Sanskrit was spoken as a caste language throughout the whole Aryan territory of India. When therefore it is maintained e. g. by Macdonell that "there is no doubt that in the second century B. C. Sanskrit was actually spoken in the whole country called by Sanskrit writers Āryāvarta, or 'Land of the Aryans', which lies between the Himālaya and the Vindhya range", the statement is in exact accord with our theory.

These statements, however, must not be construed to mean that Sanskrit in the very form in which it occurs in literature was the vernacular of the men of the upper castes in all of the vast territory of Āryāvarta. Largely, of course, the same conservatism that kept the language so nearly stationary during such a long period also prevented the development of dialectic peculiarities, but yet there must have been some of them. The actual literary Sanskrit is no doubt related to these different spoken Sanskrit dialects just as any other literary language is related to the popular dialects. One or the other of them, by means of literary, religious, or political ascendancy,[2] became the norm to which the speakers of related dialects everywhere were expected to conform, with the result that it displaced all others, which was all the easier because the dialects displaced were themselves fashionable languages, and not, as e. g. in German, popular dia-

[1] When e was still ai, ai must have been āi with long ā, otherwise the two would have been indistinguishable and treated alike. Cf. Whitney, op. cit. § 28 b.

[2] Cf. Rapson, p. 451 of the above mentioned article.

lects, the speakers of which largely had no sympathy with this process of normalization. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the languages displaced could have differed from the language now known as Classical Sanskrit in but a minimal degree, and that it was not the displacing of the real popular dialects of Prakrit by the polite language, which was so different as to nearly exclude mutual intelligibility. While therefore the arguments of Franke[1] and Rapson[2] to establish a narrower region as the original home of Sanskrit may be perfectly valid, it must always be borne in mind that they concern only that particular form of the language which appears in literature, but that other closely related almost identical dialects existed in almost all Āryāvarta from the beginning. It may have happened occasionally, of course, that the pure Aryan speech in a certain locality died out altogether because of the operating of the same forces which caused the poorer Aryans and the women to give it up, but on the whole the racial pride of the aristocracy was too strong a factor to let us assume that it died out everywhere except in a narrowly circumscribed locality, from where it then had to start out to reconquer all the territory lost before.

It cannot be my object here to discuss anew the question as to the interpretation of the fact that Pali appears in inscriptions before Sanskrit, or what is the explanation of this "break in the continuity" of development. My only concern is to show that the results of Franke's book "Pali und Sanskrit" do not necessarily conflict with the above theory. According to op. cit. 49 the results of Franke's examination of inscriptions show "daß auch spätestens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und noch geraume Zeit danach auf der vorderindischen Halbinsel unterhalb des Himālaya und auf Ceylon als allgemeine Landessprache der arischen Bevölkerung kein irgendwie geartetes Sanskrit in irgend einer Provinz vorhanden war, sondern erst allmählich aufgekommen ist." The emphasis should be on the "allgemeine"; i. e. Sanskrit, as shown above, was indeed never a universal vernacular, but a caste language from the beginning, which explains the fact that the

[1] Pali u. Skt. 88.
[2] JRAS. 1904. 451 f.

inscriptions, which were meant to be understood by as many people as possible, were originally in Pali. It was but natural, consequently, that the speech of the aristocracy, not understood by enough people to be used in public inscriptions, and also often not the vehicle of literary works, since they, even when they finally appeared, were written in the imported Classical Sanskrit, should have completely disappeared to our view from most localities. Finally, when the renewed ascendancy of Brahmanism caused a greater number of persons to understand if not to speak the Brahman language, the Classical Sanskrit, originating in a certain locality and displacing the polite languages of other localities, made its way not only into the inscriptions of Āryāvarta, but to every part of India where Brahman culture was disseminated.

Remarks on the Carthaginian Deity.[1] — By W. Max Müller, Professor in the R. E. Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

For long years, Semitists do not seem to have occupied themselves in any way with the strange name of the principal divinity of the Carthaginians, the "Taneit", as scholars used to call her in the period of Gesenius, or Tanit, as it has, somewhat more recently, become the fashion to vocalize her name.[2] I find a trace of skepticism concerning that name only in O. Meltzer's *Geschichte der Karthager*, where occasionally she is spoken of as "the goddess whom we have become used to calling Tanit." The consonants תנת, of course, are sufficiently well attested by numerous inscriptions, but if we ask for the reasons of the vocalisation, we have to go down to the infancy of Semitic epigraphics to discover attempts at proving that strange pronunciation, attempts which do not stand the test of any critical examination. The most exhaustive discussion will be found in Gesenius, *Monumenta linguae Phoeniciae*, p. 115 to 117. I enumerate his arguments (repeated Movers, *Phoenizier* I, 625).

1. Strabo XI, 13, p. 532, speaks of the Persian and Armenian goddess Ἀναΐτης (genet. Ἀναΐτιδος). For this form variant readings give Ταναΐτιδος, hence Eustathius, *ad Iliad.* 14, 295, repeats: Ταναΐτης δαίμων, and Clemens Alex., *Protrept.* p. 43, *Sylb.*, speaks of Artaxerxes who first introduced the image of Aphrodite Tanais (τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ταναΐδος); in the latter place, however, the reading seems to be disputed, as in

[1] This paper, after having been read before the American Oriental Society at the meeting in New Haven, in 1906, was mislaid by its author, and not found again by him until the present year. *Ed.*

[2] Evidently, because the diphthong was felt to be too strongly un-Hebrew. — Tanit is written by Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, and others up to 1906 [and 1912].

Eustathius, *ad Dion. Perieg.* 846 ("the Armenian goddess Tanaïtis or Anaïtis"). It is nowadays no longer necessary to weigh the authority of the codices in every single case for deciding between Anaïtis and Tanaïtis, Tanais, for which form Gesenius himself decided. We know now sufficiently well that the Persian chief goddess was called *Anâhita*. Consequently, those forms with a prefixed *t* have no authority and are evidently due to comparative speculations of Greek scholars who wanted what Movers, II, 101 etc., called "the Taurian Artemis," i. e. some connection with the remote river Tanais. The notice about Artaxerxes Mnemon returns then with the correct reading; 'Aνείτις, Anaïtis, in Berossus (C. Müller, II, 508), Plutarch, *Artax.* 27, Pausanias III, 16, 6; Pliny 33, 24; Dio Cass. 36, 31, 31, etc.[1] Consequently, no goddess Tanais existed.

2. (Gesen. p. 117). Akerblad is said to have compared the Carthaginian *Tnt* with the Egyptian (!) goddess Neit (Νηίθ) "praeposito articulo *ta*." Modern scholars know, of course, that the Egyptian feminine article *t-* (not *ta*) cannot be connected with proper names; such a connection as the good pioneer Akerblad ventured is quite impossible, not to speak of the various other improbabilities of his bold comparison which already Movers rejected (although he strangely kept the conclusions in the form of that vocalisation!).

3. Finally Gesenius desperately referred to proper name like Tennes, Mutten-Mythonius; to city names with prefixed *t-* (see below) like Tynis-Tunis, Tingis etc.; even to Libyan names like Masintha, Masinissa, etc. None of these "arguments" deserves now any dicussion. Tennes, however, still seemed to be meant in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religonsgeschichte*,[2] I, 235 (Fr. Jeremias): "the divinity TNT, after a Greek personal name to be pronounced Thent". If Jeremias really meant the Sidonian king Tennes, adduced by Gesenius, we ought to demand some plausible etymology for that royal name, for the king cannot have borne the name of the goddess herself. Above all, as long as the worship of TNT is strictly limited to Carthage and its nearest dependencies and cannot

[1] Cp. Movers I, 626. I confess not to have verified every quotation.

be traced epigraphically to Phoenicia.[1] I consider it inadmissible to use an argument from any Phoenician name.

Consequently, the old attempts at vocalizing those 3 consonants fail completely. I regret that, after having destroyed the old theories, I cannot offer any substitute for them; there is hardly any basis for the pronunciation of that enigmatic name (cp. below on Anna). I believe, however, that I can offer at least one small advancement towards its explanation. That "local divinity of the Carthaginians" (*δαίμων τῶν Καρχηδονίων*) as Polybius calls her, cannot well have had a Semitic name; it is a difficult task to fit her name into Semitic etymologies. Its formation, on the other hand, clearly betrays a Libyan formation. Prefixed *t* (which becomes in the dialects, *th* or *t*, even *ts*) + suffixed *t* or *th* are the usual characteristics of Libyan (I avoid the senseless name "Berber, Berberic") feminines.[2] Cp. e. g. Kabylic *thamdint*, from Arabic *medîne* "city". This formation agrees too remarkably with the divine name TNT to be accidental. Consequently, we have to consider this name as a feminine formation from a root with *n* and one or two weak consonants, among which the *n* may take the first, second or third place, may be doubled or not. At present, it would be merely a frivolous play to enumerate, from the modern Libyan dictionaries, the numerous roots with *n* which a fanciful mind could use for a more or less improbable etymology of T-N-T. I only lay stress on the result that, evidently, the name of that local divinity dates from earlier time than the Phoenician immigration and has been kept untouched by the Carthaginians; as we should indeed expect with the *spiritus loci*.

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[1] I do not consider the title "TNT of Lebanon", Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, 19, as a proof of origin in Phoenicia; Lidzbarski, p. 21, assumed with probability that this Lebanon was some locality near Carthage. More important is the first Athenian bilinguis mentioning a "Sidonian, *'Abd-*TNT", in Greek *Artemidoros*. This would, indeed, point to a Sidonian cult. But why are the inscriptions of Sidon herself absolutely silent about our divinity? Hence I must assume that the name of that Sidonian betrays a relation to Carthage; such wandering merchants and sailors may have claimed various nationalities, even if "Sidonian" does not, in an archaizing way, mean "Carthaginian".

[2] Those not acquainted with Libyan may consult Hanoteau, *Essai de grammaire Kabyle*, p. 17; his *Grammaire Tamachek*, p. 17, Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt*, p. 18, etc.

This simple result becomes very complicated only if we compare the name with that of Anna, the sister of Dido. Doubtless Anna is the principal divinity of Charthage herself, as may be seen even from Vergil where Anna plays such a supernumerary part at the side of Dido as we are wont to see with two identical personages, differentiated from synonymous names. Roman writers complete the proof by reporting of that superfluous sister Anna the same things as of Dido, above all seduction by Aeneas, and suicide.[1] Now it would be very easy to connect Anna and TNT by vocalizing the latter name Tannat, Tannath, and treating it as the Libyanized form of Semitic Anna (a Semitic adaptation by stripping a Libyan word of its double feminine mark would lack all analogies and would be very improbable). That explanation has, however, serious difficulties, if we accept the often repeated comparison of Anna with the Hebrew name *Ḥanna*. Ancient Libyan, indeed, had no *ḥ*, and should be expected to drop the initial of *Ḥanna* (or to change it to *h*): but I have great doubts if a foreign proper name could be Libyanized by the feminine characteristics. The analogies are very much against this. It would be more plausible to assume that Anna was a Semitic adaptation of an original Libyan **Tannath*, i. e. Anna, originally without initial *ḥ*. It is true, the alleged name of a Punic goddess *Ḥanna* cannot be proved with certainty epigraphically,[2] and we need not trouble ourselves much with that suppositional form. Still, I confess not at all to be satisfied with the above explanation: Anna (whatever its initial may be) as a Semitisation of a supposed **Tannath*. I consider this theory not very plausible and would prefer leaving the explanation of the relation of the two names in doubt. A relation seems to exist, but it cannot be determined and explained with sufficient certainty, I fear.

It remains to say a word on the regular titles of our god-

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[1] Ovid. *Fasti* III, 523; Varro in Servius, *Aen.* IV, 682; cp. Movers I, 612 who, however, does not notice the identity clearly.

[2] חנא seems masculine, the well known *Ḥanno*. Prof. Torrey directs my attention to a seal which he considers Punic, mentioning an חנא־בעל; I feel strong doubts whether this proves to be a female divinity. [The seal was published in this Journal, XXVIII (1907), 354. Its genuineness has been questioned by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* III, 69, but on insufficient grounds. *Ed.*]

dess "the mistress TNT (with?) the face of Ba'al", as she is called on so many funerary inscriptions. The last two words (פנ[י]בעל) have, so far, remained obscure. I have proposed an explanation, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, IX, 168, derived from the symbol of the divinity reproduced on the Carthaginian funerary stelae. It appears in a great many fanciful variations, but all these seem finally to go back to the symbol of the *bukranion*, with the solar disk between the crescent shaped horns which evidently symbolize the moon. Hence that combination of symbols of the "*dea coelestis*", which has a wide use in the art of all countries touching the Mediterranean, representing the heaven as a cow, bearing sun and moon upon her head. This agrees well with the designation "face of the heavenly god." The syncretism of two different conceptions of heaven, as a female or (later?) as a male divinity, presents no difficulty.

A Magical Bowl-Text and the Original Script of the Manichaeans. — By James A. Montgomery, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

The writer has been occupied for some time in preparing for publication the magical bowl-texts from Nippur in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Six of the texts of the collection are in a peculiar Syriac script, related to the Estrangelo, and in the Syriac dialect, but of a form much contaminated by dialectic influences of Mandaic character. The texts have the same contents as the bowls already numerously published in the "Rabbinic" and Mandaic dialects.

As a sample of this fresh species of script I present here a bowl-text which has been kindly placed in my hands by Mr. Wm. T. Ellis, of Swarthmore, Pa. In the winter of 1910—11 Mr. Ellis travelled through Mesopotamia and was interested as a Pennsylvanian in visiting the mounds of Nippur. He was greatly impressed by the remains of the excavations made at this site by the University of Pennsylvania expeditions, and has been urging since his return home that American scholarship should resume the operations begun on so stupendous a scale. Among the curios he acquired at Nippur from the Arabs were three inscribed bowls, doubtless private spoils from the strata uncovered by the excavators. One of these is illegible, one is in the square script and "Rabbinic" dialect, and the third, in the peculiar Syriac script and dialect referred to, is the one I now publish.

The bowl is of earthenware, the usual material and size, and of 6 1/2 in. diameter by 2 1/2 in. in depth. The text is written spirally on the inside from within out; the last six lines alone are legible, the action of water collected in the bottom of the bowl having washed out the first lines, probably four in number. The characters are frequently very faint, but the readings can

Plate I.

usually be made out by the aid of the vocabulary and formulas occurring in similar texts.

Text (Plate I).

. . . לא לביתה אנתתה ובנהּ וקנינה מן זמנא ולעלם עלמין אמין יה
יה [יה י]ה יה יה יה שבע . . . וה וה על סברא ת . . . תי דדומן[י] ביתא
דסרפיתן ברקּא דנורא וסברן[א] . . . וערפאלּא דחשוכא ומרכבתהן
מרכבת למאבּא תראם עליכון שמשא וסינא נוגדינא עליכון אסתאנא
ואור . . . ותא ונאבלא אסוריהן קורקּא נחאשא ועברא ופרזלא וחתימין
בעיזקתה דשמתיזא מריא בנראנא תיהוא תתמתא ונמרתא לנגיבא בר
דודאי ולביתה אנתתה בנהּ וקנינה וניחתן וניפקון כול שידּא דיוּא חומרּא
פתברּא ו[ע]סתרתּא וללילתּא מנה דנגיבא בר דודאי ומן ביתה אנתתה בנהּ
וקנינה דלא נחשון ולא נאסבלון בהנא נגיבא בר [דודאי]

Translation.

[A charm for Geniba against the evil spirits that they may not touch him] nor his house, wife, children and property, from now and forever and ever. Amen. Ya, Ya, [Ya], Ya, Ya, Ya, Ya!, seven [times?]. Avaunt, avaunt to the [southern?] bolt (pole?) of the heights of the house (?) whose flames are the lightnings, lightning of fire, and the [northern?] bolt of the shades of darkness, and their chariots the chariots of the *laṭṭābê*. Exorcism upon you, Sun and Moon, condemnation upon you, Astânâ and Ûr . . . ûthâ. And I make fast[1] their bonds, links of brass and lead and iron, and they are sealed in the name of Šamhîzâ, the lord Bagdânâ. Be there sealing and warding for Genîbâ bar Dôdâi and for his house, wife, children, and cattle, and flee and depart all demons, devils, amulet-charms, idol-spirits (= gods), goddesses and liliths from Geniba bar Dodai, and from his house, wife, sons and cattle, that they transgress not nor do harm against this Geniba bar [Dodai].

Commentary.

I speak of the script below. The orthoëpy (e. g. נאבלא, נאסבלון), forms (e. g. בנה, "his sons", Mandaic), and vocabulary are such as appear in the similar bowl-texts. The client's

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[1] Error for נאבלנא?

name is known in the Palmyrene, cf. the biblical גנבת 1 Ki 11 20. סיגא I have found elsewhere, and it appears in the Syriac. עברא = אברא and אבארא in other texts of mine, and is cited by the native Syriac lexicographers under the form אברא (see Payne Smith, *Thes., ad voc.*) The ע is reminiscent of the parallel Hebrew word עפרת. It may mean *plumbum nigrum* or *album* (probably with different vocalizations), either metal having atropaic value — here probably the former.

The syllables toward the beginning, יה, etc., זה, etc., are found in the other texts, used as deterrents to the devils. יה appears, from the spacing and faint traces of the letters, to have been written seven times, and so I explain the following שבע. זה = זח, from זחח, = "avaunt". What follows is obscure. Syriac סמרא = an obstruction, water-dam, סמרא, a bolt, and the term may be understood from the Babylonian myth of Tiâmat's hide fastened up as the firmament with a bolt,[1] or else of the function of the sky as the dam-breast to the celestial waters. The following word may possibly be read תימניתי (a feminine form, but why so with סכרא?), and the reference be to the southern bolt, or pole, of the sky, the source of the lightnings, the second use of סכרא meaning then the north pole, the abode of darkness. The demons are commanded to flee to the ends of the earth. "The heights of the house" is obscure (for רומא = astrological ὑψώματα, see Newbold, *JBL*, XXX, 204).[2] The למאבא appear in other texts from Nippur; I can explain it only as a metathesis of בטל (in Pael form), which is used of the "undoing" operations of demons (e. g. לליתא מבטלתא).

The deity, whose seal is referred to, "the lord Bagdâna", appears in one of my other texts. The plural is also found, = gods. The first syllable is the Iranian *bhâg*, "god", but the remainder of the word I cannot identify. Here another personal name is also added, Šamhizâ; Prof. G. F. Moore suggests to me the doubtless correct identification with the fallen angel Semyaza in Book of Enoch. I have found a

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[1] See King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, tablet iv, l. 139, "he fastened a bolt".

[2] Dr. von Oefele suggests to me that in the astrological scheme for drawing horoscopes the peak of the "tenth house", which is at the zenith, is the abode of fire.

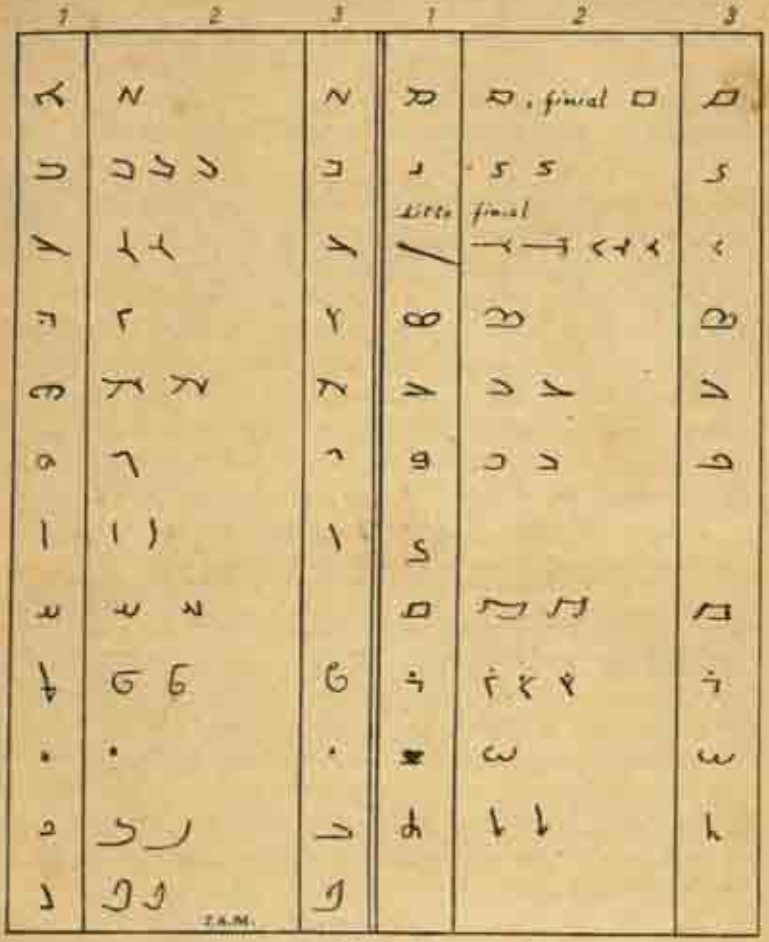


Plate 2.

Col. 1, the Estranghelo alphabet; col. 2, the Syriac script on the bowls, with variants; col. 3, the Turkish Manichaean script.

number of connections between the bowl-texts and Ethiopic angelology. The phrase may simply mean "Š. the Lord God". In its opposition to the sun and moon, regarded as baneful, the text is in line with the Mandaic theology (cf. Lidzbarski's Mandaic Amulet published in the de Vogüé *Florilegium*), otherwise it is pagan and shows no direct Jewish influence, the formula "forever and ever, Amen", being a magical commonplace. אסתאנא = סטנא, "Satan" in perverted form; cf. Ethiopic Mastema.

The chief point of interest in this and the similar Syriac texts is the script. In my work on the Nippur texts I have made a detailed study of this script and need only note here summarily the peculiar features. A superior point is used to distinguish ר from ד, and also in my other texts to distinguish the feminine suffix in ה. The plural points are used in all plurals, the feminines of nouns, verbal forms (also pronouns), being almost always written above the final letter. The characters of form worthy of remark are:

ד and ר, with head turned to the right for distinction from ו, which assumed an identical shape with original ד and ר.

כ, with a prolonged tail to the left, the original head sometimes disappearing.

ל, with an elaborate flourish from the head to the left.

Final נ, a horizontal, pitchfork-like character, with various modifications, the stroke often very long.

Most of the characters have close relations with forms of the Palmyrene alphabet, and the script may be described as an elder sister of the Estrangelo, with close affinity in its peculiarities to the Palmyrene. The antecedent relations of our script were thus fixed, and it appeared as a peculiar provincial alphabet, found only on the bowls without leaving further mark in literary history.

But my attention chanced to fall upon the Manichaean fragments in a Turkish dialect found in Eastern Turkestan, a series of which have been published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, between 1904 and 1910.[1] The ac-

[1] For the alphabet, see F. W. K. Müller in the volume for 1904, p. 348. The script was evidently of Syriac origin, with the addition of some Arabic characters. For the Arabic tradition of the Manichaean alphabet, see G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, 167.

companying table. Plate 2, presents the two alphabets comparatively. Some variant forms are given in the Syriac column. The similarity or rather indentity of the alphabets is evident, and is most striking in the coincidence of the Turkish with the characters of the peculiar form in our Syriac alphabet, e. g. ר (n. b. turning of head to the right), ל, finial ל. The Turkish differs in keeping ר turned to the left, as its point served to distinguish it from ו. I have not found ס in my Syriac texts and in this lack the alphabet agrees with the Manichaean.

Our provincial Syriac script has thus an interesting history forward. It is the alphabet which was used by the Manichaeans and taken by them as the basis of the alphabet they devised for the Turkish dialect of their converts in China. And presumably it was the script of Mani himself, for he was a citizen of Babylon and our texts come from neighboring Nippur. Mani died A. D. 276[1]; the bowls from Nippur are to be dated at the latest (on a phaeological grounds, as I show elsewhere) about the beginning of the seventh century, with leeroom backwards of a century or two. The Turkish texts belong, I suppose, somewhere toward the end of the first millennium. We are thus presented with a well established provincial script which endured for several centuries and which, as a sectarian alphabet, was finally adopted for the representation of an alien tongue. Our only survivals of this peculiar alphabet, which has played its part in religious history, are rude magical texts from Babylonia and a Turkish script from distant regions. This is one more instance of the literary peculiarism of the oriental sects; Jew, Samaritan, Manichaean, the Syriac Christian churches, each party developed its own peculiar literary vehicle, starting from the native dialect or script, and in the end asserting it as its own. And so the provincial script in which Mani had learnt his letters became the peculiar alphabet of his church.

It may be added that the bowls themselves contain no traces of Manichaeism.

[1] Probably now to be corrected to 273; see *TLZ*, 1912, 446.

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